

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

VOLUME I

THESEUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.

VOLUME II

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR
CIMON AND LUCULLUS

VOLUME III

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS
NICIAS AND CRASSUS

VOLUME IV.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS
LYSANDER AND SULLA

VOLUME V

AGESILAÙS AND POMPEY
PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

VOLUME VI.

DION AND BRUTUS
TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS PAULUS.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
VII

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXIX

PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the *Lives* presented in this volume are contained in the two oldest and most authoritative manuscripts—the Codex Sangermanensis (S^s) and the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), or in the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F^a). Their text therefore rests principally on the Paris manuscripts Nos. 1671, 1673, and 1674 (ACD), although in a few instances weight has been given to readings from the Codex Matritensis (M^a), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux and his editions of the *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a

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full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839–1846, 4 voll., 8vo), or to the rather inaccessible text of the *Lives* by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner Library of Greek and Latin texts (Vol. III., Fase. I was published in 1915). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including those of the *Cicero* and *Caesar* by Professor Long. And more or less use has been made of the following works: Graux, *Vie de Démosthène*, and *Vie de Cicéron*, Paris, 1883 and 1882; Holden, *Plutarch's Demosthenes*, Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1893; Gudeman, *Sources of Plutarch's Cicero*, Philadelphia, 1902; Sihler, *Cicero of Arpinum*, New Haven, 1914, and *Annals of Caesar*, New York, 1911.

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NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

November 1918.

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ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS
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OF THE GREEK LIVES.

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THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE
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DEMOSTHENES

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

Ι. Ό μὲν γράψας τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ μίκη τῆς Ὀλυμπίασιν ἵπποδρομίας εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγκώμιον,
εἴτ' Εύριπίδης, ὡς ὁ πολὺς κρατεῖ λόγος, εἴθ'
ἔτερός τις ἦν, Σόσσιε, φησὶν χρῆναι τῷ εὐδαίμονι
πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι “τὰν¹ πόλιν εὐδόκιμον” ἐγὼ
δὲ τῷ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλοντι τὴν ἀληθινὴν
εὐδαιμονίαν, ἥς ἐν ἥθει καὶ διαθέσει τὸ πλεῖστον
ἔστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἥγονῦμαι ἀδόξου καὶ ταπει-
νῆς πατρίδος ἢ μητρὸς ἀμόρφου καὶ μικρᾶς γε-
2 νέσθαι. γελοῖον γάρ εἴ τις οἴοιτο τὴν Ιουλίδα,
μέρος μικρὸν οὖσαν οὐ μεγάλης νήσου τῆς Κέω,
καὶ τὴν Αἴγιναν, ἥν τῶν Ἀττικῶν τις ἐκέλευεν
ώς λήμην ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ὑποκριτὰς
μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ποιητάς, ἄνδρα δ' οὐκ
ἄν ποτε δύνασθαι δίκαιον καὶ αὐτάρκη καὶ νοῦν
3 ἔχοντα καὶ μεγαλόψυχον προενεγκεῖν. τὰς γάρ
ἄλλας τέχνας εἰκός ἔστι πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἢ δόξαν
συνισταμένας ἐν ταῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπειναῖς πό-
λεσιν ἀπομαραίνεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἀρετήν, ὅσπερ
ἰσχυρὸν καὶ διαρκὲς φυτόν, ἐν ἄπαντι φίξονται
τόπῳ, φύσεώς τε χρηστῆς καὶ φιλοπόνου ψυχῆς
ἐπιλαμβανομένην. ὅθεν οὐδὲν ἡμεῖς, εἴ τι τοῦ

¹ τὰν Sintenis¹, and Graux with M^a. τὴν.

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I. THE author of the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at Olympia,¹ whether he was Euripides, as the prevailing report has it, or some other, says, Sosius,² that the first requisite to a man's happiness is birth in "a famous city"; but in my opinion, for a man who would enjoy true happiness, which depends for the most part on character and disposition, it is no disadvantage to belong to an obscure and mean city, any more than it is to be born of a mother who is of little stature and without beauty. For it were laughable to suppose that Iulis, which is a little part of the small island of Ceos, and Aegina, which a certain Athenian was urgent to have removed as an eye-sore of the Piraeus,³ should breed good actors and poets,⁴ but should never be able to produce a man who is just, independent, wise, and magnanimous. The arts, indeed, since their object is to bring business or fame, naturally pine away in obscure and mean cities; but virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, takes root in any place, if she finds there a generous nature and a spirit that shuns no labour. Wherefore we also, if we fail to live

¹ See the *Alcibiades*, chapter xi.

² One of Plutarch's Roman friends. See the note on the *Theseus*, i. 1 ³ See the *Pericles*, viii. 5.

⁴ The great poet Simonides was of Ceos, and the great actor Polus of Aegina

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φρονεῖν ὡς δεῖ καὶ βιοῦν ἐλλείπομεν, τοῦτο τῇ σμικρότητι τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς δικαίως ἀναθήσομεν.

II. Τῷ μέντοι σύνταξι ὑποβεβλημένῳ καὶ ἴστοριαν ἔξ οὐ προχείρων οὐδὲ οἰκείων, ἀλλὰ ξένων τε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ διεσπαρμένων ἐν ἑτέροις συνιοῦσαν ἀναγνωσμάτων, τῷ δοντι χρὴ πρώτον ὑπάρχειν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν εὑδόκιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὡς βιβλίων τε παντοδαπῶν ἀφθονίαν ἔχων, καὶ ὅσα τοὺς γράφοντας διαφεύγοντα σωτηρίᾳ μνήμης ἐπιφανεστέραν εἴληφε πίστιν ὑπολαμβάνων ἀκοῇ καὶ διαπυνθανόμενος, μὴ πολλῶν μηδὲ ἀναγκαίων 2 ἐνδεὲς ἀποδιδοί τὸ ἔργον. ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ σχολῆς οὔσης γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον ὑπὸ χρειῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιάζοντων, ὁφέ ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἥρξά- 3 μεθα Ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν. καὶ πρᾶγμα θαυμαστὸν μέν, ἀλλ' ἀληθὲς ἐπάσχομεν. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ὄνομάτων τὰ πράγματα συνιέναι καὶ γνωρίζειν συνέβαινεν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμῶς γέ πως εἴχομεν ἐμπειρίαν ἐπακολουθεῖν δι' αὐτὰ¹ καὶ τοῖς ὄνόμασι. κάλλους δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ τάχους αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ μεταφορᾶς ὄνομάτων καὶ ὀρμονίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς ὁ λόγος ἀγάλλεται, χάριεν μὲν ἡγού-

¹ ἐμπειρίαν . . . δι' αὐτὰ with Ma and Graux : ἐμπειρίας . . . διὰ ταῦτα (Bekker, δν . . . ἐμπειρίας).

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and think as we ought, will justly attribute this, not to the smallness of our native city, but to ourselves

II. However, when one has undertaken to compose a history based upon readings which are not readily accessible or even found at home, but in foreign countries, for the most part, and scattered about among different owners, for him it is really necessary, first and above all things, that he should live in a city which is famous, friendly to the liberal arts, and populous, in order that he may have all sorts of books in plenty, and may by hearsay and enquiry come into possession of all those details which elude writers and are preserved with more conspicuous fidelity in the memories of men. He will thus be prevented from publishing a work which is deficient in many, and even in essential things. But as for me, I live in a small city, and I prefer to dwell there that it may not become smaller still; and during the time when I was in Rome and various parts of Italy I had no leisure to practise myself in the Roman language, owing to my public duties and the number of my pupils in philosophy. It was therefore late and when I was well on in years that I began to study Roman literature. And here my experience was an astonishing thing, but true. For it was not so much that by means of words I came to a complete understanding of things, as that from things I somehow had an experience which enabled me to follow the meaning of words. But to appreciate the beauty and quickness of the Roman style, the figures of speech, the rhythm, and the other embellishments of the language, while I think it

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μεθα καὶ οὐκ ἀπερπές· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μελέτη καὶ ἀσκησις οὐκ εὐχερής, ἀλλ' οἷς τισι πλείων τε σχολὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ὥρας ἔτι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιχωρεῖ φιλοτιμίας.

III. Διὸ καὶ γράφοντες ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ, τῶν παραλλήλων βίων δυτὶ πέμπτῳ, περὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς διαθέσεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐπισκεψόμεθα, τὸ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀντεξέταξεν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι πότερος 2 ἡδίων ἡ δεινότερος εἰπεῖν, ἔασομεν. “Κακὴ γάρ,” ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἱων, “ἡ δελφῖνος ἐν χέρσῳ βίᾳ,”¹ ἦν ὁ περιττὸς ἐν ἄπασι Κεκίλιος ἀγνοήσας ἐνεανιεύσατο σύγκρισιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος ἔξενεγκεῖν. ἀλλὰ γάρ ἵσως, εἰ παντὸς ἦν τὸ “Γυνώθι σαυτὸν” ἔχειν πρόχειρον, οὐκ ἀνέδοκει πρόσταγμα θεῖον εἶναι.

Δημοσθένην γάρ καὶ Κικέρωνα τὸν αὐτὸν 3 ἔοικε πλάττων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ δαιμων πολλὰς μὲν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμοιοτήτων, ὁσπερ τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλελεύθερον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, πρὸς δὲ κινδύνους καὶ πολέμους ἀτολμον, πολλὰ δ' ἀναμῖξαι καὶ τῶν τυχηρῶν. δύο γάρ ἐτέρους οὐκ ἀν εὑρεθῆναι δοκῶ ρήτορας ἐκ μὲν ἀδόξων καὶ μικρῶν ἴσχυρονς καὶ μεγάλους γενομένους, προσκρούσαντας δὲ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράννοις, θυγατέρας δ' ἀποβαλόντας, ἐκπεσόντας δὲ τῆς πατρίδος, κατελθόντας δὲ μετὰ τιμῆς,

¹ Κακὴ βίᾳ αἱ ταῦται trimeter (Nauk, *Trag Graec Frag.* ² p. 744), restored by Reiske. Κάκει. . . Ιων, δελφῖνος βίᾳ (for in this attempt the dolphin might be on dry land).

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a graceful accomplishment and one not without its pleasures, still, the careful practice necessary for attaining this is not easy for one like me, but appropriate for those who have more leisure and whose remaining years still suffice for such pursuits.

III Therefore, in this fifth book¹ of my Parallel Lives, where I write about Demosthenes and Cicero, I shall examine their actions and their political careers to see how their natures and dispositions compare with one another, but I shall make no critical comparison of their speeches, nor try to show which was the more agreeable or the more powerful orator. "For useless," as Ion says, "is a dolphin's might upon dry ground," a maxim which Caecilius, who goes to excess in everything, forgot when he boldly ventured to put forth a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero. But really it is possible that, if the "Know thyself" of the oracle² were an easy thing for every man, it would not be held to be a divine injunction.

In the case of Demosthenes and Cicero, then, it would seem that the Deity originally fashioned them on the same plan, implanting in their natures many similarities, such as their love of distinction, their love of freedom in their political activities, and their lack of courage for wars and dangers, and uniting in them also many similarities of fortune. For in my opinion two other orators could not be found who, from small and obscure beginnings, became great and powerful; who came into conflict with kings and tyrants; who lost each a daughter; who were banished from their native cities and returned with honour, and who, after

¹ See the note on the *Dion* n 4

² At Delphi.

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ἀποδράντας δ' αὖθις καὶ ληφθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἔμα δὲ παυσαμένη τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν 4 ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν βίον συγκαταστρέψαντας· ὥστε, εἰ γένουιτο τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καθάπερ τεχνίταις ἄμιλλα, χαλεπῶς ἀν διακριθῆναι πότερον αὐτῇ τοῖς τρόποις ἢ τοῖς πρώγμασιν ἐκείνη τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁμοιοτέρους ἀπείργασται. λεκτέον δὲ περὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου πρότερον.

ΙV. Δημοσθένης ὁ πατήρ Δημοσθένους ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἴστορεὶ Θεόπομπος, ἐπεκαλείτο δὲ μαχαιροποιὸς ἐργαστήριον ἔχων μέγα καὶ δούλους τεχνίτας τοὺς τοῦτο πράττοντας. ἂ δ' Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ εἴρηκε περὶ τῆς μητρός, ὡς ἐκ Γύλωνός τυνος ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ προδοσίας φεύγοντος ἐξ ἀστεος γεγόνοι καὶ βαρβάρου γυναικός, οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν εἴτ' ἀληθῶς εἴρηκεν εἴτε βλασφημῶν καὶ καταψευδόμενος.
2 ἀπολευφθεὶς δ' ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπταέτης ἐν εὐπορίᾳ (μικρὸν γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν ἡ σύμπασα τίμησις αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας πεντεκαΐδεκα ταλάντων) ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἡδικήθη, τὰ μὲν νοσφισταμένων, τὰ δ' ἀμελησάντων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν 3 διδασκάλων αὐτοῦ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποστερῆσαι. διά τε δὴ τοῦτο τῶν ἐμμελῶν καὶ προσηκόντων ἐλευθέρῳ παιδὶ μαθημάτων ἀπαίδευτος δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν καὶ θρύψιν, οὐ προιεμένης τοῖς πόνοις τῆς μητρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδὲ προσβιαζομένων τῶν παιδαγωγῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάτισχνος καὶ νοσώδης, καὶ τὴν λοιδορου-

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taking to flight again and being captured by their enemies, ended their lives as soon as their countrymen ceased to be free. So that, if there should be a competition between nature and fortune, as between artists, it would be difficult to decide whether the one made the men more alike in their characters, or the other in the circumstances of their lives. But I must speak of the more ancient first.

IV. Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, belonged to the better class of citizens, as Theopompus tells us, and was surnamed Cutler, because he had a large factory and slaves who were skilled workmen in this business. But as for what Aeschines the orator says of the mother of Demosthenes,¹ namely, that she was a daughter of one Gylon, who was banished from the city on a charge of treason, and of a barbarian woman, I cannot say whether he speaks truly, or is uttering slander and lies. However, at the age of seven, Demosthenes was left by his father in affluence, since the total value of his estate fell little short of fifteen talents;² but he was wronged by his guardians, who appropriated some of his property to their own uses and neglected the rest, so that even his teachers were deprived of their pay. It was for this reason, as it seems, that he did not pursue the studies which were suitable and proper for a well-born boy, and also because of his bodily weakness and fragility, since his mother would not permit him to work hard in the palaestra, and his tutors would not force him to do so. For from the first he was lean and sickly, and his

¹ *On the Crown*, §§ 171 f

² A talent was equivalent to about £235, or \$1,200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money.

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μένην ἐπωνυμίαν, τὸν Βάταλον, εἰς τὸ σῶμα λέγεται σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν λαβεῖν.
4 ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάταλος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι φασιν, αὐλητῆς τῶν κατεαγότων, καὶ δραμάτιον εἰς τοῦτο κωμῳδῶν αὐτὸν Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. ἔνιοι δέ τινες ὡς ποιητοῦ τρυφερὰ καὶ παροίνια γράφοντος τοῦ Βατάλου μέμνηται. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐκ εὐπρεπῶν τι λεχθῆναι τοῦ σώματος μορίων παρὰ 5 τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς τότε καλεῖσθαι βάταλος. ὁ δὲ Ἀργᾶς (καὶ τοῦτο γάρ φασι τῷ Δημοσθένει γενέσθαι παρώνυμον) ἦν πρὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὡς θηριώδη καὶ πικρὸν ἐτέθη· τὸν γὰρ ὄφιν ἔνιοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀργάνην ὀνομάζουσιν· ἦν πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἀνιδῶτα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους· καὶ γὰρ Αργας τούνομα ποιητὴς ἦν σόμων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀργαλέων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ.¹

Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὄρμῆς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ φασι τοιαύτην γενέσθαι. Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὴν περὶ Ὁρωποῦ κρίσιν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ μέλλοντος ἦν προσδοκία τῆς δίκης μεγάλη διὰ τέ τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμιν, ἀνθοῦντος τότε μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν οὖσαν 2 περιβόητον. ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ τῶν παιδαγωγῶν συντιθεμένων τῇ δίκῃ παρατυχεῖν, ἔπεισε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδαγωγὸν δεόμενος καὶ προθυμούμενος ὅπως αὐτὸν

¹ After these words Bekker retains the κατὰ Ηλάτωνα which Coraes, Sintenis, and Graux, after Wittgenbach, reject as a gloss. Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, p. 220, c.

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opprobrious surname of Batalus is said to have been given him by the boys in mockery of his physique. Now Batalus, as some say, was an effeminate flute-player, and Antiphanes wrote a farce in which he held him up to ridicule for this. But some speak of Batalus as a poet who wrote voluptuous verses and drinking songs. And it appears that one of the parts of the body which it is not decent to name was at that time called Batalus by the Athenians. But the name of Argas (for they tell us that Demosthenes had this nickname also) was given him either with reference to his manners, which were harsh and savage, the snake being called “argas” by some of the poets; or with reference to his way of speaking, which was distressing to his hearers, Argas being the name of a composer of vile and disagreeable songs. So much on this head.

V. The origin of his eager desire to be an orator, they tell us, was as follows. Callistratus the orator was going to make a plea in court on the question of Oropus,¹ and the trial was eagerly awaited, not only because of the ability of the orator, who was then at the very height of his reputation, but also because of the circumstances of the case, which was notorious. Accordingly, when Demosthenes heard the teachers and tutors agreeing among themselves to be present at the trial, with great importunity he persuaded his own tutor to

¹ In 366 B.C. Oropus, a town on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, was wrested from Athens by the Thebans. Subsequently there was a trial for treason at Athens, in which Callistratus the orator and Chabrias the general figured, but the details of the trial are obscure

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ἀγάγοι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν. ὁ δὲ ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς
ἀνοίγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια δῆμοσίους συνήθειαν,
εὐπόρησε χώρας ἐν ᾧ καθήμενος ὁ παῖς ἀδήλως
3 ἀκούσεται τῶν λεγομένων. εὐημερήσαντος δὲ
τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θαυμασθέντος ὑπερφυῶς,
ἔκεινου μὲν ἔξήλωσε τὴν δόξαν, ὅρῳν προπεμπό-
μενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ μακαριζόμενον, τοῦ
δὲ λόγου μᾶλλον ἔθαύμασε καὶ κατενόησε τὴν
ἰσχὺν ὡς πάντα¹ χειροῦσθαι καὶ τιθασεύειν
πεφυκότος. δῆθεν ἔάσας τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα καὶ
τὰς παιδικὰς διατριβάς, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἥσκει καὶ
διεπόνει τὰς μελέταις, ὡς ἀν τῶν λεγόντων
4 ἐσόμενος καὶ αὐτός. ἔχρησατο δὲ Ἰσαίω πρὸς
τὸν λόγον ὑφηγητῆ, καίπερ Ἰσοκράτους τότε
σχολάζοντος, εἴτε, ὡς τινες λέγουσι, τὸν ὠρισμένον
μισθὸν Ἰσοκράτει τελέσται μὴ δυνάμενος, τὰς
δέκα μνᾶς, διὰ τὴν ὄρφανίαν, εἴτε μᾶλλον τοῦ
Ἰσαίου τὸν λόγον ὡς δραστήριον καὶ πανοῦρ-
5 γον ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν ἀποδεχόμενος. "Ερμππος
δέ φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν ἐν
οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένην συνεσχολακέναι
Πλάτωνι καὶ πλείστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους ὀφελῆ-
σθαι, Κτησιβίου δὲ μέμνηται λέγοντος παρὰ
Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων τὰς
Ἰσοκράτους τέχνας καὶ τὰς Ἀλκιδάμαντος κρύφα
λαβόντα τὸν Δημοσθένην καταμαθεῖν.

VI. 'Ως γοῦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπι-
τρόποις ἤρξατο δικάζεσθαι καὶ λογογραφεῖν ἐπ'

¹ ὡς πάντα Graux with M^a. πάντα

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take him to the hearing. This tutor, having an acquaintance with the public officials who opened the courts, succeeded in procuring a place where the boy could sit unseen and listen to what was said. Callistratus won his case and was extravagantly admired, and Demosthenes conceived a desire to emulate his fame, seeing him escorted on his way by the multitude and congratulated by all; but he had a more wondering appreciation of the power of his oratory, which was naturally adapted to subdue and master all opposition. Wherefore, bidding farewell to his other studies and to the usual pursuits of boyhood, he practised himself laboriously in declamation, with the idea that he too was to be an orator. He also employed Isaeus as his guide to the art of speaking, although Isocrates was lecturing at the time; either, as some say, because he was an orphan and unable to pay Isocrates his stipulated fee of ten minas,¹ or because he preferred the style of Isaeus for its effectiveness and adaptability in actual use. But Hermippus says that he once came upon some anonymous memoirs in which it was recorded that Demosthenes was a pupil of Plato and got most help from him in his rhetorical studies. He also quotes Ctesibius as saying that from Callias the Syracusan and certain others Demosthenes secretly obtained the rhetorical systems of Isocrates and Alcidamas and mastered them.

VI. However this may be, when Demosthenes came of age he began to bring suits against his guardians and to write speeches attacking them.

¹ Equivalent to about £40, or \$200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money

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αύτοὺς πολλὰς διαδύσεις καὶ παλινδικίας εὑρίσκουντας, ἐγγυμναστάμενος, κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην, ταῖς μελέταις οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδὲ ἀργῶς, κατευτυχήσας ἐκπρᾶξαι μὲν οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν ἡδυνήθη μέρος τῶν πατρῷων, τόλμαν δὲ πρὸς τὸ λέγειν καὶ συνήθειαν ἵκανὴν λαβὼν καὶ γενσάμενος τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἄγωνας φιλοτιμίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπεχείρησεν εἰς μέσον παριέναι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν.

2 Καθάπερ Λαομέδοντα τὸν Ὄρχομένιον λέγουσι καχεξίαν τινὰ σπληνὸς ἀμυνόμενον δρόμοις μακροῖς χρῆσθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν κελευσάντων, εἴθ' οὕτως διαπονήσαντα τὴν ἔξιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγώσι καὶ τῶν ἄκρων γενέσθαι δολιχοδρόμων, οὕτως τῷ Δημοσθένει συνέβη τὸ πρώτον ἐπανορθώσεως ἔνεκα τῶν ἴδιων ἀποδύντι πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, ἐκ τούτου κτησαμένῳ δειπότιτα καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῦς ἥδη καθάπερ στεφανίταις ἀγώσι πρωτεύειν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγωνιζομένων πολιτῶν.

3 Καίτοι τό γε πρώτον ἐντυγχάνων τῷ δήμῳ θορύβοις περιέπιπτε καὶ κατεγελάτο δι' ἀήθειαν, τοῦ λόγου συγκεχύσθαι ταῖς περιόδοις καὶ βεβασανίσθαι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι πικρῶς ἄγαν καὶ κατακόρως δοκοῦντος. ἦν δέ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ φωνῆς ἀσθένεια καὶ γλώττης ἀσάφεια καὶ πνεύματος κολοβότης ἐπιταράπτουσα τὸν νοῦν τῶν 4 λειγομένων τῷ διασπάσθαι τὰς περιόδους. τέλος δὲ ἀποστάντα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ῥευμβόμενον ἐν Πει-

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They devised many evasions and new trials, but Demosthenes, after practising himself in these exercises, as Thucydides says,¹ not without toil and danger, won his cause, although he was able to recover not even a small fraction of his patrimony. However, he acquired sufficient practice and confidence in speaking, and got a taste of the distinction and power that go with forensic contests, and therefore essayed to come forward and engage in public matters. And just as Laomedon the Orchomenian—so we are told—practised long-distance running by the advice of his physicians, to ward off some disease of the spleen, and then, after restoring his health in this way, entered the great games and became one of the best runners of the long course, so Demosthenes, after applying himself to oratory in the first place for the sake of recovering his private property, by this means acquired ability and power in speaking, and at last in public business, as it were in the great games, won the first place among the citizens who strove with one another on the bema.

And yet when he first addressed the people he was interrupted by their clamours and laughed at for his inexperience, since his discourse seemed to them confused by long periods and too harshly and immoderately tortured by formal arguments. He had also, as it would appear, a certain weakness of voice and indistinctness of speech and shortness of breath which disturbed the sense of what he said by disjoining his sentences. And finally, when he had forsaken the assembly and was wandering about

¹ Καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κυδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιοῦμενοι (i. 18, 3 of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians)

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ραιεῖ δι' ἀθυμίαν Εὔνομος ὁ Θριάσιος ἥδη πάνυ γέρων θεατάμενος ἐπετίμησεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον ἔχων ὄμοιότατον τῷ Περικλέους προδίδωσιν ὑπ' ἀτολμίας καὶ μαλακίας ἤαυτόν, οὔτε τοὺς δχλους; ὑφιστάμενος εὐθαρσῶς, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τοὺς ἄγωνας ἔχαρτυόμενος, ἀλλὰ τρυφῆ περιορῶν μαραινόμενον.

VII. Πάλιν δέ ποτε φασιν ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντος οἰκαδε συγκεχυμένου¹ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος ἐπακολουθήσαι Σάτυρον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν ἐπιτίδειον δύτα καὶ συνελθεῖν. ὁδυρομένου δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι πάντων φιλοπονώτατος ὡν τῶν λεγόντων καὶ μικροῦ δέων καταναλωκέναι τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀκμὴν εἰς τοῦτο χάριν οὐκ ἔχει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλὰ κραιπταλῶντες ἄνθρωποι ναῦται καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἀκούονται καὶ 2 κατέχουσι τὸ βῆμα, παρορᾶται δ' αὐτός, “Ἄληθῆ λέγεις, ὁ Δημόσθενες,” φάναι τὸν Σάτυρον, “ἀλλ' ἔγὼ τὸ αἴτιον ίάσομαι ταχέως, ἢν μοι τῶν Εὐριπίδου τινὰ ρήσεων ἡ Σοφοκλέους ἐθελήσῃς εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ στόματος.” εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους μεταλαβόντα τὸν Σάτυρον οὕτω πλάσαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν ἐν ἥθει πρέποντι καὶ διαθέσει τὴν αὐτὴν ρήσιν ωσθ' δλως ἐτέραν τῷ Δημοσθένει φανῆναι. πεισθέντα δ' ὅσον ἐκ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τῷ λόγῳ κόσμον καὶ χάριτος πρόσεστι, μικροῦ ἥγήσασθαι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τὴν ἀσκησὶν ἀμελοῦντι τῆς προφορᾶς καὶ διαθέσεως τῶν λεγο- 3 μένων. ἐκ τούτου κατάγειον μὲν οἰκοδομῆσαι

¹ συγκεχυμένου Graux with Ma: συγκεκαλυμμένου (with muffed head).

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dejectedly in the Piraeus, Eunomus the Thriasian, who was already a very old man, caught sight of him and upbraided him because, although he had a style of speaking which was most like that of Pericles, he was throwing himself away out of weakness and lack of courage, neither facing the multitude with boldness, nor preparing his body for these forensic contests, but suffering it to wither away in slothful neglect.

VII. At another time, too, they say, when he had been rebuffed by the people and was going off homewards disconcerted and in great distress, Satyrus the actor, who was a familiar acquaintance of his, followed after and went indoors with him. Demosthenes lamented to him that although he was the most laborious of all the orators and had almost used up the vigour of his body in this calling, he had no favour with the people, but debauchees, sailors, and illiterate fellows were listened to and held the bema, while he himself was ignored. "You are right, Demosthenes," said Satyrus, "but I will quickly remedy the cause of all this, if you will consent to recite off-hand for me some narrative speech from Euripides or Sophocles." Demosthenes did so, whereupon Satyrus, taking up the same speech after him, gave it such a form and recited it with such appropriate sentiment and disposition that it appeared to Demosthenes to be quite another. Persuaded, now, how much of ornament and grace action lends to oratory, he considered it of little or no use for a man to practise declaiming if he neglected the delivery and disposition of his words. After this, we are told, he built a subterranean

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μελετητήριον, ὃ δὴ διεσώζετο καὶ καθ' ίμᾶς,
ἐνταῦθα δὲ πάντως μὲν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας κατιόντα
πλάττειν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ διαπονεῖν τὴν φωνὴν,
πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μῆνας ἔξῆς δύο καὶ τρεῖς συνά-
πτειν, ξυρούμενον τῆς κεφαλῆς θάτερον μέρος
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ βουλομένῳ πάντι προελθεῖν ἐνδέ-
χεσθαι δι' αἰσχύνην.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς
ἐντεύξεις καὶ λόγους καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑποθέσεις
ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἀφορμὰς τοῦ φιλοπονεῖν. ἀπαλ-
λαγεῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν τάχιστα κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ
μελετητήριον, καὶ διεξῆρε τάς τε πράξεις ἐφεξῆς
2 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογισμούς. ἔτι δὲ τὸν
λόγους οἷς παρέτυχε λεγομένους, ἀναλαμβάνων
εἰς ἑαυτὸν εἰς γνώμας ἀνῆγε καὶ περιόδους, ἐπαν-
ορθώσεις τε παντοδαπὰς καὶ μεταφράσεις ἐκαινο-
τόμει τῶν εἰρημένων ὑφ' ἑτέρου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἢ
ὑφ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν πρὸς ἄλλον. ἐκ τούτου δόξαν
εἶχεν ὡς οὐκ εὐφυῆς ὁν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πόνου συγκει-
3 μένη δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει χρώμενος. ἐδόκει τε
τούτου σημεῖον εἶναι μέγα τὸ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἀκούσαί
τινα Δημοσθένους ἐπὶ καιροῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
καθήμενον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πολλάκις τοῦ δῆμου
καλοῦντος ὀνομαστὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τύχοι
πεφροντικῶς καὶ παρεσκευασμένος. εἰς τοῦτο
δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἔχλεύαζον
αὐτόν, καὶ Πυθέας ἐπισκώπτων ἐλλυχνίων ἔφη-

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study, which, in fact, was preserved in our time,¹ and into this he would descend every day without exception in order to form his action and cultivate his voice, and he would often remain there even for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head in order that shame might keep him from going abroad even though he greatly wished to do so.

VIII. Nor was this all, but he would make his interviews, conversations, and business with those outside, the foundation and starting point for eager toil. For as soon as he parted from his associates, he would go down into his study, and there would go over his transactions with them in due order, and the arguments used in defence of each course. And still further, whatever speeches he chanced to hear delivered he would take up by himself and reduce to propositions and periods, and he would introduce all sorts of corrections and changes of expression into the speeches made by others against himself, or, contrariwise, by himself against others. Consequently it was thought that he was not a man of good natural parts, but that his ability and power were the product of toil. And there would seem to be strong proof of this in the fact that Demosthenes was rarely heard to speak on the spur of the moment, but though the people often called upon him by name as he sat in the assembly, he would not come forward unless he had given thought to the question and was prepared to speak upon it. For this, many of the popular leaders used to rail at him, and Pytheas, in particular, once told him scoffingly that his arguments smelt of lamp-

¹ An erroneous tradition identifies this with the choragic monument of Lysicrates (the "Lantern of Demosthenes").

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4 σεν ὅζειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν
ἡμεῖνφατο πικρῶς ὁ Δημοσθένης· “Οὐ ταῦτά
γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, ὁ Πυθέα, ὁ λύχνος
σύνοιδε.” πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐ παντάπασιν
ἥν ἔξαρνος, ἀλλ’ οὕτε γράψις οὔτ’ ἄγραφα
κομιδῆ λέγειν ὡμολόγει. καὶ μέντοι δημοτικὸν
ἀπέφαινεν ἄνδρα τὸν λέγειν μελετῶντα· θερα-
πείας γάρ εἶναι τοῦτο δόγμου παρασκευήν, τὸ δ’
ὅπως ἔξουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀφρον-
τιστεῖν ὀλιγαρχικοῦ καὶ βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθοῦ
5 προσέχοντος. τῆς δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀτολμίας αὐτοῦ
καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται σημεῖον, ὅτι Δημάδης μὲν
ἐκείνῳ φορυβηθέντι πολλάκις ἀναστὰς ἐκ προ-
χείρου συνεῖπεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδέποτε Δημάδη.

IX Πόθεν οὖν, φαίη τις ἄν, ὁ Αἰσχίνης πρὸς
τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατον ἀπε-
κάλει τὸν ἄνδρα; πῶς δὲ Πύθων τῷ Βυζαντίῳ
θρασυνομένῳ καὶ ρέοντι πολλῷ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων ἀναστὰς μόνος ἀντεῖπεν, ἢ Λαμάχου τοῦ
Μυριναίου γεγραφότος ἐγκώμιον Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ
Φιλίππου τῶν βασιλέων, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ Θηβαίους
2 καὶ Ὀλυμθίους εἰρήκει κακῶς, καὶ ἀναγινώσκον-
τος Ὀλυμπίασι, παραστὰς καὶ διεξελθὼν μεθ’
ἴστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως ὅσα Θηβαῖοις καὶ Χαλ-
κιδεῦσιν ὑπάρχει καλὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ

¹ See Aeschines, *On the Crown*, § 152.

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wicks. To him, then, Demosthenes made a sharp answer. “Indeed,” said he, “thy lamp and mine, O Pytheas, are not privy to the same pursuits.” To the rest, however, he made no denial at all, but confessed that his speeches were neither altogether unwritten, nor yet fully written out. Moreover, he used to declare that he who rehearsed his speeches was a true man of the people: for such preparation was a mark of deference to the people, whereas heedlessness of what the multitude will think of his speech marks a man of oligarchical spirit, and one who relies on force rather than on persuasion. Another circumstance, too, is made a proof of his lack of courage for an emergency, namely, that when he was interrupted by the clamours of the people, Demades often rose and spoke off-hand in his support, but he never rendered such a service to Demades.

IX. How, then, some one might say, could Aeschines call him a man of the most astonishing boldness in his speeches?¹ And how was it that, when Python of Byzantium² was inveighing with much boldness and a great torrent of words against the Athenians, Demosthenes alone rose up and spoke against him? Or how did it happen that, when Lamachus the Myrinaean had written an encomium on Kings Philip and Alexander, in which many injurious things were said of Thebes and Olynthus, and while he was reading it aloud at Olympia,³ Demosthenes came forward and rehearsed with historical proofs all the benefits which the peoples of Thebes and Chalcidice had conferred upon Greece, and, on the other

² An envoy of Philip to the Athenian assembly, in 343 B.C.
See Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, § 136. ³ In 324 B.C.

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πάλιν ὅσων αἴτιοι γεγόνασι κακῶν οἱ κολακεύοντες Μακεδόνας, οὕτως ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς παρόντας ὥστε δέσαντα τῷ θορύβῳ τὸν σοφιστὴν ὑπεκδῦναι τῆς πανηγύρεως;

- 3 Ἄλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ Ηερικλέους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγήσασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλάσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ ταχέως μηδὲ εἰς παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου λέγειν, ὥσπερ ἐκ τούτων μεγάλον γεγονότος, ζηλῶν καὶ μιμουμένος, οὐ πάνυ προσίσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ δόξαν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τύχῃ πολλάκις ἐκὼν εἶναι ποιεῖ·
4 σθαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ τόλμαν γε καὶ θάρσος οἱ λεχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τῶν γραφέντων μᾶλλον εἰχον, εἴ τι δεῖ πιστεύειν Ἐρατοσθένει καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. ὃν Ἐρατοσθένης μέν φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλαχοῦ γεγονέναι παράβακχον, ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς τὸν ἔμμετρον ἐκένον ὄρκον ὁμοσαι ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντα·

μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα.

- 5 τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μέν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ ὁ ωποπερπερήθραν, ὁ δὲ παρασκώπτων ὡς χρώμενον τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ φησὶν οὕτως.

A. ἀπέλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν.

B. ἡγάπησεν ἀν
τὸ ρῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

¹ Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii. p. 128. From Plutarch's *Morals*, p 845b, it is to be inferred rather that this was a verse of Antiphanes ridiculing the perfervid manner of Demosthenes. ² Kock, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 461.

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hand, all the evils of which the flatterers of the Macedonians had been the cause, and thereby so turned the minds of the audience that the sophist was terrified at the outcry against him and slunk away from the festival assemblage?

But although Demosthenes, as it would appear, did not regard the other characteristics of Pericles as suitable for himself, he admired and sought to imitate the formality of his speech and bearing, as well as his refusal to speak suddenly or on every subject that might present itself, as if his greatness was due to these things; but he by no means sought the reputation which is won in a sudden emergency, nor did he often of his own free will stake his influence upon chance. However, those orations which were spoken off-hand by him had more courage and boldness than those which he wrote out, if we are to put any confidence in Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comic poets. Of these, Eratosthenes says that often in his speeches Demosthenes was like one frenzied, and the Phalercean says that once, as if under inspiration, he swore the famous metrical oath to the people:—

“By earth, by springs, by rivers, and by streams.”¹
Of the comic poets, one calls him a “rhopopercerethras,” or *trumpery-braggart*,² and another, ridiculing his use of the antithesis, says this:—

(First slave) “My master, as he took, retook.”

(Second slave (?)) “Demosthenes would have been delighted to take over this phrase.”³

¹ Kock, *op. cit.*, II p 80. A verse precedes which may be translated .. “My master, on receiving all his patrimony,” and the point apparently is that the heir took what was a gift as his rightful due.

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έκτὸς εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀλοννήσου λόγον ὁ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τουτὶ πέπαιχεν, ἢν Ἀθηναῖοις Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ’ ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ Φιλίππου.

X. Πλὴν τόν γε Δημάδην πάντες ώμολόγουν τῇ φύσει χρώμενον ἀνίκητον εἶναι, καὶ παραφέρειν αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα τὰς τοῦ Δημοσθένους σκέψεις καὶ παρασκευάς. Ἀρίστων δ’ ὁ Χῖος καὶ Θεοφράστου τινὰ δόξαν ἴστορηκε περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων. ἔρωτηθέντα γὰρ ὅποιός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ῥήτωρ ὁ Δημοσθένης, εἰπεῖν “Ἄξιος τῆς πόλεως.”
2 δόποιος δὲ Δημάδης, “Τπέρ τὴν πόλιν.” ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πολύευκτον ἴστορεῖ τὸν Σφήτιον, ἔνα τῶν τότε πολιτευομένων Ἀθήνησιν, ἀποφαίνεσθαι μέγιστου μὲν εἶναι ῥήτορα Δημοσθένην, δυνατώτατον δὲ εἰπεῖν Φωκίωνα· πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῃ λέξει νοῦν ἐκφέρειν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην φασὶν αὐτόν, ὁσάκις ἀν¹ ἀντερῶν αὐτῷ Φωκίων ἀναβαίνοι, λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις· “Ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπὶς
3 ἀνίσταται.” τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἀδηλον εἴτε πρὸς τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης εἴτε πρὸς τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπεπόνθει, πολλῶν πάνυ καὶ μακρῶν περιόδων ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ νεῦμα πίστιν ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου κυριώτερον ἡγούμενος.

XI. Τοῖς δὲ σωματικοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τοιαύτην ἐπῆγεν ἀσκησιν, ὡς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἴστο-

¹ *τὸν* omitted by Bekker, after Coraes and Schaefer; also by Graux with ¹ M^a

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Unless, indeed, this, too, was a jest of Antiphanes upon the speech of Demosthenes concerning Halonnesus,¹ in which the orator counselled the Athenians not to take the island from Philip, but to re-take it.

X Still, all men used to agree that Demades, in the exercise of his natural gifts, was invincible, and that when he spoke on the spur of the moment he surpassed the studied preparations of Demosthenes. And Ariston the Chian records an opinion which Theophrastus also passed upon the two orators. When he was asked, namely, what sort of an orator he thought Demosthenes was, he replied: "Worthy of the city"; and what Demades, "Too good for the city." And the same philosopher tells us that Polyeuctus the Sphettian, one of the political leaders of that time at Athens, declared that Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the most influential speaker; since he expressed most sense in fewest words. Indeed, we are told that even Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion mounted the bema to reply to him, would say to his intimates: "Here comes the chopper of my speeches." Now, it is not clear whether Demosthenes had this feeling towards Phocion because of his oratory, or because of his life and reputation, believing that a single word or nod from a man who is trusted has more power than very many long periods.

XI. For his bodily deficiencies he adopted the exercises which I shall describe, as Demetrius the Phalerian tells us, who says he heard about them from

¹ *Or. vii.*, wrongly attributed to Demosthenes. There is in § 5 a phrase similar to the one under comment.

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ρεῖ, λέγων αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀκούειν πρεσβύτοντος γεγονότος, τὴν μὲν ἀσάφειαν καὶ τραυλότητα τῆς γλώττης ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ διαρθροῦν εἰς τὸ στόμα ψήφους λαμβάνοντα καὶ ρήσεις ἄμα λέποντα, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὰ σιμὰ προσβάσεσι διαλεγόμενοι καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἡ στίχους ἄμα τῷ πιεύματι πυκνουμένῳ προφερόμενον· εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ μέγα κάτοπτρον οἴκου, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας ἔξι ἐναντίας ἰστάμενον περαίνειν.

Λέγεται δέ, ἀνθρώπου προσελθόντος δεομένου συνηγορίας καὶ διεξιόντος ὡς ὑπό του λάβοι πληγάς, “Ἄλλὰ σύ γε,” φάναι τὸν Δημοσθένην,
3 “τούτων ὧν λέγεις οὐδὲν πέπονθας.” ἐπιτείναντος δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ βοῶντος “Ἐγώ, Δημόσθενες, οὐδὲν πέπονθα;” “Νῆ Δία,” φάναι, “νῦν ἀκούω φωνὴν ἀδικουμένου καὶ πεπονθότος.” οὕτως ὥστο μέγα πρὸς πίστιν εἶναι τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῶν λεγόντων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ὑποκρινόμενος ἥρεσκε θαυμαστῶς, οἵ δὲ χαρίευτες ταπεινὸν ἥγοῦντο καὶ ἀγεννὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ μαλακόν, ὧν καὶ Δημόσθριος
4 ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐστιν. Αἰσίωνα δέ φησιν “Ἐρμιππος, ἐρωτηθέντα περὶ τῶν πάλαι ρήτορων καὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, εἰπεύν ὡς ἀκούων μὲν ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν ἐκείνους εὐκόσμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ δῆμῳ διαλεγομένους, ἀναγινωσκόμενοι δ' οἱ Δημοσθένους λόγοι πολὺ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέρουσιν. οἵ μὲν οὖν γεγραμμένοι τῶν λόγων

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Demosthenes himself, now grown old. The indistinctness and lisping¹ in his speech he used to correct and drive away by taking pebbles in his mouth and then reciting speeches. His voice he used to exercise by discoursing while running or going up steep places, and by reciting speeches or verses at a single breath. Moreover, he had in his house a large looking-glass, and in front of this he used to stand and go through his exercises in declamation.

A story is told of a man coming to him and begging his services as advocate, and telling at great length how he had been assaulted and beaten by some one "But certainly," said Demosthenes, "you got none of the hurts which you describe." Then the man raised his voice and shouted: "I, Demosthenes, no hurts?" "Now, indeed," said Demosthenes, "I hear the voice of one who is wronged and hurt." So important in winning credence did he consider the tone and action of the speaker. Accordingly, his own action in speaking was astonishingly pleasing to most men, but men of refinement, like Demetrius the Phalerian, thought his manner low, ignoble, and weak. And Hermippus tells us that Aeson,² when asked his opinion of the ancient orators as compared with those of his own time, said that one would have listened with admiration when the older orators discoursed to the people decorously and in the grand manner, but that the speeches of Demosthenes, when read aloud, were far superior in point of arrangement and power. Now, it is needless to remark that

¹ Strictly, an inability to pronounce the letter "r," giving instead the sound of "l." See the *Alcibiades*, i. 4.

² A contemporary of Demosthenes.

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ὅτι τὸ αὐστηρὸν πολὺ καὶ πικρὸν ἔχουσι, τί ἀν
λέγοι τις; ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι ταῖς παρὰ τὸν
5 καιρὸν ἔχρητο καὶ τῷ γελοίῳ. Δημάδου μὲν γάρ
εἰπόντος “Ἐμὲ Δημοσθένης, ή ὑς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν,”
“Αὔτη,” εἶπεν, “ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ πρώην ἐν Κολλυτῷ
μοιχεύουσα ἐλήφθη.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν κλέπτην διὰ
ἐπεκαλεῖτο Χαλκοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς ἀγρυ-
πνίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μυκτογραφίας πειρώμενόν τι
λέγειν, “Οἶδα,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχιον
6 καίων. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θαυ-
μάζετε τὰς γυνομένας κλοπάς, ὅταν τοὺς μὲν
κλέπτας χαλκοῦς, τοὺς δὲ τοίχους πηλίνους
ἔχωμεν.” ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων καίπερ ἔτι πλειόν
λέγειν ἔχοντες ἐνταῦθα παυσόμεθα· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον
αὐτοῦ τρόπον καὶ τὸ ἥθος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ
τῆς πολιτείας θεωρεῖσθαι δίκαιον ἔστιν.

XII. “Ωρμησε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ
κοινὰ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος, ὡς
αὐτός τέ φησι καὶ λαβεῖν ἔστων ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλιπ-
πικῶν δημηγοριῶν. αἱ μὲν γάρ ἡδη διαπεπρα-
γμένων ἐκείνων γεγόνασιν, αἱ δὲ πρεσβύταται τῶν
ἔγγιστα πραγμάτων ἅπτονται. δῆλος δὲ ἔστι
καὶ τὴν κατὰ Μειδίου παρασκευασάμενος εἰπεῖν
δίκην δύο μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα γεγονώς ἔτη,
μηδέπω δὲ ἔχων ἴσχὺν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μηδὲ δόξαν.
2 δὲ καὶ μάλιστά μοι δοκεῖ δείσας ἐπ’ ἀργυρίῳ
καταθέσθαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἔχθραν”

οὐ γάρ τι γλυκύθυμος ἀνὴρ ἦν οὐδὲ ἀγανόφρων,

¹ 357-346 B.C.

² *On the Crown*, § 18.

About 350 B.C. The speech “Against Meidias” (*Or. xxii*) was never delivered. See § 154.

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his written speeches have much in them that is harsh and bitter; but in his extempore rejoinders he was also humorous. For instance, when Demades said: "Demosthenes teach me! As well might the sow teach Athena" "It was this Athena," said Demosthenes, "that was lately found playing the harlot in Collytus." And to the thief nicknamed Brazen, who attempted to make fun of him for his late hours and his writing at night, "I know," he said, "that I annoy you with my lighted lamp. But you, men of Athens, must not wonder at the thefts that are committed, when we have thieves of brass, but house-walls of clay." However, though I have still more to say on this head, I shall stop here; the other traits of his character, and his disposition, should be surveyed in connection with his achievements as a statesman.

XII. Well, then, he set out to engage in public matters after the Phocian war¹ had broken out, as he himself says,² and as it is possible to gather from his Philippic harangues. For some of these were made after the Phocian war was already ended, and the earliest of them touch upon affairs which were closely connected with it. And it is clear that when he prepared himself to speak in the prosecution of Meidias³ he was thirty-two years old, but had as yet no power or reputation in the conduct of the city's affairs. And his fears on this score were the chief reason, in my opinion, why he compromised his case against the man he hated for a sum of money.

"For he was not at all a sweet-tempered man or of gentle mood,"⁴

¹ *Iliad*, xx 467, of Achilles.

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ἀλλ' ἔντονος καὶ βίαιος περὶ τὰς ἀμύνας. ὁρῶι
δ' οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἔργον
ἄνδρα καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ φίλοις εὖ πε-
φραγμένου καθελεῖν, τὸν Μειδίαν, ἐνέδωκε τοὺς
3 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεομένους. αἱ δὲ τρισχίλιαι καθ'
ἔντὰς οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν Δημοσθένους
ἀμβλύναι πικρίαν, ἐλπίζοντος καὶ δυναμένου
περιγενέσθαι.

Λαβὼν δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν
πρὸς Φιλιππὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δικαιολογίαν,
καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀγωνιζόμενος ἡξίως, ταχὺ δόξαν
ἔσχε καὶ περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἥρθη καὶ
τῆς παρρησίας, ὥστε θαυμάζεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλ-
λάδι, θεραπεύεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως,
4 πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτοῦ λόγον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ
τῶν δημαργούντων, ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπε-
χθανομένους ὅτι πρὸς ἔνδοξον αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον
οἱ ἀγῶνες ἔστι. καὶ γάρ Αἰσχύνης καὶ Τπερείδης
τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦντες εἰρήκασιν.

ΧΙΠ. "Οθεν οὐκ οἴδ' ὅπως παρέστη Θεοπόμπῳ
λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀβέβαιον τῷ τρόπῳ γεγονέναι καὶ
μήτε πράγμασι μήτ' ἀνθρώποις πολὺν χρόνον
τοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν δυνάμενον. φαίνεται γάρ,
εἰς ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων μερίδα καὶ
τάξιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέστησε, ταύτην
ἄχρι τέλους διαφυλάξας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ βίῳ
μη μεταβαλόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τῷ μη
2 μεταβαλέσθαι προέμενος. οὐ γάρ, ως Δημάδης
ἀπολογούμενος διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολὴν
ἔλεγεν, αὐτῷ μὲν αὐτὸν τάναντία πολλάκις εἰρη-
κέναι, τῇ δὲ πόλει μηδέποτε, καὶ Μελάνωπος

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but vehement and violent in his requitals. However, seeing that it was no mean task and one beyond his power to overthrow a man like Meidias, who was well hedged about with wealth, oratory and friends, he yielded to those who interceded in his behalf. For it does not seem to me that the three thousand drachmas of themselves could have dulled the bitter feelings of Demosthenes if he had expected or felt able to triumph over his adversary.

But when he had once taken as a noble basis for his political activity the defence of the Greeks against Philip, and was contending worthily here, he quickly won a reputation and was lifted into a conspicuous place by the boldness of his speeches, so that he was admired in Greece, and treated with deference by the Great King; Philip, too, made more account of him than of any other popular leader at Athens, and it was admitted even by those who hated him that they had to contend with a man of mark. For both Aeschines and Hypereides say thus much for him while denouncing him.

XIII. Wherefore I do not know how it occurred to Theopomipus to say that Demosthenes was unstable in his character and unable to remain true for any length of time to the same policies or the same men. For it is apparent that after he had at the outset adopted a party and a line of policy in the conduct of the city's affairs, he maintained this to the end, and not only did not change his position while he lived, but actually gave up his life that he might not change it. For he was not like Demades, who apologised for his change of policy by saying that he often spoke at variance with himself, but never at variance with the interests of the

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ἀντιπολιτευόμενος Καλλιστράτῳ καὶ πολλάκις
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρήμασι μετατιθέμενος εἰώθει λέγειν
πρὸς τὸν δῆμον· “Ο μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐχθρός, τὸ δὲ
3 τῆς πόλεως νικάτω συμφέρον,” Νικόδημος δ' ὁ
Μεσσήνιος Κασάνδρῳ προστιθέμενος πρότερον,
εἰτ' αὐθις ὑπὲρ Δημητρίου πολιτευόμενος οὐκ ἔφη
τάναντία λέγειν, ἀεὶ γὰρ εἶναι συμφέρον ἀκ-
ροάσθαι τῶν κρατούντων, οὕτω καὶ περὶ Δη-
μοσθένους ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν οἷον ἐκτρεπομένου καὶ
πλαγιάζοντος ἡ φωνὴν ἡ πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
ἄφ' ἐνὸς καὶ ἀμεταβλήτου διαγράμματος τῆς
πολιτείας ἔνα τόνον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀεὶ⁴
4 διετέλεσε. Παναίτιος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν
λόγων αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτω γεγράφθαι τοὺς πλεί-
στους ώς μόνου τοῦ καλοῦ δί' αὐτὸς αἴρετον ὅντος,
τὸν περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου, τὸν κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους,
τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, τὸν Φιλιππικούς· ἐν οἷς
πᾶσιν οὖ πρὸς τὸ ἥδιστον ἡ ῥάστον ἡ λυσιτελέ-
στατον ἄγει τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ πολλαχοῦ τὴν
ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν οἴεται δεῖν ἐν
δευτέρᾳ τάξει τοῦ καλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ πρέ-
ποντος, ως, εἴγε τῇ περὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις αὐτοῦ
φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν λόγων εὐγενείᾳ παρῆν
ἀνδρείᾳ τε πολεμιστήριος καὶ τὸ καθαρῶς ἔκαστα
πράττειν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοιροκλέα καὶ Πολύ-
ευκτον καὶ Ὄπερειδην ἀριθμῷ τῶν ρήτορων, ἀλλ'
ἄνω μετὰ Κίμωνος καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους
ἀξιος ἦν τίθεσθαι.

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city, nor like Melanopus, who, though opposed politically to Callistratus, was often bought over by him, and then would say to the people: "The man is my enemy, it is true, but the interests of the city shall prevail", nor like Nicodemus the Messenian, who first attached himself to Cassander, and then again advocated the interests of Demetrius, but said that he was not contradicting himself, for it was always advantageous to listen to one's masters. We cannot say such things of Demosthenes also, as of one who is turned from his course and veers to and fro either in word or deed—nay, he followed one unchangeable scale, as it were, and ever held to one key in politics. And Panaetius the philosopher says that most of his speeches also are written in the conviction that the good alone is to be chosen for its own sake, as, for instance, the speech "On the Crown,"¹ the one "Against Aristocrates,"² that "For the Immunities,"³ and the Philippics;⁴ for in all these he does not try to lead his countrymen to do what is pleasantest or easiest or most profitable, but in many places thinks they ought to make their safety and preservation secondary to what is honourable and fitting, so that, if the loftiness of his principles and the nobility of his speeches had been accompanied by such bravery as becomes a warrior and by incorruptibility in all his dealings, he would have been worthy to be numbered, not with such orators as Moerocles, Polyeuctus, Hypereides, and their contemporaries, but high up with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

¹ *Or. xviii.* ² *Or. xxiii.*

³ *Or. xx. (Against Leptines)*

⁴ *Or. iv., vi., ix.*

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XIV. Τῶν γοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ Φωκίων οὐκ ἐπι
νομένης προϊστάμενος πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν
μακεδονίζειν, ὅμως δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην
οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ χείρων ἔδοξεν Ἐφιάλτου καὶ Ἀρι
2 στείδου καὶ Κίμωνος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι. Δημοσθένης
δ' οὐκ ὃν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀξιόπιστος, ὡς φησιν ὁ
Δημήτριος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν παντάπασιν
ἀπωχυρωμένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν παρὰ Φιλίππου
καὶ Μακεδονίας ἀνάλωτος ὥν, τῷ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐκ
Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων ἐπιβατὸς χρυσίφ γεγονὼς
καὶ κατακελυσμένος, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν ἰκανώτατος
ἥν τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλά, μιμήσασθαι δὲ οὐχ
ὅμοιος. ἐπεὶ τούς γε καθ' αὐτὸν ῥήτορας (ἔξω δὲ
λόγου τίθεμαι Φωκίωνα) καὶ τῷ βίῳ παρῆλθε.
3 φαίνεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας μάλιστα τῷ
δῆμῳ διαλεγόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν
πολλῶν ἀντιτείνων καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν
ἐπιφύσμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν λόγων λαβεῖν ἔστιν.
ἰστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὅτι, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπί¹
τινα προβαλλομένων αὐτὸν κατηγορίαν, ὡς δὲ οὐχ
ὑπήκουε, θορυβούντων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν “Τμεῖς
ἐμοί, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, συμβούλῳ μέν, καὶν μὴ
θέλητε, χρήσεσθε· συκοφάντῃ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀν θέλητε.”
4 σφόδρα δὲ ἀριστοκρατικὸν αὐτοῦ πολίτευμα καὶ
τὸ περὶ Ἀντιφῶντος· διν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ἀφεθέντα συλλαβών ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου

¹ Theopompus almost always displays hostility to Athens and her popular leaders.

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XIV. At any rate, Phocion, among his contemporaries, though he took the lead in a policy which is not to be commended, and though he had the reputation of favouring Macedonia, nevertheless, by reason of his bravery and integrity, was held to be in no wise inferior to Ephaltes and Aristides and Cimon. Demosthenes, however, was not worthy of confidence when he bore arms, as Demetrius says, nor was he altogether inaccessible to bribes, but though he did not succumb to the gold which came from Philip and Macedonia, that which came down in streams from Susa and Ecbatana reached and overwhelmed him, and therefore while he was most capable of praising the virtues of earlier generations, he was not so good at imitating them. For certainly the orators of his own day (though I leave Phocion out of the account) were surpassed by him even in his life and conversation. And it is manifest that beyond them all he reasoned boldly with the people, opposed himself to the desires of the multitude, and persistently attacked their faults, as may be gathered from his speeches. And even Theopompus¹ tells us that, when the Athenians nominated him to conduct a certain impeachment, and, on his refusal, raised a tumult against him, he rose and said: "Men of Athens, I will serve you as a counsellor, even though you do not wish it; but not as a false accuser, even though you wish it." Moreover, the measures which he took in the case of Antiphon² were exceedingly aristocratic in their spirit. Antiphon had been acquitted by the assembly, but Demosthenes arrested him and brought him before the council of the Areio-

² See Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, §§ 132 f.

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βουλὴν ἀνήγαγε, καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν τὸ προσκροῦσαι τῷ δῆμῳ θέμενος ἥλεγξεν ὑπεσχημένου Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν καὶ παραδοθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπέθανε. κατηγόρησε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἱερείας Θεωρίδος ὡς ἀλλα τε ῥᾳδιουργούσης πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἔξαπατάν διδασκούσης· καὶ θανάτου τιμησάμενος ἀπέκτεινε.

ΧV. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν κατὰ Τιμοθέου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λόγον, φῶν χρησάμενος Ἀπολλόδωρος εἴλε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ὄφλήματος, Δημοσθένης γράψαι τῷ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ Στέφανουν, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἡδόξησε. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Φορμίων ἡγωνίζετο λόγῳ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον, ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ ἐξ ἐνὸς μαχαιροπωλίου τὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐγχειρίδια 2 πωλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις. τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὁ μὲν κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος καὶ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους ἐτέροις ἐγράφησαν, οὕπω τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληνυθότος· δοκεῖ γὰρ δυεῖν ἡ τριῶν δέοντα ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἔξενεγκεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους· τὸν δὲ κατὰ Ἀριστογέίτονος αὐτὸς ἡγωνίσατο, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, διὰ τὸν Χαβρίου παῖδα Κτήσιππον, ὡς φησιν αὐτός, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νεανίσκου 3 μνώμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔγημε ταύτην, ἀλλὰ Σαμίᾳ

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pagus, and making no account of the offence thus given to the people, convicted him of having promised Philip to set fire to the dockyards; and Antiphon was given up to justice by the council and suffered death. He also accused the priestess Theoris of many misdemeanours, and particularly of teaching the slaves to practise deceit; and by fixing the penalty at death he brought about her execution.

XV It is said, too, that the speech which Apollodorus used in order to secure the conviction of Timotheus the general in an action for debt was written for him by Demosthenes, and likewise the speeches which Apollodorus used against Phormio and Stephanus, in which cases Demosthenes properly won discredit. For Phormio contended against Apollodorus with a speech which Demosthenes had written for him,¹ the orator thus simply selling to the disputants, as it were from one and the same cutlery-shop,² the knives with which to wound each other. Moreover, of his public orations, those against Androton³ and Timocrates⁴ and Aristocrates⁵ were written for others to pronounce, before he had as yet entered public life; for it appears that these speeches were produced when he was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. But he himself delivered the speech against Aristogeiton,⁶ as well as the one “On the Immunities,”⁷ at the instance, as he himself says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias, but as some say, because he was wooing the mother of this young man. However, he did not marry this woman, but had a certain woman of Samos

¹ *Or. xxxvi*

² See chapter iv. l.

³ *Or. xxii.*

⁴ *Or. xxiv.*

⁵ *Or. xxiii.*

⁶ *Or. xxv.*

⁷ *Or. xx.*

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τινὶ συνφύκησεν, ὡς ἴστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγυντς ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνωνύμων. ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἰσχίνου τῆς παραπρεσβείας ἀδηλον εἰ λέλεκται· καίτοι φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνας τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἀποφυγεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔοικεν οὕτως ἔχειν τάληθές, εἰ δὲν τοῖς περὶ στεφάνου γεγραμμένοις ἐκατέρων λόγοις τεκμαίρεσθαι. μέμυηται γὰρ οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἐναργῶς οὐδὲ τρανῶς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὡς ἄχρι δίκης προελθόντος. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἔτεροι διακρινοῦσι μᾶλλον.

XVI. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πολιτεία φανερὰ μὲν ἦν ἔτι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑπαρχούσης, οὐδὲν ἔντος ἀνεπιτίμητον τῶν πραττομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ταράττοντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ διακαίοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. διὸ καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅτε πρεσβεύων δέκατος ἤκεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἥκουσε μὲν πάντων Φίλιππος, ἀντεῖπε δὲ μετὰ 2 πλείστης ἐπιμελείας πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον. οὐ μὴν ἔν γε ταῖς ἀλλαις τιμαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ὅμοιοιν αὐτὸν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ προστήγητο τοὺς περὶ Αἰσχίνην καὶ Φιλοκράτην μᾶλλον. ὅθεν ἐπαινούντων ἐκείνων τὸν Φίλιππον ὡς καὶ λέγειν δυνατώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον ὁφθῆναι καὶ νὴ Δία συμπιεῖν ἵκανώτατον, ἡμαγκάζετο βασκαίνων ἐπισκώπτειν ὡς τὸ μὲν σοφιστοῦ, τὸ δὲ γυναικός, τὸ δὲ σπογγιᾶς εἴη, βασιλέως δ' οὐδὲν ἐγκώμιον.

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to wife, as Demetrius the Magnesian tells us in his work “On Persons of the Same Name.” Whether the speech denouncing the treacherous embassage of Aeschines¹ was delivered or not, is uncertain; and yet Idomeneus says that Aeschines got off by only thirty votes. But this would seem to be untrue, if we are to judge by the written speeches of both orators “On the Crown.”² For neither of them speaks clearly and distinctly of that contention as one which came to trial. This question, however, will have to be decided by others.

XVI. The political attitude of Demosthenes was manifest even while peace still lasted, for he would let no act of the Macedonian pass uncensured, but on every occasion kept rousing and inflaming the Athenians against him. Therefore Philip also made most account of him; and when Demosthenes came to Macedonia in an embassy of ten,³ Philip listened indeed to them all, but took most pains to answer his speech. As regards all other marks of honour and kindly attention, however, Philip did not treat Demosthenes as well as the others, but courted rather the party of Aeschines and Philocrates. And so when these lauded Philip as most powerful in speaking, most fair to look upon, and, indeed, as a most capable fellow-drinker, Demosthenes had to say in bitter raillery that the first encomium was appropriate for a sophist, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge, but none of them for a king.

¹ *Or. xix.*

² See the second note on xxiv. 1 f.

³ In 346 B.C. they obtained the so-called Peace of Philocrates.

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XVII Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔρρεπε τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν Φιλίππου μὴ δυναμένου τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐγειρομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, πρώτον μὲν εἰς Εύβοιαν ἐξώρμησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταδεδουλωμένην ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων Φιλίππῳ καὶ διαβάντες, ἐκείνου τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἐξῆλασαν τοὺς Μακεδόνας. δεύτερον δὲ Βυζαντίοις ἐβοήθησε καὶ Περινθίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος πολεμουμένοις, πείσας τὸν δῆμον ἀφέντα τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν ἡμαρτημένων ἐκατέροις πόλεμον ἀποστέλαι δύναμιν αὐτὸς, 3 ὃς ἦστο ἐσώθησαν. ἔπειτα πρεσβεύων καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς "Ἐλλησι καὶ παροξύνων συνέστησε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀπαντας ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὥστε σύνταξιν γενέσθαι πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων, ἵππεων δὲ δισχιλίων, ἀνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, χρήματα δὲ καὶ μισθοὺς τοῖς ἔνοις εἰσφέρεσθαι προθύμως. ὅτε καὶ φησι Θεόφραστος, ἀξιούντων τῶν συμμάχων ὄρισθῆναι τὰς εἰσφοράς, εἰπεῖν Κρωβύλον τὸν δημαγωγὸν ὡς οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται πόλεμος.

4 Ἐπηρμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐλλάδος πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καὶ συνισταμένων κατ' ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις Εὐβοέων, Ἀχαιῶν, Κορινθίων, Μεγαρέων, Λευκαδίων, Κερκυραίων, ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο τῷ Δημοσθένει τῶν ἀγώνων, Θηβαίους προσαγαγέσθαι τῇ συμ-

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XVII. And when matters were inclining at last to war, since Philip was unable to keep quiet and the Athenians were being stirred up by Demosthenes, in the first place, he urged the Athenians to invade Euboea, which had been brought into subjection to Philip by its tyrants; and it was on his motion that they crossed over to the island and drove out the Macedonians. In the second place, he came to the aid of the citizens of Byzantium and Perinthus when the Macedonian was making war upon them, by persuading the Athenian people to remit their hatred and forget the wrongs committed by each of these cities in the Social War,¹ and to send them a force,—the force which saved them. Next, he went on an embassy to the Greek states, and by arguing with them and pricking them on brought almost all of them into a league against Philip, so that they raised a mercenary force of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, apart from the citizen soldiery, and readily contributed money to pay them. It was at this time, as Theophrastus says, when the allies were demanding that their contributions be fixed within limits, that Creobylus the popular leader said: “War has no fixed rations.”²

Greece was now in suspense as it thought of the future, and its peoples and cities were leaguing themselves together, Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyraeans. But the most important struggle still remained for Demosthenes in bringing the Thebans to join

¹ At the outbreak of the Social War (357-355 B.C.) Byzantium and other allies of Athens had revolted from her.

² See the note on the *Crassus*, ii 8

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μαχίᾳ, χώραν τε σύνορον τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ δύναμιν ἐναγώνιον ἔχοντας, καὶ μάλιστα τότε τῶν 5 Ἑλλήνων εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἦν δὲ οὐρανὸις ἐπὶ προσφάτοις εὐεργετήμασι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον τετιθασευμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου μεταστῆσαι τὸν Θηβαίους, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀφιμαχίαις ἀναξιομένων ἐκάστοτε τῶν πολεμικῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλας διαφορῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

XVIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Φίλιππος ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσαν εὐτυχίας ἐπαιρόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἐλάτειαν ἔξαιφνης ἐνέπεσε καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα κατέσχεν, ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ μηδενὸς τολμῶντος ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μηδὲ ἔχοντος ὃ τι χρὴ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας οὖσης ἐν μέσῳ καὶ σιωπῆς, παρελθὼν μόνος ὁ Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε τῶν Θηβαίων ἔχεσθαι· καὶ τάλλα παραθαρρύνας καὶ μετεωρίσας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἀπεστάλη πρεσβευτὴς 2 μεθ' ἑτέρων εἰς Θήβας. ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος, ὡς Μαρσύας φησίν, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Κλέαρχον Μακεδόνας, Δάοχον δὲ Θεσσαλὸν καὶ Θρασυδάλον ἀντεροῦντας.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν συμφέρον οὐ διέφευγε τοὺς τῶν Θηβαίων λογισμούς, ἀλλ' ἐν ὅμμασιν ἔκαστος εἶχε τὰ τοῦ πολέμου δεινά, ἔτι τῶν Φωκικῶν 3 τραυμάτων νεαρῶν παραμενόντων· ή δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμις, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος, ἐκριπτέουσα

¹ In 339 B.C., Philip was deputed by the Amphictyonic Council to punish the city of Amphissa, near Delphi, for sacrilege. Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, §§ 143 ff.

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the alliance, for they had a territory bounding that of Attica and a force ready to take the field, and at that time were accounted the best soldiers in Greece. But it was no easy matter, in view of the recent benefits with which Philip had cultivated their favour during the Phocian war, to make the Thebans change sides, and especially because in the petty quarrels brought on by their proximity to Athens the differences which made for war between the two cities were all the while stirred up anew.

XVIII Philip, however, elated by his good fortune in the matter of Amphissa,¹ surprised Elateia and occupied Phocis. This step drove the Athenians out of their senses: no one ventured to ascend the bema and no one knew what ought to be said, but perplexity and silence reigned in the assembly. Then it was that Demosthenes, and he alone, came forward and advised the people to cling to Thebes; and after giving them courage in other ways and buoying them up with hopes, as he was wont to do, he was sent with others as ambassador to Thebes. Philip also, as Marsyas tells us, sent Amyntas and Clearchus of Macedonia, Daochus of Thessaly, and Thrasydaeus, to speak in opposition to the Athenians.

Well, then, the Thebans, in their calculations, were not blind to their own interests, but each of them had before his eyes the terrors of war, since their losses in the Phocian war² were still fresh; however, the power of the orator, as Theopompus says, fanned up their courage and inflamed

² The second so-called Sacred War (357-346 B.C.), in which Athens aided the Phocians, and Philip the Thebans.

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τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ διακαίουσα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπεσκότησε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὡστε καὶ φόβον καὶ λογισμὸν καὶ χάριν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐνθουσιῶντας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ καλόν. οὕτω δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἔφάν γε τὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔργον ὥστε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον εὖθὺς ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι δεόμενον εἰρήνης, ὅρθην δὲ τὴν Ἑλλαίδα γενέσθαι ⁴ καὶ συνεξαναστῆναι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ὑπηρετεῖν δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιοῦντας τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βοιωτάρχας, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας οὐδὲν ἥττον ὑπ’ ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θηβαίων ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων, ἀγαπωμένους παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους καὶ δυναστεύοντος οὐκ ἀδίκως οὐδὲ παρ’ ἀξίαν, ὥσπερ ἀποφαίνεται Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσηκόντως.

XIX. Τύχη δέ τις ἔοικε δαιμόνιος ἐν περιφορᾷ πραγμάτων, εἰς ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ συμπεραίνουσα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, καὶ πολλὰ σημεῖα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀναφαίνειν, ἐν οἷς ἢ τε Πινθία δεινὰ προῦφαινε μαντεύματα, καὶ χρησμὸς ἥδετο παλαιὸς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων.

τῆς ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχης ἀπάνευθε γενοίμην,
αἱετὸς ἐν νεφέεσσι καὶ ἡέρι θηήσασθαι.
κλαίει ὁ νικηθείς, ὃ δὲ νικήσας ἀπόλωλε.

2 Τὸν δὲ Θερμώδοντά φασιν εἶναι παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ποτάμιον μικρὸν εἰς τὸν Κηφισὸν ἐμβάλλον. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν ῥευμάτων ἵσμεν ὄνομαζόμενον, εἰκάζομεν δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Αἴμονα Θερμώδοντα λέγεσθαι τότε·

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their honourable ambition and obscured all other considerations, so that, casting away fear and calculation and feelings of obligation, they were rapt away by his words into the path of honour. And so great and glorious was the orator's success seen to be that Philip at once sent an embassy and asked for peace, while Greece was confident and up in arms to aid Demosthenes for the future; and not only did the Athenian generals assist him and do what he ordered, but also the Boeotarchs. He managed at this time all the assemblies of the Thebans no less than those of the Athenians; he was beloved by both peoples and exercised supreme power, not illegally nor unworthily, as Theopompus declares, but rather with perfect propriety.

XIX. But it would seem that some divinely ordered fortune in the revolution of affairs, which was putting an end at this time to the freedom of the Greeks, opposed their efforts, and shewed forth many signs of what was to come. Among these were the dire prophecies which the Pythian priestess made known, and an ancient oracle which was recited from the Sibylline books:—

“ From the battle on Thermodon may I be far removed,
To behold it like an eagle in clouds and upper air.
Tears are for the conquered there, and for the conqueror, death.”

Now, the Thermodon, they say, is in my native territory, in Chaeroneia, being a little river which empties into the Cephisus. But I know of no river bearing this name at the present time; I conjecture, however, that the stream now called Haemon then

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καὶ γὰρ παραρρεῖ παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὅπου κατεστρατοπέδευον οἱ "Ελλῆνες· καὶ τεκμαιρόμεθα τῆς μάχης γενομένης αἷματος ἐμπλησθέντα καὶ νεκρῶν τὸν ποταμὸν ταύτην διαλλάξαι τὴν προσ-
3 τηγορίαν. ὁ δὲ Δοῦρος οὐ ποταμὸν εἶναι φησι τὸν Θερμώδοντα, ἀλλ' ἵσταντας τινὰς σκηνὴν καὶ περιορύπτοντας ἀνδριαντίσκον εὔρειν λίθινον, ὑπὸ γραμμάτων τινῶν διασημανόμενον ὡς εἴη Θερμώδων, ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις Ἀμαζόνα φέροντα τετρωμένην. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ χρησμὸν ἄλλον ἔδεσθαι λέγοντα·

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχην μένε, παμμέλαν
ὅρνι·

τηνεί τοι κρέα πολλὰ παρέσσεται ἀνθρώπεια.

XX. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπως ἔχει, διαιτήσαι
χαλεπόν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης λέγεται τοῖς τῶν
Ἐλλήνων ὅπλοις ἐκτεθαρρηκώς, καὶ λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ
ῥώμης καὶ προθυμίας ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων προκαλου-
μένων τοὺς πολεμίους αἰρόμενος, οὗτε χρησμοῖς
ἔân προσέχειν οὔτε μαντείας ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν Πυθίαν ὑπονοεῖν ὡς φιλιππίζουσαν, ἀνα-
μιμνήσκων Ἐπαμινώνδον τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ
Περικλέους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τοιαῦτα
δειλίας ἥγομένειν προφάσεις ἔχρωντο τοῖς λο-
2 γισμοῖς. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀνὴρ ἦν ἀγαθός·
ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ καλὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὄμολογούμενον

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bore the name of Thermodon. For it flows past the Heracleum, where the Greeks had their camp; and I judge that after the battle the river was filled with *blood* and corpses and therefore received its present name in exchange.¹ Duris, however, says that this Thermodon was not a river, but that some soldiers who were pitching a tent and digging a trench about it, found a small stone figure, an inscription upon which signified that it was Thermodon,² carrying in its arms a wounded Amazon. They say also that in reference to this another oracle is recited as follows:—

“ For the battle on Thermodon wait thou, all-black bird;

There thou shalt have in abundance the flesh of men.”

XX. How this matter really stands, then, it is difficult to decide, but as for Demosthenes, he is said to have had complete confidence in the Greek forces, and to have been lifted into a state of glowing excitement by the strength and ardour of so many men eager to engage the enemy, so that he would not suffer his countrymen to give heed to oracles or listen to prophecies; nay, he even suspected the Pythian priestess of being in sympathy with Philip, reminding the Thebans of Epaminondas and the Athenians of Pericles, and declaring that those great leaders regarded things of this kind as pretexts for cowardice, and therefore followed the dictates of reason. Up to this point, then, he was a brave man; but in the battle³ he displayed no con-

¹ Deriving Αἰγαίων from αἴγα (blood).

² i.e. the god of the river Thermodon, in Cappadocia, on the banks of which the Amazons were thought to dwell. Cf. the *Theseus*, xxvii 6. ³ At Chaeroneia, 338 B.C.

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ἔργον οὐς εἶπεν ἀποδειξάμενος φέρετο λιπῶν τὴν τάξιν, ἀποδράσι αἰσχυστα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ρίψας, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς ἀσπίδος, ὡς ἔλεγε Πυθέας, αἰσχυνθείς, ἐπιγεγραμμένης γράμμασι χρυσοῖς, Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

- 3 Παραντίκα μὲν οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τῇ ίκνῃ διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἐξυβρίσας, καὶ κωμάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς μεθύων, ἥδε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ψηφίσματος πρὸς πόδα διαιρών καὶ ὑποκρούων·

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς τάδ' εἶπεν·

ἐκνήψας δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιστάντος αὐτὸν ἀγώνος ἐν υῷ λαβὼν ἔφριττε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ρήτορος, ἐν μέρει μικρῷ μιᾶς ήμέρας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀναρρῖψαι κίνδυνον ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

- 4 διնκτο δ' ἡ δόξα μέχρι τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως· κάκεννος ἐπεμψε τοῖς σατράπαις ἐπὶ θύλασσαν γράμματα, χρήματα Δημοσθένει διδόναι κελεύων, καὶ προσέχειν ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς περισπάσαι δυναμένῳ καὶ κατασχεῖν ταῖς Ἑλλη-
5 νικαῖς ταραχαῖς τὸν Μακεδόνα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐφώρασεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐπι-
στολάς τινας ἀνευρὼν τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ γράμ-
ματα τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, δηλοῦντα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

XXI. Τότε δὲ τῆς ἀτυχίας τοῦς Ἑλλησι γεγενημένης οἱ μὲν ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι ρήτορες

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duct that was honourable or consonant with his words, but forsook his post, cast away his arms, and ran away most disgracefully, nor was he ashamed to belie the inscription on his shield, as Pytheas said, whereon was written in letters of gold, "With good fortune."

Immediately after his victory, then, Philip waxed insolent for joy, and going forth in revel rout to see the bodies of the slain, and being in his cups, recited the beginning of the decree introduced by Demosthenes, dividing it into feet and marking off the time:—

"Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of Paeania,
thus moves;"¹

but when he got sober and realized the magnitude of the struggle in which he had been involved, he shuddered at the power and the ability of the orator who had forced him to hazard his empire and his life in the brief span of a single day. And the fame of this orator penetrated even to the Persian king, who sent letters to his satraps on the coast, bidding them to offer money to Demosthenes, and to pay more attention to him than to any other Greek, since he was able to distract and detain the Macedonian² with the troubles which he raised in Greece. These things, now, were discovered at a later time by Alexander, who found at Sardis certain letters of Demosthenes and documents of the King's generals, which disclosed the amount of money they had given him.

XXI. At this time, however, when their disaster fell upon the Greeks, the orators of the opposing

¹ The Greek words form an iambic tetrameter catalectic.

² Philip was threatening the invasion of Asia.

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ἐπεμβαίνοντες τῷ Δημοσθένει κατεσκευαζον εὐ-
θύνας καὶ γραφὰς ἐπ' αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐ μόνον
τούτων ἀπέλυεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν διετέλει καὶ
προκαλούμενος αὐθις ὡς εὑνουν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν,
2 ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὀστέων ἐκ Χαιρωνίας κομισθέντων
καὶ θαππομένων τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδράσιν ἔπαινον
εἰπεῖν ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ ταπεινῶς οὐδὲ ἀγεννῶς φέρων
τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὡς γράφει καὶ τραγῳδεῖ Θεό-
πομπος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμᾶν μάλιστα καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν
σύμβουλον ἀποδεικνύμενος τὸ μὴ μεταμέλεσθαι
3 τοὺς βεβουλευμένοις. τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον εἶπεν
ὁ Δημοσθένης, τοὺς δὲ ψηφίσμασιν οὐχ ἔαυτόν,
ἀλλ’ ἐν μέρει τῶν φίλων ἔκαστον ἐπέγραφεν,
ἔξιωνιζόμενος τὸν ἕδιον δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην,
ἔως αἱθις ἀνεθάρρησε Φιλίππου τελευτήσαντος.
ἔτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν εὐτυχίᾳ χρόνον
οὐ πολὺν ἐπιβιώσας· καὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ τῷ τελευ-
ταίῳ τῶν ἐπῶν ὁ χρησμὸς ἀποθεσπίσαι.

κλαίει ὁ νικηθείς, ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἀπόλωλεν.

XXII. "Εγνω μὲν οὖν κρύφα τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου
τελευτὴν ὁ Δημοσθένης, προκαταλαμβάνων δὲ
τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
προηῆθε φαιδρὸς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὡς δύναρ ἑωρα-
κὼς ἀφ' οὗ τι μέγα προσδοκᾶν Ἀθηναίοις
ἀγαθόν καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆσαν οἱ τὸν Φιλίπ-

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party assailed Demosthenes and prepared reckonings and indictments against him ; but the people not only absolved him from these, nay, they actually continued to honour him and invited him again, as a loyal man, to take part in public affairs. Consequently, when the bones of those who had fallen at Chaeroneia were brought home for burial, they assigned to him the honour of pronouncing the eulogy over the men, nor did they show a base or ignoble spirit under the calamity which had befallen them, as Theopompus writes in his inflated style, but by the special honour and respect which they paid to their counsellor they made it manifest that they did not repent of the counsels he had given them. The oration, then, was pronounced by Demosthenes, but to the decrees which he proposed he would not put his own name, but rather those of his friends, one after the other, avoiding his own as inauspicious and unfortunate, until he once more took courage upon Philip's death. And Philip died, surviving his success at Chaeroneia only a short time ;¹ and this, it would seem, was foretold by the last verse of the oracle :—

“ Tears are for the conquered there, and for the conqueror, death.”

XXII. Now, Demosthenes had secret intelligence of Philip's death, and by way of inspiring the Athenians with courage for the future, he came forth to the council with a glad countenance, declaring that he had had a dream which led him to expect some great blessing for Athens ; and not long afterwards the messengers came with tidings of

¹ Philip was assassinated by Pausanias, one of his royal bodyguard, in 336 B.C. See the *Alexander*, x. 4.

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- που θάνατον ἀπαγγέλλοντες. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔθυον
εὐαγγέλια καὶ στεφανοῦν ἐψηφίσαντο Παυσανίαν.
2 καὶ προῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔχων λαμπρὸν ἴμάτιον
ἐστεφανωμένος, ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς
αὐτοῦ τεθνηκίας, ὡς ὁ Αἰσχύνης φησὶ λοιδορῶν
ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ μισοτεκνίαν,
αὐτὸς δὲν ἀγενής καὶ μαλακός, εἰ τὰ πένθη καὶ
τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς ἡμέρου καὶ φιλοστόργου ψυχῆς
ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀλύπτως φέρειν ταῦτα
καὶ πράως ἀπεδοκίμαζεν.
- 3 Ἐγώ δ', ως μὲν ἐπὶ τθανάτῳ βασιλέως ἡμέρως
οὗτῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐν οἷς ηὔτύχησε χρησα-
μένου πταίσασιν αὐτοῖς στεφανηφορεῦν καλῶς
εἶχε καὶ θύειν, οὐκ ἀν εἴποιμι πρὸς γὰρ τῷ
νεμεσητῷ καὶ ἀγεννές, ζῶντα μὲν τιμᾶν καὶ
ποιεῖσθαι πολύτην, πεσόντος δ' ὑφ' ἐτέρου μὴ
φέρειν τὴν χαρὰν μετρίως, ἀλλ' ἐπισκιρτᾶν τῷ
νεκρῷ καὶ παιωνίζειν, ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς ἀνδρα-
4 γαθήσαντας· δῆτι μέντοι τὰς οἰκοι τύχαις καὶ
δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς ἀπολιπὼν ταῦς γυναιξὶν ὁ
Δημοσθένης, ἢ τῇ πόλει συμφέρειν φέτο, ταῦτ'
ἐπραττεν, ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τίθεμαι πολιτικῆς καὶ
ἀνδρώδους ψυχῆς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἴστάμενον
καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη καὶ πράγματα τοῖς δημοσίοις
ἐπανέχοντα τηρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ

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Philip's death. At once, then, the Athenians proceeded to make thank-offerings for glad tidings and voted a crown for Pausanias. And Demosthenes came forth in public dressed in a splendid robe and wearing a garland on his head, although his daughter had died only six days before, as Aeschines says,¹ who rails at him for this and denounces him as an unnatural father. And yet Aeschines himself was of a weak and ungenerous nature, if he considered mournings and lamentations as the signs of an affectionate spirit, but condemned the bearing of such losses serenely and without repining.

For my own part, I cannot say that it was honourable in the Athenians to crown themselves with garlands and offer sacrifices to the gods on the death of a king who, in the midst of his successes, had treated them so mildly and humanely in their reverses; for besides provoking the indignation of the gods, it was also an ignoble thing to honour him while he was alive and make him a citizen of Athens, but when he had fallen by another's hand to set no bounds to their joy, nay, to leap, as it were, upon the dead, and sing paeans of victory, as if they themselves had wrought a deed of valour. However, for leaving his domestic misfortunes and tears and lamentations to the women and going about such business as he thought advantageous to the city, I commend Demosthenes, and I hold it to be the part of a statesmanlike and manly spirit to keep ever in view the good of the community, to find support for domestic sorrows and concerns in the public welfare, and to preserve one's dignity far more than actors

¹ *Against Ctesiphon* (or *On the Crown*), § 77.

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τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τυραννικῶν προσώπων, οὓς ὁρᾶμεν οὕτε κλαίοντας οὕτε γελῶντας ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ὡς αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὁ ἄγὸν ἀπαιτεῖ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

5 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τὸν ἀτυχήσαντα μὴ περιορᾶν ἀπαργύρητον ἐν τῷ πάθει κείμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις χρῆσθαι κουφίζουσι καὶ πρὸς ἥδιον πράγματα τρέπειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ὁφθαλμῶντας ἀπὸ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ἀντιτύπων ἐπὶ τὰ χλωρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ χρώματα τὴν ὄψιν ἀπάγειν κελεύοντες, πόθεν ἂν τις ἐπαγάγοιτο βελτίω παρηγορίαν ἢ πατρίδος εὐτυχούσης ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα σύγκρασιν ποριζόμενος τοῖς βελτίοσιν ἀφανίζουσαν τὰ χείρω; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν προήχθημεν ὁρῶντες ἐπικλῶντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀποθηλύνοντα τὸν Αἰσχύλην τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πρὸς οἴκτον.

XXIII Αἱ δὲ πόλεις πάλιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀναρριπτίζοντος αὐτὰς συνίσταντο. καὶ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἐπέθεντο τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνείλον, ὅπλα τοῦ Δημοσθένους αὐτοῖς συμπαρασκευάσαντος, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς πολεμήσοντες μετ' αὐτῶν 2 παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ τὸ βῆμα κατεῖχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ στρατηγοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως ἔγραφε τὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπεγείρων πόλεμον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, παῖδα καὶ Μαργύτην ἀποκαλῶν αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν θέμενος παρῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν,

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do when they take the parts of kings and tyrants ; for these, as we see in the theatres, neither weep nor laugh according to their own inclinations, but as the subject of the action demands.

And apart from these considerations, if it is our duty not to allow the unfortunate to lie comfortless in his sorrow, but to address him with cheering words and turn his thoughts to pleasanter things (like those who tell people with sore eyes to withdraw their gaze from bright and hard colours and fix it upon those which are soft and green), how can a man obtain better consolation for his domestic griefs than by blending them with the general welfare of a prosperous country, thus making the better things obscure the worse ? These things, then, I have been led to say on seeing that many have their hearts softened to effeminate pity by this discourse of Aeschines

XXIII. The cities of Greece, under the incitations of Demosthenes, now formed themselves into a league again. The Thebans, whom Demosthenes had helped to provide with arms, fell upon their Macedonian garrison and slew many of them ; while the Athenians made preparations to go to war along with them. Demosthenes reigned supreme in the assembly, and wrote letters to the King's generals in Asia stirring them up to make war upon Alexander, whom he called a boy and a Margites.¹ When, however, Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country and came in person with his forces into Boeotia, prone lay the courage

¹ i.e. *Silly Madman*. A mock heroic poem bearing this name was attributed to Homer. Cf. Aeschines, *On the Crown*, § 160.

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- έξεκέκοπτο μὲν ἡ θρασύτης τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀπεσβήκει, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προδοθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἡγωνίσαντο καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν 3 πόλιν ἀπέβαλον. Θορύβου δὲ μεγάλου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περιεστώτος, ἀπεστάλη μὲν ὁ Δημοσθένης αἱρεθεὶς μεθ' ἔτέρων πρεσβευτὴς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δείσας δὲ τὴν ὄργην ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνεχώρησεν ὅπιστος καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀφῆκεν. εὐθὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξήτει πέμπων τῶν δημαρχῶν δέκα μέν, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις εἰρήκασιν, ὀκτὼ δ', ὡς οἱ πλείστοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων, τούσδε, Δημοσθένην, Πολύευκτον, Ἐφιάλτην, Λυκοῦργον, Μοιροκλέα, Δήμωνα, Καλλισθένην, Χαρίδημον.
- 4 "Οτε καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν προβάτων λόγον οἱ Δημοσθένης προσῆψε τῷ δήμῳ, ἀ¹ τοῖς λύκοις τοὺς κύνας ἔξεδῶκε, διηγησάμενος αὐτὸν μὲν εἴκασε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κυσὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου μαχομένοις, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Μακεδόνα μονόλικον προσηγόρευσεν. ἔτι δ', ""Ωσπερ," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἐμπόρους ὄρῳμεν, δταν ἐν τρυβλίῳ δεῦγμα περιφέρωσι, δι' ὀλίγων πυρῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς πιπράσκοντας, οὕτως ἐν ἥμιν λανθάνετε πάντας 5 αὐτοὺς συνεκδίδόντες." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἴστορης.

Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ διαπορούντων, ὁ Δημάδης λαβὼν πέντε τάλαντα παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡμολόγησε πρεσβεύσειν καὶ δεή-

¹ προσῆψε... ἂν (γραμμ. with Ma. ὡς.

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of the Athenians, and Demosthenes was extinguished, while the Thebans, betrayed by their allies, fought by themselves and lost their city.¹ Then, in the midst of the great confusion which reigned at Athens, Demosthenes was chosen and sent with others as an ambassador to Alexander, but fearing the wrath of the king he turned back at Cithaeron and abandoned the embassy.² Then straightway Alexander sent to Athens a demand for the surrender to him of ten of their popular leaders, according to Idomeneus and Duris, but according to the most and most reputable writers, only eight, namely, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Moerocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes told the Athenians the story of how the sheep surrendered their dogs to the wolves, comparing himself and his fellow-orators to dogs fighting in defence of the people, and calling Alexander "the Macedonian arch-wolf." Moreover, he said further: "Just as grain-merchants sell their whole stock by means of a few kernels of wheat which they carry about with them in a bowl as a sample, so in surrendering us you unwittingly surrender also yourselves, all of you." Such, then, is the account which Aristobulus of Cassandreia has given.

The Athenians were deliberating on this demand and were at a loss how to treat it, when Demades, for five talents which he had received from the men demanded, agreed to go on an embassy to

¹ In October, 335 B.C.

² Cf. Aeschines, *On the Crown*, § 161.

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σεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἴτε τῇ φιλίᾳ πιστεύων, εἴτε προσδοκῶν μεστὸν εὐρήσειν ὥσπερ λέοντα φόνου κεκορεσμένον. ἔπειτε δ' οὖν καὶ παρητήσατο τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Δημάδης, καὶ διήλαξεν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν.

XXIV. Ἀπελθόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλοι μὲν ἡσαν οὗτοι, ταπεινὰ δ' ἐπραττεν ὁ Δημοσθένης. κινουμένῳ δὲ Ἀγιδι τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ βραχέα συνεκινήθη πάλιν, εἰτ' ἐπτηξε, τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων οὐ συνεξαναστάντων, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγιδος πεσόντος καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συντριβέντων.

Εἰσῆχθη δὲ τότε καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφὴ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος, γραφεῖσα μὲν ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος μικρὸν ἐπάνω τῶν Χαιρωνί² κῶν, κριθεῖσα δὲ ὑστερον ἔτεσι δέκα ἐπ¹ Αριστοφῶντος, γενομένη δὲ ὡς οὐδεμία τῶν δημοσίων περιβόητος διά τε τὴν δόξαν τῶν λεγόντων καὶ τὴν τῶν δικαιζόντων εὐγένειαν, οὐ τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι τὸν Δημοσθένην τότε πλεῖστον δυναμένοις καὶ μακεδονίζουσιν οὐ προήκαντο τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον, ἀλλ' οὕτω λαμπρῶς ἀπέλυσαν ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων Αἰσχίνην μὴ μεταλαβεῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως

¹ From 333 B.C. to 330 B.C., Agis III., the king of Sparta, carried on war against Macedonia in conjunction with Persia. In the latter year he was defeated and slain by Antipater, Alexander's regent in Macedonia.

² In 336 B.C., Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes receive a golden crown for certain public services, and Aeschines indicted Ctesiphon for proposing an illegal measure. The document (*Demos, De Cor.* § 54), from which Plutarch takes

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the king and entreat him in their behalf; either because he rehed on the friendship of Alexander, or because he expected to find him sated, like a lion glutted with slaughter. At any rate, Demades persuaded the king to let the men off, and reconciled him with the city.

XXIV. So when Alexander went back to Macedonia, Demades and his associates were high in power, but Demosthenes acted a humble part. It is true that when Agis the Spartan was active in revolt Demosthenes once more made a feeble effort in his support, but then he cowered down, since the Athenians would not join in the uprising. Agis fell in battle, and the Lacedaemonians were crushed.¹

It was at this time that the indictment against Ctesiphon in the matter of the crown came on for trial. It had been prepared in the archonship of Chaerondas a little before the battle of Chaeroneia, but came on for trial ten years later² in the archonship of Aristophon. It became the most celebrated of all public causes, not only on account of the fame of the orators, but also because of the noble conduct of the judges, who, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then at the height of power and acting in the interests of Macedonia, would not vote against him, but acquitted him so decisively that Aeschines did not get a fifth part of their ballots.³ Consequently, Aeschines forsook the city at once, and spent the

the name of Chaerondas, the archon of 338, has been shown to be spurious. The case was tried in 330 B.C.

³ This made Aeschines liable to a fine of 1,000 drachmas, and made it impossible for him to bring any future action before an Athenian court.

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φχετ' ἀπιών, καὶ περὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ιωνίαν σοφιστεύων κατεβίωσε.

XXV. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' "Αρπαλος ἦκεν ἐξ Ασίας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδράς Ἀλέξανδρον, αὐτῷ τε πράγματα συνειδὼς πονηρὰ δι' ἀσωτίαν, κἀκεῖνον ἥδη χαλεπὸν ὄντα τοῖς φίλοις δεδοικώς. καταφυγόντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν νεών αὐτὸν παραδιδόντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ῥήτορες εὐθὺς ἐποφθαλμιάσαντες πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ἐβοήθουν καὶ συνέπειθον τοὺς 2 Ἀθηναίους δέχεσθαι καὶ σώζειν τὸν ἰκέτην. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελαύνειν συνεβούλευε τὸν "Αρπαλον, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς πόλεμον ἐξ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἀδίκου προφάσεως· ἡμέραις δ' ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἔχεταξομένων τῶν χρημάτων ἵδων αὐτὸν ὁ "Αρπαλος ἥσθεντα βαρβαρικῇ κύλικι καὶ καταμανθάνοντα τὴν τορείαν καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐκέλευσε διαβαστάσαντα τὴν ὄλκην τοῦ χρυσίου σκέφασθαι. 3 θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ βάρος καὶ πυθομένου πόσον ἄγει, μειδιάσας ὁ "Αρπαλος, "Ἄξει σοι," φησίν, "εἴκοσι τάλαντα·" καὶ γενομένης τάχιστα τῆς υγκτὸς ἐπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὴν κύλικα μετὰ τῶν εἴκοσι ταλάντων. ἦν δ' ἄρα δεινὸς ὁ "Αρπαλος ἐρωτικοῦ πρὸς χρυσίον ἀνδρὸς ὄψει καὶ διαχύσει καὶ βολανῆς ὅμμάτων 4 ἀνευρεῖν ἥθος. οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχει ὁ Δημοσθένης,

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rest of his life as a teacher of rhetoric in Rhodes and Ionia.

XXV. Not long afterwards Harpalus¹ came out of Asia to Athens. He had run away from Alexander, because he was conscious that his prodigality had led him into criminal practices, and because he was afraid of his master, who was now become harsh to his friends. But after he had taken refuge with the Athenian people and put himself in their hands with his ships and his treasures, the other orators at once fixed their longing eyes upon his wealth, came to his aid, and tried to persuade the Athenians to receive and save the suppliant. But Demosthenes, in the beginning, counselled them to drive Harpalus away, and to beware lest they plunge the city into war upon an unnecessary and unjust ground; a few days afterwards, however, while they were making an inventory of the treasure, Harpalus saw that Demosthenes was eyeing with pleasure a cup of barbarian make, with a keen appreciation of its fashion and of the ornamental work upon it. He therefore bade him poise it in his hand and see how heavy the gold was. And when Demosthenes was amazed at its weight and asked how much it would amount to, Harpalus smiled and said, "For you it will amount to twenty talents;" and as soon as night was come he sent him the cup with the twenty talents. Now, Harpalus was skilful in detecting the character of a man who had a passion for gold, by means of the look that spread over his face and the glances of his eyes. For Demosthenes could not resist, but was overcome by the

¹ Alexander's treasurer. He came to Athens in 324 B.C.

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ιλλὰ πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὥσπερ παραδέειγμένος φρουρὰν προσκεχωρήκει τῷ Ἀρπάλῳ. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν εὖ καὶ καλῶς ἐρίσις καὶ ταινίαις κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου καθελιξάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προῆλθε· καὶ κελευόντων ἀνίστασθαι καὶ λέγειν, διένευεν ὡς ἀποκεκομμένης αὐτῷ τῆς 5 φωνῆς. οἱ δὲ εὐφυεῖς χλευάζοντες οὐχ ὑπὸ συνάγχης ἔφραζον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀργυράγχης εἰλῆφθαι νύκτωρ τὸν δημαγωγόν. ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς αἰσθομένου τὴν δωροδοκίαν καὶ βουλομενον ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πείθειν οὐκ ἐῶντος, ἀλλὰ χαλεπαίνοντος καὶ θορυβοῦντος, ἀναστάς τις ἔσκωψεν εἰπών· “Οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ τὴν κύλικα ἔχοντος;”

6 Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπέπεμψαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸν Ἀρπαλού, δεδιότες δὲ μὴ λόγον ἀπαιτῶνται χρημάτων ὧν διηρπάκεσσαν οἱ ῥήτορες, ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο νεανικήν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπιόντες ἡρεύνων, πλὴν τῆς Καλλικλέους τοῦ Ἀρρενίδου. μόνην γὰρ τὴν τούτου νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότος οὐκ εἴασαν ἐλεγχθῆναι, νύμφης ἔνδον οὔσης, ὡς ἴστορει Θεόπομπος.

XXVI. Ο δὲ Δημοσθένης ὅμοσε χωρῶν εἰσῆνε γκικε ψήφισμα τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἔξετάσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνη δόξαντας ἀδικεῖν δοῦναι δίκην. ἐν δὲ πρώτοις αὐτοῦ τῆς βουλῆς ἐκείνου καταψήφισαμένης, εἰσῆλθε μὲν

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bribe, and now that he had, as it were, admitted a garrison into his house, promptly went over to the side of Harpalus. Next day, after swathing his neck carefully in woollen bandages, he went forth into the assembly; and when he was urged to rise and speak, he made signs that his voice was ruined. The wits, however, by way of railery, declared that the orator had been seized overnight, not with an ordinary quinsy, but with a silver quinsy. And afterwards, when the whole people learned that he had been bribed, and would not permit him, when he wished it, to have a hearing and make his defence, but were angry and raised a tumult against him, someone rose and said jokingly: "Men of Athens, will you not listen to the man who holds the cup?"¹

At that time, then, they sent Harpalus away from the city, and fearing lest they should be called to account for the moneys which the orators had seized, they made a zealous search for it, and went round to their houses on the quest, except that of Callicles the son of Arrhenides. For his house was the only one which they would not allow to be searched, since he was newly married and his bride was within, as Theopompus relates.

XXVI. But Demosthenes put a bold face on the matter and introduced a bill providing that the case should be referred for investigation to the council of the Areiopagus, and that those should be brought to trial who were found guilty there. He was himself, however, among the first condemned by the council, and came before the court for trial,

¹ At feasts, the cup passed from guest to guest, and the one who held it had the right of uninterrupted speech or song.

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- εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὁφλῶν δὲ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων δίκην καὶ παραδόθεὶς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον,
- 2 αἰσχύνη τῆς αἰτίας φησὶ¹ καὶ δὶ' ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος οὐ δυναμένου φέρειν τὸν εἰργμὸν ἀποδρᾶντι τοὺς μὲν λαθόντα, τῶν δὲ λαθεῖν ἔξουσίαν δόντων. λέγεται γοῦν ὡς οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ ἀστεος φεύγων αἴσθοιτό τινας τῶν διαφόρων αὐτῷ πολιτῶν ἐπιδιώκοντας, καὶ βούλοιτο μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποκρύπτειν, ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι φθεγξάμενοι τοῦνομα καὶ προσελθόντες ἔγγυς ἐδέοντο λαβεῖν ἐφόδια παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κομίζοντες ἀργύριον οἴκοθεν καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐπιδιώξαντες αὐτόν, ἅμα δὲ θαρρεῖν παρεκάλουν καὶ μὴ φέρειν ἀνιαρῶς τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀνακλαύσασθαι τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ εἰπεῖν· “Πῶς δὲ οὐ μέλλω φέρειν βαρέως ἀπολιπὼν πόλιν ἔχθροὺς τοιούτους ἔχουσαν οἶους ἐν ἑτέρᾳ φίλους εὔρειν οὐ ράδιόν ἔστιν;”
- 4 “Ηιεγκε δὲ τὴν φυγὴν μαλακῶς, ἐν Αἰγύνῃ καὶ Τροιζῆνι καθεξόμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβλέπων δεδακρυμένος, ὥστε φωνὰς οὐκ εὐγνώμονας οὐδὲ ὁμολογούσας τοῖς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ νεανιεύμασιν ἀπομνημονεύεσθαι. λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος ἀπαλλαττόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰπεῖν· “Ω δέσποινα Πολιάς, τί δὴ τρισὶ τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις χαίρεις θηρίοις, γλαυκὶ καὶ δράκοντι καὶ

¹ φησὶ Reiske, and Graux with M^a: φασί.

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where he was sentenced to a fine of fifty talents and delivered over to prison in default of payment. But out of shame at the charge under which he lay, as he says,¹ and owing to the weakness of his body, which could not endure confinement, he ran away, through the carelessness of some of his keepers and the connivance of others. At any rate, we are told that when he was in flight at a short distance from the city, he learned that some of the citizens who were his enemies were in pursuit of him, and therefore wished to hide himself; and when they called upon him loudly by name, and came up near to him, and begged him to accept from them provision for his journey, declaring that they were bringing money from home for this very purpose, and were pursuing him only in order to get it to him; and when at the same time they exhorted him to be of good courage and not to be pained at what had happened, Demosthenes broke out all the more into cries of grief, saying: "Surely I must be distressed to leave a city where my enemies are as generous as I can hardly find friends to be in another."

And he bore his exile without fortitude, taking up his quarters in Aegina and Troezen for the most part, and looking off towards Attica with tears in his eyes, so that utterances of his are on record which are not generous or consonant with his spirited efforts as a statesman. We are told, namely, that as he was leaving the city he lifted up his hands towards the acropolis and said: "O potent Guardian of the City, Athena, how, pray, canst thou take delight in those three most intractable beasts, the

¹ In the second of the letters which have come down to us under his name, § 17.

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5 δόγμῳ; ” τοὺς δὲ προσιόντας αὐτῷ καὶ συνδιατρί-
βοντας νεανίσκους ἀπέτρεπε τῆς πολιτείας λέγων
ώς εἰ, δυεῖν προκειμένων ὁδῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, τῆς
μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τῆς δ’ ἄντι-
κρυς εἰς τὸν ὅλεθρον, ἐτύγχανε προειδὼς τὰ κατὰ
τὴν πολιτείαν κακά, φόβους καὶ φθόνους καὶ
διαβολὰς καὶ ἀγῶνας, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀν ὄρμῆσαι
τὴν εὐθὺν τοῦ θανάτου τείνουσαν.

XXVII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι φεύγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν
εἰρημένην φυγὴν Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε,
τὰ δ’ Ἐλληνικὰ συνίσταντο πάλιν, Δεωσθένους
ἀνδραγαθοῦντος καὶ περιτειχίζοντος Ἀντίπατρον
2 ἐν Λαμίᾳ πολυορκούμενον. Πυθέας μὲν οὖν ὁ
ρήτωρ καὶ Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
φεύγοντες Ἀντιπάτρῳ προσεγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ
τῶν ἑκέίνου φίλων καὶ πρεσβεων περιύοντες οὐκ
εἴων ἀφίστασθαι τοὺς “Ἐλληνας οὐδὲ προσέχειν
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· Δημοσθένης δὲ τοὺς ἐξ ἀστεος
πρεσβεύοντι προσμίξας ἑαυτὸν ἡγωνίζετο καὶ
συνέπραττεν ὅπως αἱ πόλεις συνεπιθήσονται τοῖς
Μακεδόσι καὶ συνεκβαλούσιν αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἐλλά-
3 δος. ἐν δ’ Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ λοιδορίαν τοῦ Πυθέου
καὶ τοῦ Δημοσθένους γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
εἰρηκεν ὁ Φύλαρχος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοῦ μὲν ὑπέρ
τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοῦ δὲ ὑπέρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων λέ-
γοντος. λέγεται δὲ τὸν μὲν Πυθέαν εἰπεῖν ὅτι,
καθάπερ οἰκίαν εἰς ἥν ὄνειρον εἰσφέρεται γάλα,
κακόν τι πάντως ἔχειν νομίζομεν, οὕτω καὶ πόλιν
ἀνάγκη νοσεῖν εἰς ἥν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παρα-

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owl, the serpent, and the people?" Moreover, when young men came to visit and converse with him, he would try to deter them from public life, saying that if two roads had been presented to him in the beginning, one leading to the bema and the assembly, and the other straight to destruction, and if he could have known beforehand the evils attendant on a public career, namely, fears, hatreds, calumnies and contentions, he would have taken that road which led directly to death.

XXVII. But while he was still undergoing the exile of which I have spoken, Alexander died,¹ and the Greek states proceeded to form a league again, while Leosthenes was displaying deeds of valour and walling Antipater up in Lamia, where he held him in siege. Accordingly, the orators Pytheas and Callimedon (called the Stag-beetle) fled from Athens and joined the party of Antipater, and travelling about with the regent's friends and ambassadors tried to prevent the Greeks from revolting or attaching themselves to Athens; but Demosthenes, joining himself to the ambassadors from Athens, used his utmost efforts in helping them to induce the cities to unite in attacking the Macedonians and expelling them from Greece. And Phylarchus states that in Arcadia Pytheas and Demosthenes actually fell to abusing one another in an assembly, the one speaking in behalf of the Macedonians, the other in behalf of the Greeks. Pytheas, we are told, said that just as we think that a house into which asses' milk is brought must certainly have some evil in it, so also a city must of necessity be diseased into which an Athenian embassy comes; whereupon

¹ At Babylon, in May, 323 B.C.

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4 γίνεται· τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην στρέψαι τὸ παράδειγμα, φήσαντα καὶ τὸ γάλα τὸ ὄνειον ἐφ' ὑγιείᾳ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παραγίνεσθαι τῶν νοσούντων.

'Εφ' οὶς ἡσθεὶς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ψηφίζεται τῷ Δημοσθένει κάθοδον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα Δήμων ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνεψιός ὁν Δημοσθένους, εἰσήνεγκεν. ἐπέμφθη δὲ τριήρης ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγυναν. ἐκ δὲ Πειραιῶς ἀνέβαινεν οὔτε ἄρχοντος οὔτε ιερέως ἀπολευφθέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅμοι πάντων ἀπαντώντων καὶ δεχομένων προθύμως. ὅτε καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ὁ Μάγυνης Δημήτριος ἀνατείναντα τὰς χεῖρας μακαρίσαι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης αὐτὸν, ὡς βέλτιον Ἀλκιβιάδου κατιόντα· πεπεισμένους γάρ, οὐ βεβιασμένους, ὥπ' αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι τοὺς 6 πολίτας. τῆς δὲ χρηματικῆς ζημίας αὐτῷ μενούσης (οὐ γάρ ἔξην χάριτι λῦσαι καταδίκην) ἐσοφίσαντο πρὸς τὸν ίδιον. εἰωθότες γάρ ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀργύριον τελεῖν τοὺς κατασκευάζουσι καὶ κοσμοῦσι τὸν βωμόν, ἐκείνῳ τότε ταῦτα ποιήσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ἔξεδωκαν, ὅσον ἦν τίμημα τῆς καταδίκης.

XXVIII. Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέλαυσε τῆς πατρίδος κατελθών, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων συντριβέντων Μεταγειτνιῶνος μὲν ἡ περὶ Κραυνῶνα μάχη συνέπεσε, Βοηδρο-

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Demosthenes turned the illustration against him by saying that asses' milk was given to restore health, and the Athenians came to bring salvation to the sick.

At this conduct the Athenian people were delighted, and voted that Demosthenes might return from exile. The decree was brought in by Demon of Paeania, who was a cousin of Demosthenes; and a trireme was sent to Aegina to fetch him home. When he set out to go up to the city from Piraeus, not an archon or a priest was missing, and all the rest of the people also met him in a body and welcomed him eagerly. It was at this time, too, as Demetrius the Magnesian says, that he lifted his hands towards heaven and blessed himself for that day, since he was coming home from exile more honourably than Alcibiades did; for he had persuaded, not forced, his fellow-citizens to welcome him. It is true that his pecuniary fine remained standing against him (for it was not lawful to remit an assessment by act of grace), but they found a device to evade the law. It was their custom, namely, in the case of a sacrifice to Zeus the Saviour, to pay a sum of money to those who prepared and adorned the altar, and they now gave Demosthenes the contract to make these preparations for fifty talents, which was just the amount of his assessment.

XXVIII. However, he did not enjoy his native city for long after his return from exile, but the cause of Greece was speedily crushed, and in the month of Metageitnion the battle at Crannon took place,¹ in that of Boedromion the Macedonian

¹ August 6th, 322 b.c. In this battle Antipater and Craterus crushed the combined armies of the Greeks and concluded the so-called Lamian war.

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μιώνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς Μουνυχίαν ἡ φρουρά,
Πυανεψιώνος δὲ Δημοσθένης ἀπέθανε τόνδε τὸν
τρόπον.

- 2 Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κρατερὸς ἡγγέλλοντο
προσιόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Δη-
μοσθένην φθάσαντες ὑπεξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως,
ό δὲ δῆμος αὐτῶν θάνατον κατέγυνω Δημάδου
γράψαντος. ἄλλων δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ διασπαρέντων
οἱ Ἀντίπατρος περιέπεμπτε τοὺς συλλαμβάνοντας,
ῶν ἥγεμων ἦν Ἀρχίας ὁ κληθεὶς φυγαδοθήρας.
3 τούτον δὲ Θουρίου ὄντα τῷ γένει λόγος ἔχει τρα-
γῳδίας ὑποκρίνεσθαι ποτε, καὶ τὸν Αἰγυνήτην
Πάλοιν τὸν ὑπερβαλόντα τῇ τέχνῃ πάντας ἐκεί-
νου γεγονέναι μαθητὴν ἴστορούσιν. “Ἐρμππος
δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐν τοῖς Λακρίτου τοῦ ρήτορος
μαθητᾶς¹ ἀναγράφει· Δημήτριος δὲ τῆς Ἀναξιμέ-
4 νοις διατριβῆς μετεσχηκέναι φησὶν αὐτὸν. οὗτος
οὖν ὁ Ἀρχίας Ὄπερειδὸν μεν τὸν ρήτορα καὶ
Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Μαραθώνιον καὶ τὸν Δημητρίον
τοῦ Φαληρέως ἀδελφὸν Ἰμεραῖον ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κατα-
φυγόντας ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον ἀποσπάσας ἐπεμφεν
εἰς Κλεωνὰς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον· κάκει διεφθά-
ρησαν, Ὄπερειδον δὲ καὶ τὴν γλώτταν ἐκτμη-
θῆναι λέγουσι.

XXIX. Τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην πυθόμενος ἱκέτην
ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ ἐν τῷ ιερῷ Ποσειδῶνος καθέξεσθαι,
διαπλεύσας ὑπηρετικοῖς καὶ ἀποβὰς μετὰ Θρα-
κῶν δορυφόρων ἐπειθεν ἀναστάντα βαδίζειν μετ'
αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὡς δυσχερὲς πεισόμενον

¹ μαθητᾶς with Reiske, Coraës, Bekker, and Ma (Graux):
μαθητὴν.

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garrison entered Munychia, and in that of Pyanep-sion Demosthenes died, in the following manner.

When Antipater and Craterus were reported to be advancing upon Athens, Demosthenes and his associates succeeded in escaping by stealth from the city, and the people, on motion of Demades, passed sentence of death upon them. Since they dispersed themselves to different places, Antipater sent his soldiers about to arrest them, under the command of Archias the so-called Exile-hunter. This man was a native of Thurii, and the story goes that he was once a tragic actor; indeed, it is recorded that Polus of Aegina, the best actor of his time, was a pupil of his. But Hermippus states that Archias was one of the pupils of Lacritus the rhetorician; while Demetrius says that he belonged to the school of Anaximenes. This Archias, then, finding that Hypereides the orator and Aristonicus of Marathon and Himeraeus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Aeacus at Aegina, haled them away and sent them to Antipater at Cleonae. There they were put to death, and Hypereides, it is said, also had his tongue cut out.

XXIX. Moreover, on learning that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Poseidon at Calauria, Archias sailed across to the island in small boats, and after landing with Thracian spearmen tried to persuade the fugitive to leave the temple and go with him to Antipater, assuring him that he would suffer no harsh treatment. But

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2 οὐδέν. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐτύγχανεν ὄψιν ἑωρακὼς
κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους ἐκείνης τῆς υυκτὸς ἀλλόκοτον.
ἔδόκει γὰρ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ τραγῳδίαν
ὑποκρινόμενος, εὐημερῶν δὲ καὶ κατέχων τὸ
θέατρον ἐνδείᾳ παρασκευῆς καὶ χορηγίας κρα-
τεῖσθαι. διὸ τοῦ Ἀρχίου πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα
διαλεχθέντος ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ
ἐτύγχανε καθήμενος, “Ω Ἀρχία,” εἶπεν, “οὗτε
ὑποκρινόμενός με ἔπεισας πώποτε οὗτε νῦν πεί-
3 σεις ἐπαγγελλόμενος.” ἀρξαμένου δ’ ἀπειλεῖν
τοῦ Ἀρχίου μετ’ ὄργῆς, “Νῦν,” ἔφη, “λέγεις τὰ
ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ τρίποδος, ἄρτι δ’ ὑπεκρίνου.
μικρὸν οὖν ἐπίσχες, ὅπως ἐπιστείλω τι τοῖς
οἴκοι.” καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐντὸς ἀνεχώρησε τοῦ
ναοῦ· καὶ λαβὼν βιβλίον ὡς γράφειν μέλλων
προσήνεγκε τῷ στόματι τὸν κάλαμον, καὶ δακών,
ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ γράφειν εἰώθει,
χρόνον τινὰ κατέσχεν, εἴτα συγκαλυψάμενος
4 ἀπέκλινε τὴν κεφαλήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὰς
θύρας ἐστῶτες δορυφόροι κατεγέλων ὡς ἀπο-
δειλιῶντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μαλακὸν ἀπεκάλουν καὶ
ἄνανδρον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίας προσελθὼν ἀνίστασθαι
παρεκάλει, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνακυκλῶν λόγους
αὐθις ἐπιγγέλλετο διαλλαγὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντί-
πατρον. ἥδη δὲ συνησθημένος ὁ Δημοσθένης
ἐμπεφυκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ κρατοῦντος
ἔξεκαλύφατο· καὶ διαβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίαν,
5 “Οὐκ ἀν φθάνοις,” εἶπεν, “ἥδη τὸν ἐκ τῆς τρα-
γῳδίας ὑποκρινόμενος Κρέοντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα

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it chanced that Demosthenes, in his sleep the night before, had seen a strange vision. He dreamed, namely, that he was acting in a tragedy and contending with Archias for the prize, and that although he acquitted himself well and won the favour of the audience, his lack of stage decorations and costumes cost him the victory. Therefore, after Archias had said many kindly things to him, Demosthenes, just as he sat, looked steadfastly at him and said · “O Archias, thou didst never convince me by thine acting, nor wilt thou now convince me by thy promises.” And when Archias began to threaten him angrily, “Now,” said he, “thou utterest the language of the Macedonian oracle;¹ but a moment ago thou wert acting a part. Wait a little, then, that I may write a message to my family.” With these words, he retired into the temple, and taking a scroll, as if about to write, he put his pen to his mouth and bit it, as he was wont to do when thinking what he should write, and kept it there some time, then covered and bent his head. The spearmen, then, who stood at the door, laughed at him for playing the coward, and called him weak and unmanly, but Archias came up and urged him to rise, and reiterating the same speeches as before, promised him a reconciliation with Antipater. But Demosthenes, now conscious that the poison was affecting and overpowering him, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon Archias, “Thou canst not be too soon now,” said he, “in playing the part of Creon in the tragedy and casting this

¹ i.e. thy real sentiments, in obedience to Antipater.

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τοῦτο ῥίπτων ἄταφον. ἐγὼ δ', ὡς φίλε Πόσειδον, ἔτι ζῶν ἔξανίσταμαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῷ δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐδὲ ὁ σὸς ναὸς καθαρὸς ἀπολέλειπται." ταῦτ' εἰπών, καὶ κελεύσας ὑπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἥδη τρέμοντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον, ἅμα τῷ προελθεῖν καὶ παραλλάξαι τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεσε καὶ στενάξας ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχήν.

XXX. Τὸ δὲ φάρμακον Ἀρίστων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καλάμου λαβεῖν φησιν αὐτόν, ώς εἴρηται· Πάππος δέ τις, οὖν τὴν ἴστορίαν "Ἐρμιππος ἀνείληφε, φησί, πεσόντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν μὲν τῷ βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένην ἐπιστολῆς ἀρχὴν εὑρεθῆναι, "Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ," καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο.
2 θαυμαζομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ὀξύτητος διηγεῖσθαι τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς θύραις Θρᾶκας ώς ἐκ τινος ῥακίου λαβῶν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα προσθοῖτο τῷ στόματι καὶ καταπίοι τὸ φάρμακον αὐτοὶ δ' ἄρα χρυσὸν φήθησαν εἶναι τὸ καταπινόμενον· ή δ' ὑπηρετοῦσα παιδίσκη, πυνθανομένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν, φαίη πολὺν εἶναι χρόνον ἔξι οὖν φοροίη τὸν ἀπόδεσμον ἐκεῖνον ὁ Δημοσθένης ώς
3 φυλακτήριον. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν κρίκῳ φησὶ κοίλῳ τὸ φάρμακον φυλάσσειν· τὸν δὲ κρίκον εἶναι τοῦτον αὐτῷ φόρημα περιβραχίονιον. τῶν δ' ἄλλων, δσοι γεγράφασι περὶ αὐτοῦ, πάμπολλοι δέ εἰσι, τὰς διαφορὰς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον 4 ἐπεξελθεῖν· πλὴν δτι Δημοχάρης ὁ τοῦ Δημο-

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body out without burial.¹ But I, O beloved Poseidon, will depart from thy sanctury while I am still alive; whereas Antipater and the Macedonians would not have left even thy temple undefiled." So speaking, and bidding someone support him, since he was now trembling and tottering, he had no sooner gone forth and passed by the altar than he fell, and with a groan gave up the ghost.

XXX. As for the poison, Ariston says he took it from the pen, as I have said; but a certain Pappus, from whom Hermippus took his story, says that when he had fallen by the side of the altar, there was found written in the scroll the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more; and that when men were amazed at the suddenness of his death the Thracians who had stood at the door told the story that he took the poison into his hand from a cloth and put it to his mouth and swallowed it; and that they themselves, strange to say, had supposed that what he swallowed was gold; and that the little maid who served him, when inquiries were made by Archias, said that Demosthenes had long worn that cloth girdle as a safeguard against his enemies. And even Eratosthenes himself says that Demosthenes kept the poison in a hollow bracelet, and that he wore this bracelet as an ornament upon his arm. But the divergent stories of all the others who have written about the matter, and they are very many, need not be recounted; except that Demochares the relative of Demosthenes says

¹ An allusion to the Creon in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, by whose edict the body of Polyneices was to be left unburied (vv. 26 ff., 191 ff.).

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σθένους οἰκεῖος οἰεσθαί φησιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκου, θεῶν δὲ τιμῆ καὶ προνοίᾳ τῆς Μακεδόνων ὡμότητος ἐξαρπαγῆναι, συντόμως καταστρέψαντα καὶ ἀλύπτως. κατέστρεψε δὲ ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Πιανεψιώνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ τὴν σκυθρωποτάτην τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραν ἄγονσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ νηστεύοντιν αἱ γυναῖκες.

5 Τούτῳ μὲν διάλογον ὑστερον ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἀξίαν ἀποδιδοὺς τιμὴν εἰκόνα τε χαλκῆν ἀνέστησε καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἐν Πρυτανείᾳ σίτησιν ἔχειν. καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐπεγράφη τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος.

εἴπερ ἵσην ῥώμην γυνώμη, Δημοσθενες, εἰχει;
οὔποτ' ἀν 'Ελλήνων ἡρξεν Ἀρης Μακεδών.

οἱ γάρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγοντες ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ, μέλλοντα τὸ φάρμακον προσφέρεσθαι, κομιδῆ φλυαροῦσι.

XXXI. Μικρὸν δὲ πρόσθεν ἦ παραβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς Ἀθήναζε λέγεται τι τοιόνδε συμβῆναι. στρατιώτης ἐπὶ κρίσιν τινὰ καλούμενος ὑφ' ἡγεμόνος, ὃσον εἶχε χρυσίδιον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐνέθηκε τοῦ ἀνδριάντος. ἐστηκε δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους συνέχων δι' ἀλλήλων, καὶ παραπέφυκεν οὐ μεγάλη 2 πλάτανος. ἀπὸ ταύτης πολλὰ τῶν φύλλων, εἴτε

¹ An annual festival in honour of Demeter and Persephone.

² This statue, the work of Polyeuctus, was erected in 280-279 B.C., on motion of Demochares, a nephew of Demos-

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that in his opinion it was not due to poison, but to the honour and kindly favour shown him by the gods, that he was rescued from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and painless death. And he died on the sixteenth of the month Pyanep-sion, the most gloomy day of the Thesmophoria,¹ which the women observe by fasting in the temple of the goddess.

It was to this man, a little while after his death, that the Athenian people paid worthy honour by erecting his statue² in bronze, and by decreeing that the eldest of his house should have public maintenance in the prytaneum. And this celebrated inscription was inscribed upon the pedestal of his statue :—

“ If thy strength had only been equal to thy purposes,
Demosthenes,
Never would the Greeks have been ruled by a
Macedonian Ares.”

Of course those who say that Demosthenes himself composed these lines in Calauria, as he was about to put the poison to his lips, talk utter nonsense.

XXXI. Now, a short time before I took up my abode in Athens, the following incident is said to have occurred. A soldier who had been called to an account by his commander, put what little gold he had into the hands of this statue of Demosthenes. It stood with its fingers interlaced, and hard by grew a small plane-tree. Many of the leaves from this tree, whether the wind accidentally

thenes. The well-known marble statue of Demosthenes in the Vatican is thought to be a copy of it. See Pausanias, l. 8, 2, with Frazer's notes.

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πνεύματος ἐκ τύχης καταβαλόντος, εἴτ' αὐτὸς οὕτως ὁ θεὶς ἐκάλυψε, περικείμενα καὶ συμπεσόντα λαθέντι ἐποίησε τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ὀλίγου χρόνου. ὡς δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπανελθὼν ἀνεῦρε καὶ διεδόθη λόγος ὑπέρ τούτου, πολλοὶ τῶν εὑφυῶν ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντες εἰς τὸ ἀδωροδόκητον τοῦ Δημοσθένους διημιλλῶντο τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι.

- 3 Δημάδην δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀπολαύσαντα τῆς φυομένης δόξης ἡ Δημοσθένους δίκη κατήγαγεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, οὓς ἐκολάκευεν αἰσχρῶς, ὑπὸ τούτων ἔξολούμενον δικαίως, ἐπαχθῆ μὲν ὅντα καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς, τότε δὲ εἰς αἰτίαν ἄφυκτον ἐμπεσόντα. γράμματα γὰρ ἔξεπεσεν αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παρεκάλει Περδίκκαν ἐπιχειρεῦν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ σώζειν τοὺς "Ελληνας ὡς ἀπὸ σαπροῦ καὶ παλαιοῦ στήμονος (λέγων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον) ἡρτημένους. ἐφ' οἷς Δεινάρχου τοῦ Κορινθίου κατηγορήσαντος παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Κάσσανδρος ἐγκατέσφαξεν αὐτοῦ τῷ κόλπῳ τὸν νιόν, εἴτα οὕτως ἐκεῖνον ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις διδασκόμενον ἀτυχήμασιν ὅτι πρώτους ἔαντοὺς οἱ προδόται πωλοῦσιν, δι πολλάκις Δημοσθένους προαγορεύοντος οὐκ ἐπίστευσε.
- 4 Τὸν μὲν οὖν Δημοσθένους ἀπέχεις, Σόσσιε, βίον ἔξι ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν ἢ διηκούσαμεν.

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blew them thither, or whether the depositor himself took this way of concealing his treasure, lay clustering together about the gold and hid it for a long time. At last, however, the man came back, found his treasure intact, and an account of the matter was spread abroad, whereupon the wits of the city took for a theme the incorruptibility of Demosthenes and vied with one another in their epigrams.

As for Demades, he had not long enjoyed his growing reputation when vengeance for Demosthenes brought him into Macedonia, whose people he had disgracefully flattered, only to be by them justly put to death. He had been obnoxious to them even before this, but now fell under a charge from which there was no escape. A letter of his, namely, leaked out, in which he had urged Perdiccas to seize Macedonia and deliver the Greeks, who, he said, were fastened to it only by an old and rotten thread (meaning Antipater). And when Deinarchus the Corinthian denounced him for this, Cassander¹ flew into a rage and slew the son of Demades as he stood close by his father's side, and then ordered that Demades should be likewise killed. Demades was now learning amid his extremest misfortunes that traitors sell themselves first, a truth of which Demosthenes had often assured him, but which he would not believe.

And so, Sosius,² thou hast the promised Life of Demosthenes, drawn from such written or oral sources as I could find.

¹ The son of Antipater and, later, his successor.

² See the opening sentence of the *Life*.

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ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ

Ι. Κικέρωνος δὲ τὴν μὲν μητέρα λέγουσιν Ἐλβίαν καὶ γεγονέναι καλῶς καὶ βεβιωκέναι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν πυθέσθαι μέτριον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν κναφείῳ τινὶ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ εἰς Τύλλον Ἀττιον ἀνάγοντι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους, βασιλεύσαντα λαμπρῶς ἐν Οὐολούσκοις καὶ πολεμήσαντα Πωμαίοις οὐκ ἀδυνάτως. ὁ μέντοι πρώτος ἐκ τοῦ γένους Κικέρων ἐπονομασθεὶς ἄξιος λόγου δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, διὸ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν οὐκ ἀπέρριψαν οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡσπάσαντο, καίπερ ὑπὸ πολλῶν χλευαζομένην. κίκερα γὰρ οἱ Λατῦνοι τὸν ἔρεβινθον καλοῦσι, κάκενος ἐν τῷ πέρατι τῆς ρίνος διαστολὴν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀμβλεῖαν εἰχεν ὥσπερ ἔρεβινθου διαφυήν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκτήσατο τὴν 2 ἐπωνυμίαν. αὐτὸς γε μὴν Κικέρων, ὑπὲρ οὖν τάδε γέγραπται, τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν οἰομένων δεῖν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀρχὴν μετήσει καὶ πολιτείας ἥπτετο, φυγεῖν τούνομα καὶ μεταθέσθαι, λέγεται νεανιευσάμενος εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀγωνιεῖται τὸν Κικέρωνα τῶν Σκαύρων καὶ τῶν Κάτλων ἐνδοξότερον ἀποδεῖξαι. 3 ταμεύων δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνάθημα ποιούμενος ἀργυροῦν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δύο τῶν ὄνομάτων ἐπέγραψε, τόν τε Μάρκον καὶ τὸν

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I. It is said of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, that she was well born and lived an honourable life; but of his father nothing can be learned that does not go to an extreme. For some say that he was born and reared in a fuller's shop, while others trace the origin of his family to Tullus Attius,¹ an illustrious king of the Volscians, who waged war upon the Romans with great ability. However, the first member of the family who was surnamed Cicero seems to have been worthy of note, and for that reason his posterity did not reject the surname, but were fond of it, although many made it a matter of raillery. For "cicer" is the Latin name for *chick-pea*, and this ancestor of Cicero, as it would seem, had a faint dent in the end of his nose like the cleft of a chick-pea, from which he acquired his surname. Cicero himself, however, whose Life I now write, when he first entered public life and stood for office and his friends thought he ought to drop or change the name, is said to have replied with spirit that he would strive to make the name of Cicero more illustrious than such names as Scaurus or Catulus. Moreover, when he was quaestor in Sicily and was dedicating to the gods a piece of silver plate, he had his first two names inscribed thereon, the

¹ Called Tullus Aufidius in the *Coriolanus*, xxii. 1.

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Τύλλιον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου σκώπτων ἐρέβινθον ἐκέλευσε παρὰ τὰ γράμματα τὸν τεχνίτην ἐντορεῦσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ ὄνόματος ἴστόρηται.

Π. Τεχθῆναι δὲ Κικέρωνα λέγουσιν ἀνωδύνως καὶ ἀπόνως λοχευθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ἡμέρᾳ τρίτη τῶν νέων Καλανδῶν, ἐν ᾧ νῦν οἱ ἀρχοντες εὑχονται καὶ θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. τῇ δὲ τίτθῃ φάσμα δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν ὡς 2 ὅφελος μέγα πᾶσι Ρωμαίοις ἐκτρεφούσῃ. ταῦτα δὲ ἄλλως ὀνείρατα καὶ φλύαρον εἶναι δοκοῦντα ταχέως αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξε μαντείαν ἀληθινὴν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ μανθάνειν γενόμενος, δι' εὐφυίαν ἐκλάμψας καὶ λαβὼν ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἐν τοῖς παισίν, ὥστε τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἐπιφοιτᾶν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ὅφει τε βουλομένους ἰδεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν ὑμουρένην αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς μαθήσεις δξύτητα καὶ σύνεσιν ἴστορῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἀγροικοτέρους ὄργιζεσθαι τοῖς νίέσιν ὄρωντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τὸν Κικέρωνα μέσον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ λαμβάνοντας. γενόμενος δ', ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων ἀξιοῖ τὴν φιλομαθῆ καὶ φιλόσοφον φύσιν, οἷος ἀσπάζεσθαι πᾶν μάθημα καὶ μηδὲν λόγου μηδὲ παιδείας ἀτιμάζειν εἰδος, ἐρρύνη πως προθυμότερον ἐπὶ ποιητικήν. καὶ τι καὶ ποιημάτιον ἔτι παϊδὸς αὐτοῦ διασώζεται, Πόντιος Γλαῦκος, ἐν τετρα-

¹ January 3, 106 B.C. Plutarch follows the Greek method of reckoning from a fixed point in the month. Cicero says (*ante diem*) III. Nonas Januarias (*ad Att.* xiii. 42, 2), the

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Marcus and the Tullius, but instead of the third, by way of jest, he ordered the artificer to engrave a chick-pea in due sequence. This, then, is what is told about his name.

II It is said that Cicero was born, without travail or pain on the part of his mother, on the third day of the new Calends,¹ the day on which at the present time the magistrates offer sacrifices and prayers for the health of the emperor. It would seem also that a phantom appeared to his nurse and foretold that her charge would be a great blessing to all the Romans. And although these presages were thought to be mere dreams and idle fancies, he soon showed them to be true prophecy ; for when he was of an age for taking lessons, his natural talent shone out clear and he won name and fame among the boys, so that their fathers used to visit the schools in order to see Cicero with their own eyes and observe the quickness and intelligence in his studies for which he was extolled, though the ruder ones among them were angry at their sons when they saw them walking with Cicero placed in their midst as a mark of honour. And although he showed himself, as Plato² thought a nature should do which was fond of learning and fond of wisdom, capable of welcoming all knowledge and incapable of slighting any kind of literature or training, he lent himself with somewhat greater ardour to the art of poetry. And a little poem which he wrote when a boy is still extant, called Pontius Glaucus, Nones being the fifth of January Strictly speaking, only the first day of the month was called the Calends, but Plutarch seems to call the opening days of the new official year "the new Calends." ² *Republic*, p 475 b.

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μέτρῳ πεποιημένον. προιών δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ποικιλώτερον ἀπτόμενος τῆς περὶ ταῦτα μούσης,
4 ἔδοξεν οὐ μόνον ῥήτωρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὴς ἄριστος εἶναι Ῥωμαίων. ή μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ δόξα μέχρι τοῦτον διαμένει, καίπερ οὐ μικρᾶς γεγενημένης περὶ τοὺς λόγους καινοτομίας, τὴν δὲ ποιητικὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν εὐφυῶν ἐπιγενομένων, παντάπασιν ἀκλεῖ καὶ ἀτιμον ἔρρειν συμβέβηκεν.

III. Ἀπαλλαγεὶς δὲ τῶν ἐν παισὶ διατριβῶν Φίλωνος ἥκουσε τοῦ ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας, διν μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις τῶν Κλειτομάχου συνήθων καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον ἔθαυμασαν καὶ διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἡγάπησαν. ἂμα δὲ τοὺς περὶ Μούκιουν ἀνδράσι συνῶν πολιτικοῖς καὶ πρωτεύουσι τῆς Βουλῆς εἰς ἐμπειρίαν τῶν νόμων ὥφελεῖτο· καί τινα χρόνου καὶ στρατείας μετέσχεν ὑπὸ Σύλλα¹ περὶ τὸν Μαρσικὸν 2 πόλεμον. εἴθ' ὁρῶν εἰς στάσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς στάσεως εἰς ἄκρατον ἐμπίπτοντα τὰ πράγματα μοναρχίαν, ἐπὶ τὸν σχολαστὴν καὶ θεωρητικὸν ἐλθὼν βίον "Ελλησι συνῆν φιλολόγοις καὶ προσείχε τοὺς μαθήμασιν, ἄχρι οὐ Σύλλας ἐκράτησε καὶ κατάστασίν τινα λαμβάνειν ἔδοξεν ή πόλις.

'Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ Χρυσόγονος ἀπελεύθερος Σύλλα προσαγγέλλας τιὺς οὐσίαν ὡς ἐκ προγραφῆς ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτὸς ἐωνήσατο δισχιλίων δραχμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥώσκιος ὁ νιὸς καὶ κληρονόμος τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἡγανάκτει καὶ τὴν

¹ 90-88 B.C. It was under Pompey, however, that Cicero served (*Phil.* xii. 11, 27). ² In 82 B.C.

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and composed in tetrameter verse. Moreover, as he grew older and applied himself with greater versatility to such accomplishments, he got the name of being not only the best orator, but also the best poet among the Romans. His fame for oratory abides to this day, although there have been great innovations in style; but his poetry, since many gifted poets have followed him, has altogether fallen into neglect and disrepute.

III. After he had finished the studies of boyhood, he attended the lectures of Philon the Academic, whom, above all the other disciples of Cleitomachus, the Romans admired for his eloquence and loved for his character. At the same time he consorted with Mucius Scaevola, a statesman and leader of the senate, and was helped by him to an acquaintance with the law; and for a little while he also did military service under Sulla in the war against the Marsians.¹ Then, seeing that the commonwealth was hurrying into factions, and from factions into unlimited monarchy, he betook himself to a retired and contemplative life, associated with Greek scholars, and pursued his studies, until Sulla got the mastery and the state appeared to be somewhat settled.²

About this time Chrysogonus, a freedman of Sulla's, put up at public auction the estate of a man who, as it was said, had been put to death under proscription, and bought it in himself for two thousand drachmas.³ Then Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, was indignant and set

¹ In translating Cicero's "duobus millibus nummum," Plutarch erroneously reckons in denarii (which were equivalent to drachmas, or francs) instead of in sestertii (worth only one-quarter as much).

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ούσιαν ἀπεδείκνυε πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ταλάντων οὖσαι ἀξίαν, ὃ τε Σύλλας ἐλεγχόμενος ἐχαλέπαινε καὶ δίκην πατροκτονίας ἐπῆγε τῷ 'Ρωσκίφ, τοῦ Χρυσογόνου κατασκευάσαντος, ἐβο-
ήθει δ' οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἀπετρέποντο τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν
4 χαλεπότητα δεδοικότες, οὕτω δὴ δι' ἐρημίαν τοῦ μειρακίου τῷ Κικέρωνι προσφυγόντος οἱ φίλοι συμπαρώρμων, ὡς οὐκ ἀν αὐτῷ λαμπροτέραν αὐθις ἀρχὴν πρὸς δόξαν ἔτέραν οὐδὲ καλλίω γενησομένην. ἀναδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν συνηγορίαν καὶ κατορθώσας ἐθαυμάσθη· δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν Σύλ-
λαν ἀπέδημησεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διασπείρας λόγον ὡς τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ θεραπείας δεομένου.
5 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως ἴσχυντος καὶ ἄστρος, ἀρρωστίᾳ στομάχου μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα μόγις ὅψε τῆς ὥρας προσφερόμενος· ἡ δὲ φωνὴ πολλὴ μὲν καὶ ἀγαθή, σκληρὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπλαστος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου σφοδρότητα καὶ πάθος ἔχοντος ἀεὶ διὰ τῶν ἄνω τόνων ἐλαυνομένη φόβον παρεῖχεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος.

IV. Ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντίοχον τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου διήκουσε, τῇ μὲν εὐροίᾳ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριτι κηλούμενος, ἀ δ' ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐνεωτέριζεν οὐκ ἐπαινῶν. ἦδη γὰρ ἔξιστατο τῆς νέας λεγομένης Ἀκαδημείας ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τὴν Καρνεάδου στάσιν ἐγκατέλειπεν, εἴτε καμπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναργείας καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, εἴτε, ὡς φασιν ἔνιοι, φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ καὶ διαφορᾷ

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forth clearly that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents, whereupon Sulla, enraged to have his actions called in question, indicted Roscius for the murder of his father, Chrysogonus having trumped up the evidence. No advocate would help Roscius, but all avoided him through their fear of Sulla's cruelty, and so at last, in his destitution, the young man had recourse to Cicero. Cicero's friends encouraged him to undertake the case, arguing that he would never again have a more brilliant or a more honourable opportunity to win fame. Accordingly, he undertook the defence of Roscius,¹ won his cause, and men admired him for it; but fearing Sulla, he made a journey to Greece, after spreading a report that his health needed attention. For in fact he was spare and lean, and owing to a weakness of the stomach could only with difficulty take a little light food late in the day; his voice, however, was full and strong, but harsh and unmodulated, and since, owing to the vehemence and passion of his oratory, it was always forced into the higher tones, it made men apprehensive for his health.

IV. On coming to Athens he attended the lectures of Antiochus of Ascalon, and was charmed by his fluency and grace of diction, although he disapproved of his innovations in doctrine. For Antiochus had already fallen away from what was called the New Academy and abandoned the sect of Carneades, either moved thereto by the clear evidence of the sense-perceptions,² or, as some say, led by a feeling of ambitious opposition to

¹ See the oration *pro Roscio Amerino*

² This the New Academy refused to admit.

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- πρὸς τοὺς Κλειτομάχου καὶ Φίλωνος συνήθεις τὸν Στωικὸν ἐκ μεταβολῆς θεραπεύων λόγον ἐν 2 τοῖς πλείστοις. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἔκεινα ἡγάπα κάκείνοις προσένχε μᾶλλον, διανοούμενος, εἰ παντάπασιν ἐκπέσοι τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράσσειν, δεῦρο μετενεγκάμενος τὸν βίον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μετὰ φιλοσοφίας καταξῆν.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ Σύλλας τε προσηγγέλθη τεθυηκώς, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀναρρωνύμενον εἰς ἔξιν ἐβάδυζε νεανικήν, ἥ τε φωνὴ λαμβάνουσα πλάσιν ἡδεῖα μὲν πρὸς ἀκοὴν ἐτέθραππο,¹ μετρίως δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἔξιν ἡρμοστο τοῦ σώματος, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης φίλων γραφόντων καὶ δεομένων, πολλὰ δ' Ἀντιόχου παρακελευμένου τοὺς κοινοὶς ἐπιβαλεῖν πράγμασιν, αὖθις ὥσπερ δργανον ἔξηρτνετο² τὸν ρήτορικὸν λόγον καὶ ἀνεκίνει τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, αὗτόν τε τὰς μελέταις διαπονῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους 4 μετιὼν ρήτορας. δθεν εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ Ῥόδον ἐπλευσε, καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἀσιανῶν ρήτορων Ξενοκλεῖ τῷ Ἀδραμυττηνῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Μάγνητι καὶ Μενίππῳ τῷ Καρὶ συνεσχόλασεν, ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ ρήτορι μὲν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ Μόλωνος, φιλοσόφῳ δὲ Ποσειδωνίῳ. λέγεται δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οὐ συνιέντα τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον δεηθῆναι τοῦ Κικέρωνος Ἑλληνιστὶ μελετῆσαι τὸν δ' ὑπακούσαι προθύμως, οἰόμενον οὕτως ἔσεσθαι βελτίονα

¹ ἐτέθραππο the words καὶ πολλὴ (and full) which follow this verb in the MSS. are deleted by Gudeman as contradictory to iii 5 and due to the double πολλὰ below.

² ἔξηρτνετο Graux, after Madvig : ἔξηρτνε,

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the disciples of Cleitomachus and Philon to change his views and cultivate in most cases the doctrine of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the systems which Antiochus discarded and devoted himself the rather to them, purposing, in case he was altogether driven out of a public career, to change his home to Athens, away from the forum and the business of the state, and spend his life in the quiet pursuit of philosophy.

But word was now brought to him that Sulla was dead,¹ and since his body, strengthened by exercise, was taking on a vigorous habit, while his voice, acquiring modulation, had grown pleasant to the ear, and had been moderated into keeping with the habit of his body ; and since, moreover, his friends at Rome earnestly besought him by letter and Antiochus strongly urged him to apply himself to public affairs, he once more sought to prepare for service therein his instrument, as it were, to wit his rhetorical style, and to rouse to action his political powers, diligently cultivating himself in declamation and taking lessons of the popular rhetoricians. With this end in view he made a voyage to Asia and Rhodes. In Asia, he studied oratory with Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus the Carian ; in Rhodes, oratory with Apollonius the son of Molon, and philosophy with Poseidonius.² Apollonius, we are told, not understanding the Roman language, requested Cicero to declaim in Greek, with which request Cicero readily complied, thinking that in this way his faults could

¹ In 78 B.C.

² Cf. Cicero's *Brutus*, 91.

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5 τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμελέτησε, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκπεπλῆγθαι καὶ διαμιλλᾶσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλους τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον οὕτ' ἀκροώμενον αὐτοῦ διαχυθῆναι καὶ παυσαμένου σύνηνον καθέζεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰπεῖν “Σὲ μέν, ὡ Κικέρων, ἐπαινῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος οἰκτείρω τὴν τύχην, ὥρῶν, ἀ μόνα τῶν καλῶν ήμιν ὑπελεί-
πετο, καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις διὰ σοῦ προσγενόμενα,
παιδείαν καὶ λόγον.”

V. Ὁ γοῦν Κικέρων ἐλπίδων μεστὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φερόμενος ὑπὸ χρησμοῦ τινος ἀπημ-
βλύνθη τὴν ὥραjν. ἐρομένῳ γάρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν ὅπως ἀν ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτο, προσ-
έταξεν ἡ Πυθία τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, ἥγεμόνα ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ βίου.
2 καὶ τόν γε πρώτον ἐν Ῥώμῃ χρόνον εὐλαβῶς διῆγε καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὁκνηρῶς προσήσει καὶ παρη-
μέλειτο, ταῦτα δῆ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς βαναυσοτά-
τοις πρόχειρα καὶ συνήθη ὥρματα, Γραικὸς καὶ σχολαστικὸς ἀκούων. ἐπεὶ δὲ φύσει φιλότιμος ὡν καὶ παροξυνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὸ συνηγορεῖν ἑαυτόν, οὐκ ἡρέμα τῷ πρωτείῳ προσῆγεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἔξε-
λαμψε τῇ δόξῃ καὶ διέφερε πολὺ τῶν ἀγωνιζο-
μένων ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς.

3 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἦττον νοσήσας τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, τοῦτο μὲν

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better be corrected. After he had declaimed, his other hearers were astounded and vied with one another in their praises, but Apollonius was not greatly moved while listening to him, and when he had ceased sat for a long time lost in thought; then, since Cicero was distressed at this, he said: "Thee, indeed, O Cicero, I admire and commend; but Greece I pity for her sad fortune, since I see that even the only glories which were left to us, culture and eloquence, are through thee to belong also to the Romans"

V. However, though Cicero, full of hope, was being borne on towards a political career, a certain oracle took the edge from his eager desire. When he inquired, namely, of the god at Delphi how he could become most illustrious, the Pythian priestess enjoined upon him to make his own nature, and not the opinion of the multitude, his guide in life. And so during the first part of his time at Rome¹ he conducted himself with caution, was reluctant to sue for office, and was therefore neglected, being called "Greek" and "Scholar," those names which the low and ignorant classes at Rome were wont to give so readily. But he was naturally ambitious and was urged on by his father and his friends, and so when he gave himself in earnest to the work of an advocate, he did not advance slowly to the primacy, but his fame shone forth at once, and he far surpassed those who strove with him for distinction in the forum.

But it is said that he too, no less than Demosthenes, was weak in his delivery, and therefore

¹ Cicero returned to Rome in 77 B.C., being in his thirtieth year.

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‘Ρωσκίφ τῷ κωμῳδῷ, τοῦτο δ’ Αἰσώπῳ τῷ τραγῳδῷ προσέχειν ἐπιμελῶς. τὸν δ’ Αἰσωπὸν τούτον ἴστορούσιν ὑποκρινόμενον ἐν θεάτρῳ τὸν περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τοῦ Θυέστου βουλευόμενον Ἀτρέα, τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινος ἄφιω παραδραμόντος, ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος 4 ὅντα τῷ σκήπτρῳ πατάξαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν. οὐ μικρὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ πείθειν ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκρινεσθαι ροπὴ τῷ Κικέρωνι. καὶ τούς γε τῷ βοῶν μεγάλα χρωμένους¹ ρίγτορας ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγε δι’ ἀσθένειαν ἐπὶ τὴν κραυγὴν ὥσπερ χωλοὺς ἐφ’ ἵππον πηδᾶν. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰ σκώμματα καὶ τὴν παιδιὰν ταύτην εὐτραπέλᾳ δικαιοκόν μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ γλαφυρόν, χρώμενος δ’ αὐτῇ κατακόρως πολλοὺς ἐλύπει καὶ κακοηθείας ἐλάμβανε δόξαν.

VI. Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ ταμίας ἐν σιτοδείᾳ καὶ λαχῶν Σικελίαν ἡνώχλησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἀρχῇ σίτον εἰς Ρώμην ἀποστέλλειν ἀναγκαζομένοις. ὕστερον δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πραότητος αὐτοῦ πεῖραν λαμβάνοντες ὡς 2 οὐδένα τῶν πώποθι ἡγεμόνων ἐτίμησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ρώμης νέων ἐνδοξοὶ καὶ γεγονότες καλῶς, αἰτίαν ἔχοντες ἀταξίας καὶ μαλακίας περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τῆς Σικελίας, συνεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κικέρων ἐπιφανῶς καὶ περιεποίησεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν μέγα φρονῶν εἰς Ρώμην βαδίζων γελοῖόν τι 3 παθεῖν φησι. συντυχών γάρ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν

¹ μεγάλα χρωμένους MSS., Sintenis¹, and Bekker; Sintenis² adopts Cobet's μεγαλαυχουμένους (*boasting loudly of*); μεγάλα βοῶν χρωμένους Graux with M^a.

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sought with care to imitate now Roscius the comedian, and now Aesop the tragedian. This Aesop, they tell us, was once acting in a theatre the part of Atreus planning to take vengeance on Thyestes, when one of the assistants suddenly ran across the scene, and the actor, losing control of himself in the intensity of his passion, smote him with his sceptre and laid him dead. Now, Cicero's delivery contributed not a little to his persuasive power. Moreover, of those orators who were given to loud shouting he used to say jestingly that they were led by their weakness to resort to clamour as cripples were to mount upon a horse. And his readiness to indulge in such jests and pleasantry was thought indeed to be a pleasant characteristic of a pleader; but he carried it to excess and so annoyed many and got the reputation of being malicious.

VI. He was appointed quaestor¹ at a time when grain was scarce, and had the province of Sicily allotted to him, where he annoyed people at first by compelling them to send grain to Rome. But afterwards they found him careful, just, and mild, and honoured him beyond any governor they had ever had. Moreover, when large numbers of young men from Rome, of illustrious and noble families, were accused of lack of discipline and courage in the war and sent up for trial to the praetor of Sicily, Cicero pleaded their cause brilliantly and won the day. While he was journeying to Rome, then, highly elated over these successes, he had a laughable experience, as he tells us.² In Campania, namely, he

¹ In 75 B.C.

² *Or. pro Plancio*, 26. This was in the succeeding year (74 B.C.).

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φίλῳ δοκοῦντι περὶ Καμπανίαν, ἐρέσθαι τίνα δὴ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἔχουσι· Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τί φρονοῦσιν, ὡς ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἄπασαν ἐμπεπληκώσ· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν· “Ποῦ γὰρ ἦσ, ὁ Κικέρων,
4 τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον;” τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξαθυμῆσαι παντάπασιν, εἰ καθάπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσὼν ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐδὲν εἰς δόξαν ἐπίδηλον πεποίηκεν· ὑστερον δὲ λογισμὸν ἔαυτῷ διδοὺς πολὺ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑφεῖλεν, ὡς πρὸς ἀδριστον πρᾶγμα τὴν δόξαν ἀμιλλώμενος
5 καὶ πέρας οὐκ ἐφικτὸν ἔχουσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τό γε χαίρειν ἐπαινούμενον διαφερόντως καὶ πρὸς δόξαν ἐμπαθέστερον ἔχειν ἄχρι παντὸς αὐτῷ παρέμεινε καὶ πολλοὺς πολλάκις τῶν ὄρθῶν ἐπετάραξε λογισμῶν.

VII. Ἀπτόμενος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας προθυμότερον, αἰσχρὸν ἥγεντο τοὺς μὲν βαναύσους ὄργανοις χρωμένους καὶ σκεύεσιν ἀφύχοις μηδενὸς ἀγνοεῖν ὄνομα μηδὲ χώραν ἢ δύναμιν αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν, φὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων αἱ κοινai πράξεις περαίνονται, ῥαθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ἔχειν περὶ τὴν
2 τῶν πολιτῶν γυνῶσιν. ὅθεν οὐ μόνον τῶν ὄνομάτων εἴθιζε μνημονεύειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπον ἐν φὶ τῶν γυνωρίμων ἔκαστος οἰκεῖ, καὶ χωρίον οὐ κέκτηται, καὶ φίλους οἰς τισὶ χρήται, καὶ γείτονας ἐγίνωσκε· καὶ πᾶσαν ὁδὸν Ἰταλίας διαπορευομένῳ Κικέρωνι πρόχειρον ἦν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τοὺς τῶν φίλων ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις.
3 Οὐσίαν δὲ μικρὰν μέν, ἵκανὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς δαπάναις ἐπαρκῆ κεκτημένος ἐθαυμάζετο μήτε

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fell in with an eminent man whom he deemed his friend, and asked him what the Romans were saying and thinking about his achievements, supposing that he had filled the whole city with the name and fame of them ; but his friend said : “Where, pray, have you been, Cicero, all this while ?” At that time, then, as he tells us, he was altogether disheartened, seeing that the story of his doings had sunk into the city as into a bottomless sea, without any visible effect upon his reputation ; but afterwards he reasoned with himself and abated much of his ambition, convinced that the fame towards which he was emulously struggling was a thing that knew no bounds and had no tangible limit However, his excessive delight in the praise of others and his too passionate desire for glory remained with him until the very end, and very often confounded his saner reasonings.

VII. And now that he was engaging in public life with greater ardour, he considered it a shameful thing that while craftsmen, using vessels and instruments that are lifeless, know the name and place and capacity of every one of them, the statesman, on the contrary, whose instruments for carrying out public measures are men, should be indifferent and careless about knowing his fellow-citizens Wherefore he not only accustomed himself to remember their names, but also learned to know the quarter of the city in which every notable person dwelt, where he owned a country-place, what friends he had, and what neighbours ; so that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, it was easy for him to name and point out the estates and villas of his friends.

His property, though sufficient to meet his expenses, was nevertheless small, and therefore men

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μισθοὺς μήτε δῶρα προσιέμενος ἀπὸ τῆς συνηγορίας, μάλιστα δὲ δὲ τὴν κατὰ Βέρρου δίκην ἀνέλαβε. τοῦτο γὰρ στρατηγὸν γεγονότα τῆς Σικελίας καὶ πολλὰ πεπονηρευμένον τῶν Σικελιωτῶν διωκόντων εἶλεν, οὐκ εἰπών, ἀλλ’ ἔξ 4 αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ μὴ εἰπεῖν. τῶν γὰρ στρατηγῶν τῷ Βέρρῃ χαριζόμενων καὶ τὴν δίκην ὑπερθέσει καὶ διακρούσει πολλαῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστάτην ἐκβαλλόντων, ὡς ἦν πρόδηλον ὅτι τοῖς λόγοις ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἔξαρκέσει χρόνος οὐδὲ λήψεται πέρας ἡ κρίσις, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη μὴ δεῖσθαι λόγων, ἀλλ’ ἐπαγαγὴν τοὺς μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπικρίνας ἐκέλευσε φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον τοὺς δικαστάς. ὅμως δὲ πολλὰ χαρίεντα διαμυημονεύ- 5 εται καὶ περὶ ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην. βέρρην γὰρ οἱ Ὁρμαῖοι τὸν ἐκτετμημένον χοῖρον καλοῦσιν. ὡς οὖν ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔνοχος τῷ ιουδαΐζειν, ὄνομα Κεκίλιος, ἐβούλετο παρωσάμενος τοὺς Σικελιώτας κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Βέρρου “Τί ‘Ιουδαΐψ πρὸς χοῖρον;” ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων. ἦν δὲ τῷ Βέρρῃ ἀντίπαις νίος, οὐκ ἐλευθερίως δοκῶν προστασθαι τῆς ὥρας. λοιδορηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Κικέρων εἰς μαλακίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βέρρου, “Τοῖς νίοις,” 6 εἶπεν, “ἐντὸς θυρῶν δεῖ λοιδορεῖσθαι.” τοῦ δὲ ἥγιτορος Ὁρτησίου τὴν μὲν εὐθεῖαν τῷ Βέρρῃ συνειπεῖν μὴ τολμήσαντος, ἐν δὲ τῷ τιμήματι πεισθέντος παραγενέσθαι καὶ λαβόντος ἐλεφαν-

¹ That is, the last day on which the case could be tried during that year. The city praetor already elected for the coming year (69 B.C.) favoured Verres, and Hortensius, the advocate of Verres, was to be consul in that year. He

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wondered that he would accept neither fees nor gifts for his services as advocate, and above all when he undertook the prosecution of Verres. This man, who had been praetor of Sicily, and whom the Sicilians prosecuted for many villainous acts, Cicero convicted, not by speaking, but, in a way, by actually not speaking. For the praetors favoured Verres, and by many obstacles and delays had put off the case until the very last day,¹ since it was clear that a day's time would not be enough for the speeches of the advocates and so the trial would not be finished. But Cicero rose and said there was no need of speeches,² and then brought up and examined his witnesses and bade the jurors cast their votes. Nevertheless, many witty sayings of his in connection with this trial are on record. For instance, "verres" is the Roman word for a castrated *porker*; when, accordingly, a freedman named Caecilius, who was suspected of Jewish practices, wanted to thrust aside the Sicilian accusers and denounce Verres himself, Cicero said: "What has a Jew to do with a Verres?" Moreover, Verres had a young son, who had the name of lending himself to base practices. Accordingly, when Cicero was reviled by Verres for effeminity, "You ought," said he, "to revile your sons at home." And again, the orator Hortensius did not venture to plead the cause of Verres directly, but was persuaded to appear for him at the assessment of the fine, and received an ivory therefore used every artifice to delay the case. See Cicero, *in Verrem*, l. 10, 31 ff.

¹ Of the seven orations against Verres (including the *Divinatio in Caecilium*) only the first two were delivered; the others were compiled after the verdict had been pronounced.

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τίνην Σφίγγα μισθόν, εἰπέ τι πλαγίως ὁ Κικέρων πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος αἰνιγμάτων λύσεως ἀπείρως ἔχειν, “Καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας,” ἔφη,¹ “τὴν Σφίγγα ἔχεις.”

VIII. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Βέρρου καταδικασθέντος, ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε μυριάδων τιμησάμενος τὴν δίκην ὁ Κικέρων διαβολὴν ἔσχεν ὡς ἐπ’ ἀργυρίῳ τὸ τίμημα καθυφειμένος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ οἱ Σικελιῶται χάριν εἰδότες ἀγορανομοῦντος αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μὲν ἄγοντες ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, πολλὰ δὲ φέροντες ἥκον, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐποιήσατο κέρδος, ἀλλ’ ὅσου ἐπειωίσαι τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπεχρήσατο τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

- 2 Ἐκέκτητο δὲ χωρίον καλὸν ἐν Ἀρποις, καὶ περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἦν ἀγρὸς καὶ περὶ Πομπηίους ἔτερος, οὐ μεγάλου· φερνή τε Τερεντίας τῆς γυναικὸς προσεγένετο μυριάδων δέκα, καὶ κληρονομία τις εἰς ἐννέα δημαρίων συναχθεῖσα μυριάδας. ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλευθερίως ἄμα καὶ σωφρόνως διῆγε μετὰ τῶν συμβιούντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ρωμαίων φιλολόγων, σπάνιον, εἴ ποτε, πρὸ δυσμῶν ἥλιου κατακλινόμενος, οὐχ οὕτω δι’ ἀσχολίαν, ὡς διὰ τὸ σῶμα τῷ στομάχῳ μοχθηρῷ διακείμενον. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπείαν ἀκριβῆς καὶ περιττός, ὥστε καὶ τρίψει καὶ περιπάτοις ἀριθμῷ τεταγμένοις χρῆσθαι. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαπαιδαγωγῶν τὴν ἔξιν ἄνοσον καὶ διαρκῆ πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας καὶ πόνους συνεῖχεν. οἰκίαν δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρόφαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ παρεχώρησεν, αὐτὸς δ’ ὥκει περὶ τὸ Παλάτιον ὑπέρ τοῦ μὴ μακρὰν βαδίζοντας ἐνο-

¹ οἰκίας, ἔφη, τὴν Graux with Ma. οἰκίας τὴν

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sphinx as his reward; and when Cicero made some oblique reference to him and Hortensius declared that he had no skill in solving riddles, "And yet," said Cicero, "thou hast the Sphinx at thy house."

VIII. When Verres had thus been convicted, Cicero assessed his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand denarii,¹ and was therefore accused of having been bribed to make the fine a low one. The Sicilians, however, were grateful to him, and when he was aedile brought him from their island all sorts of live stock and produce; from these he derived no personal profit, but used the generosity of the islanders only to lower the price of provisions.

He owned a pleasant country-seat at Arpinum, and had a farm near Naples and another near Pompeii, both small. His wife Terentia brought him besides a dowry of a hundred thousand denarii, and he received a bequest which amounted to ninety thousand. From these he lived, in a generous and at the same time modest manner, with the Greek and Roman men of letters who were his associates. He rarely, if ever, came to table before sunset, not so much on account of business, as because his stomach kept him in poor health. In other ways, too, he was exact and over-scrupulous in the care of his body, so that he actually took a set number of rubbings and walks. By carefully managing his health in this way he kept it free from sickness and able to meet the demands of many great struggles and toils. The house which had been his father's he made over to his brother, and dwelt himself near the Palatine hill,² in order that those who came to pay their court to

¹ See the note on m. 2.

² In a house purchased after his consulship (*ad fam. v. 6, 2*)

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⁴ χλεῖσθαι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτόν. ἐθεράπευον δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας φοιτῶντες οὐκ ἐλάττονες ἢ Κράσσον ἐπὶ πλούτῳ καὶ Πομπήιον διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι δύναμιν, θαυμαζομένους μᾶλιστα Ρωμαίων καὶ μεγίστους ὅντας. Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ Κικέρωνα ἐθεράπευε, καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς δύναμιν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἢ Κικέρωνος συνέπραξε πολιτείᾳ.

IX. Στρατηγίαν δὲ μετιόντων ἄμα σὺν αὐτῷ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πρώτος ἀπάντων ἀνηγορεύθη· καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἔδοξε καθαρῶς καὶ καλῶς βραβεῦσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Λικίννιος Μάκερ, ἀνὴρ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἰσχύων ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγα καὶ Κράσσῳ χρώμενος βοηθῷ, κρινόμενος κλοπῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ,^¹ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ σπουδῇ πεποιθώς, 2 ἔτι τὴν ψῆφον τῶν κριτῶν διαφερόντων ἀπαλλαγεὶς οἴκαδε κείρασθαί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ τάχος καὶ καθαρὸν ἴματιον ὡς νευκηκὼς λαβὼν αὐθις εἰς ἀγορὰν προιέναι· τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου περὶ τὴν αὐλειον ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ φράσαντος ὅτι πάσαις ἐάλωκε ταῖς ψήφοις, ἀναστρέψας καὶ 3 κατακλινεὶς ἀποθανεῖν. τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τῷ Κικέρῳ δόξαν ἥνεγκεν ὡς ἐπιμελῶς βραβεύσαντι τὸ δικαστήριον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Οὐνατίνιος, ἀνὴρ ἔχων τι τραχὺ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὀλίγωρον ἐν ταῖς συνηγορίαις, χοιράδων δὲ τὸν τράχηλον περίπλεως, ἥτειτό τι καταστὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος,

^¹ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Cobet's correction of the MS. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, adopted by Sintenis^². So Graux with Ma.

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him might not have the trouble of a long walk.¹ And men came to his house every day to pay him court, no fewer than came to Crassus for his wealth or to Pompey because of his influence with the soldiery, and these were the two greatest men among the Romans and the most admired. Nay, Pompey actually paid court to Cicero, and Cicero's political efforts contributed much towards Pompey's power and fame.

IX. Although many men of importance stood for the praetorship along with Cicero, he was appointed first of them all;² and men thought that he managed the cases which came before him with integrity and fairness. It is said, too, that Licinius Macer, a man who had great power in the city on his own account and also enjoyed the help of Crassus, was tried before Cicero for fraud, and that, relying upon his influence and the efforts made in his behalf, he went off home while the jurors were still voting, hastily trimmed his hair and put on a white toga in the belief that he had been acquitted, and was going forth again to the forum; but Crassus met him at the house-door and told him that he had been convicted unanimously, whereupon he turned back, lay down upon his bed, and died. And the case brought Cicero the reputation of having been a scrupulous presiding officer. Again, there was Vatinius, a man who had a harsh manner and one which showed contempt for the magistrates before whom he pleaded; his neck also was covered with swellings. As this man once stood at Cicero's tribunal and made some request of him,

¹ Cf. the *Marius*, xxxii 1

² In 66 B.C. Eight praetors were appointed, and the one who received most votes was made city praetor, or chief magistrate.

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καὶ μὴ διδόντος, ἀλλὰ βουλευομένου πολὺν χρόνον, εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἀν αὐτὸς διστάσειε περὶ τούτου στρατηγῶν, ἐπιστραφεὶς δὲ Κικέρων, “Ἄλλ’ ἔγώ,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἔχω τηλικοῦτον τράχηλον.”

4. Ἐπι δὲ ἡμέρας δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ προσήγαγέ τις Μανίλιος εὐθύνων κλοπῆς. ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος οὗτος εὔνοιαν εἶχε καὶ σπουδὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, δοκῶν ἐλαύνεσθαι διὰ Πομπήιου ἐκείνου γάρ ήν φίλος. αἰτούμενου δὲ ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ μίαν δὲ Κικέρων μόνην τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἔδωκε· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἡγανάκτησεν εἰθισμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν δέκα τούλαχιστον ἡμέρας διδόναι τοῖς κινδυνεύοντις. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων αὐτὸν διαγαγόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ κατηγορούντων, ἀκουσθῆναι δεηθεὶς εἶπεν δὲ τοῖς κινδυνεύοντις ἀεί, καθ’ ὅσον οἱ νόμοι παρείκουσι, κεχρημένος ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως δεινὸν ἥγεντο τῷ Μανίλῳ ταῦτα μὴ παρασχεῖν· ής οὖν ἔτι μόνης κύριος ήν ἡμέρας στρατηγῶν, ταύτην ἐπίτηδες ὀρίσαι· τὸ γάρ εἰς ἄλλουν ἄρχοντα τὴν κρίσιν ἐκβαλεῖν οὐκ 6 εἶναι βουλομένου βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα λεχθέντα θαυμαστὴν ἐποίησε τοῦ δήμου μεταβολὴν καὶ πολλὰ κατευφημούντες αὐτὸν ἔδεοντο τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μανίλιου συνηγορίαν ἀναλαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέστη προθύμως, οὐχ ἤκιστα διὰ Πομπήιου ἀπόντα· καὶ καταστὰς πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐδημηγόρησε, οεανικῶς τῶν διαιγαρχικῶν καὶ τῷ Πομπηϊῷ φθονούντων καθαπτόμενος.

5. Χ. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐχ ἦττον ὑπὸ τῶν

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Cicero did not grant it at once, but took a long time for deliberation, whereupon Vatinus said that he himself would not have stuck at the matter had he been praetor. At this Cicero turned upon him and said: "But I have not the neck that you have."

Two or three days before his term of office expired, Manilius was brought before him on a charge of fraudulent accounting. This Manilius had the good will and eager support of the people, since it was thought that he was prosecuted on Pompey's account, being a friend of his. On his demanding several days in which to make his defence, Cicero granted him only one, and that the next; and the people were indignant because it was customary for the praetor to grant ten days at least to the accused. And when the tribunes brought Cicero to the rostra and denounced him, he begged for a hearing, and then said that he had always treated defendants, so far as the laws allowed, with clemency and kindness, and thought it an unfortunate thing that Manilius should not have this advantage; wherefore, since only one day was left to his disposal as praetor, he had purposely set this day for the trial, and surely it was not the part of one who wished to help Manilius to defer it to another praetor's term. These words produced a wonderful change in the feelings of the people, and with many expressions of approval they begged Cicero to assume the defence of Manilius. This he willingly consented to do, chiefly for the sake of Pompey, who was absent, and once more mounting the rostra harangued the people anew, vigorously attacking the oligarchical party and those who were jealous of Pompey.

X. Yet he was advanced to the consulship no less

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ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν προήχθη διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔξι αὐτίας αὐτῷ τοιαύτης συναγωνισταμένων. τῆς ὑπὸ Σύλλα γενομένης μεταβολῆς περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἀπόπου φανείσης, τότε δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ συνθείας ἥδη τινὰ κατάστασιν ἔχειν οὐ φαύλην δοκούσης, ἥσαν οἱ τὰ παρόντα διασεῖσαι καὶ μεταθεῖναι ζητοῦντες ιδίων ἔνεκα πλεονεξιῶν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον, Πομπηίου μὲν ἔπι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Ἀρμενίᾳ πολεμοῦντος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μηδεμιᾶς ὑφεστώσης πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας ἀξιομάχουν 2 δυνάμεως. οὗτοι κορυφαῖν εἶχον ἄνδρα τολμητὴν καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα καὶ ποικίλον τὸ ἥθος, Λεύκιον Κατιλίναν, δις αἰτίαν ποτὲ πρὸς ἄλλους ἀδικήμασι μεγάλοις ἔλαβε παρθένῳ συγγεγονέναι θυγατρί, κτεῖναι δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ δικηρν ἐπὶ τούτῳ φοβούμενος ἐπεισε Σύλλαν ὡς ἔτι ζῶντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τοῖς ἀποθανουμένοις προγράψαι. 3 τοῦτον οὖν προστάτην οἱ πονηροὶ λαβόντες ἄλλας τε πίστεις ἄλλήλοις ἔδοσαν καὶ καταθύσαντες ἄνθρωπον ἐγεύσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν. διέφθαρτο δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητος, ἥδονάς καὶ πότους καὶ γυναικῶν ἔρωτας ἀεὶ προξενοῦντος ἐκάστῳ καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἀφειδῶς παρασκευάζοντος. ἐπῆρτο δὲ ἡ τε Τυρρηνία πρὸς ἀπόστασιν δῆλη καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς 4 ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίας. ἐπισφαλέστατα δὲ Ῥώμη πρὸς μεταβολὴν εἶχε διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς

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by the aristocrats than by the common people, and in the interests of the city, both parties seconding his efforts for the following reasons. The change which Sulla had made in the constitution at first appeared absurd, but now it seemed to the majority, owing to lapse of time and their familiarity with it, to afford at last a kind of settlement which was not to be despised. There were those, however, who sought to agitate and change the existing status for the sake of their own gain, and not for the best interests of the state, while Pompey was still carrying on war with the kings in Pontus and Armenia, and there was no power in Rome which was able to cope with the revolutionaries. These had for their chief a man of bold, enterprising, and versatile character, Lucius Catiline, who, in addition to other great crimes, had once been accused of deflowering his own daughter and of killing his own brother; and fearing prosecution for this murder, he persuaded Sulla to put his brother's name, as though he were still alive, in the list of those who were to be put to death under proscription.¹ Taking this man, then, as their leader, the miscreants gave various pledges to one another, one of which was the sacrifice of a man and the tasting of his flesh.² Moreover, Catiline had corrupted a large part of the young men in the city, supplying each of them continually with amusements, banquets, and amours, and furnishing without stint the money to spend on these things. Besides, all Etruria was roused to revolt, as well as most of Cisalpine Gaul. And Rome was most dangerously disposed towards change on account of the

¹ Cf. the *Sulla*, xxxii. 2.

² Cf. Dion Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* xxxvii. 30, 3.

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ούσίαις ἀνωμαλίαιν, τῶν μὲν ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ φρονήματι κατεπτωχευμένων εἰς θέατρα καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ φιλαρχίας καὶ οἰκοδομίας, τῶν δὲ πλούτων εἰς ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς συνερρυηκότων ἀνθρώπους, ὡστε μικρᾶς ῥοπῆς δεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ παντὸς εἶναι τοῦ τολμῆσαντος ἐκστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς νοσοῦσαν.

XI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Βουλόμενος ὁ Κατιλίνας ἰσχυρόν τι προκαταλαβεῖν ὅρμητήριον ὑπατείαν μετήσει· καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὡς Γαίῳ Ἀντώνιῳ συνυπατεύσων, ἀνδρὶ καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν οὕτε πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἡγεμονικῷ, προσθήκη δ' ἄγοντος ἔτερον δυνάμεως 2 ἐσομένῳ. ταῦτα δὴ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι προαισθόμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα προηγον ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν· καὶ τοῦ δήμου δεξαμένου προθύμως ὁ μὲν Κατιλίνας ἔξεπεσε, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ Γάιος Ἀντώνιος ἤρεθησαν. καίτοι τῶν μετιόντων ὁ Κικέρων μόνος ἦν ἔξι ἵππικοῦ πατρός, οὐ βούλευτοῦ, γεγονώς.

XII. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Κατιλίναν ἔμελλεν ἔτι τοὺς πολλοὺς λαυθάνοντα, προάγωνες δὲ μεγάλοι τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν ἔξεδέξαντο. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ οἱ κεκωλυμένοι κατὰ τοὺς Σύλλα τούτους ἄρχειν, οὗτ' ἀσθενεῖς δύντες οὕτ' ὀλίγοι, μετιόντες ἄρχας ἐδημαργώγουν, πολλὰ τῆς Σύλλα τυραννίδος ἀληθῆ μὲν καὶ δίκαια κατηγοροῦντες, οὐ μὴν ἐν δέοντι τὴν πολιτείαν οὐδὲ σὺν καιρῷ 2 κινοῦντες· τοῦτο δὲ νόμους εἰσῆγον οἱ δήμαρχοι

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irregularity in the distribution of property, since men of the highest reputation and spirit had beggared themselves on shows, feasts, pursuit of office, and buildings, and riches had streamed into the coffers of low-born and mean men, so that matters needed only a slight impulse to disturb them, and it was in the power of any bold man to overthrow the commonwealth, which of itself was in a diseased condition

XI. However, Catiline wished to obtain first a strong base of operations, and therefore sued for the consulship; and he had bright hopes that he would share the consulship with Caius Antonius, a man who, of himself, would probably not take the lead either for good or for bad, but would add strength to another who took the lead. Most of the better class of citizens were aware of this, and therefore put forward Cicero for the consulship, and as the people readily accepted him, Catiline was defeated, and Cicero and Caius Antonius were elected.¹ And yet Cicero was the only one of the candidates who was the son, not of a senator, but of a knight.

XII. The schemes of Catiline were still to remain concealed from the multitude, but great preliminary struggles awaited the consulship of Cicero. For, in the first place, those who were prevented from holding office by the laws of Sulla, and they were neither few nor weak, sued for offices and tried to win the favour of the people, making many charges against the tyranny of Sulla which were just and true, indeed, but disturbing the government at an improper and unseasonable time; and, in the second place, the tribunes were introducing

¹ For the year 63 B.C.

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- πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν, δεκαδαρχίαν καθιστάν-
τες αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐφέίτο πάσης μὲν
Ἴταλίας, πάσης δὲ Συρίας, καὶ ὅσα διὰ Πομπηΐου
νεωστὶ προσώριστο κυρίους ὅντας πωλεῖν τὰ
δημόσια, κρίνειν οὓς δοκοίη, φυγάδας ἐκβάλλειν,
συνοικίζειν πόλεις, χρήματα λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ
ταμιείου, στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ καταλέγειν
3 ὁπόσων δέοιντο. διὸ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσείχον
ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ πρῶτος Ἀντώνιος ὁ
τοῦ Κικέρωνος συνάρχων ὡς τῶν δέκα γενησό-
μενος. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν Κατιλίνα νεωτερισμὸν
εἰδὼς οὐ δυσχεραίνειν ὑπὸ πλήθους δανείσθαι. ὁ
μάλιστα τοῖς ἀρίστοις φόβον παρεῖχε.
- 4 Καὶ τοῦτον πρῶτον θεραπεύων ὁ Κικέρων
ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐψήφισατο τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν Μακεδονίαν,
αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν διδομένην παρηγήσατο,
καὶ κατειργάσατο τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον
ώσπερ ὑποκριτὴν ἔμμισθον αὐτῷ τὰ δευτέρα
λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ὡς δ' οὗτος ἑαλώκει
καὶ χειροήθης ἐγεγόνει, μᾶλλον ἥδη θαρρῶν ὁ
5 Κικέρων ἐνίστατο πρὸς τοὺς καινοτομοῦντας. ἐν
μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορίαν τινὰ τοῦ νόμου
διατιθέμενος οὕτως ἐξέπληξεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς εἰσφέ-
ρουντας ὥστε μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐθις
ἐπεχείρουν καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι προεκαλοῦντο
τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, οὐδὲν ὑποδείσας ὁ
Κικέρων, ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπεσθαι κελεύσας καὶ
προελθών, οὐ μόνον ἐξέβαλε τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπογνῶνται τοὺς δημάρχους

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laws to the same purpose, appointing a commission of ten men with unlimited powers, to whom was committed, as supreme masters of all Italy, of all Syria, and of all the territories which Pompey had lately added to the empire, the right to sell the public lands, to try whom they pleased, to send into exile, to settle cities, to take moneys from the public treasury, and to levy and maintain as many soldiers as they wanted. Therefore many of the prominent men also were in favour of the law, and foremost among them Antonius the colleague of Cicero, who expected to be one of the ten. It was thought also that he knew about the conspiracy of Catiline and was not averse to it, owing to the magnitude of his debts; and this was what gave most alarm to the nobles.

This alarm Cicero first sought to allay by getting the province of Macedonia voted to his colleague, while he himself declined the proffered province of Gaul; and by this favour he induced Antonius, like a hired actor, to play the second rôle to him in defence of their country. Then, as soon as Antonius had been caught and was tractable, Cicero opposed himself with more courage to the innovators. Accordingly, he denounced the proposed law in the senate at great length, and so terrified the very promoters of it that they had no reply to make to him. And when they made a second attempt and after full preparation summoned the consuls to appear before the people, Cicero had not the slightest fear, but bidding the senate follow him and leading the way, he not only got the law rejected, but also induced the tribunes to desist

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έποιησε, παρὰ τοσοῦτον τῷ λόγῳ κρατηθέντας
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

XIII. Μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπέδειξε
Ῥωμαίοις ὅσον ἡδονῆς λόγος τῷ καλῷ προστί-
θησι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ἀγήττητόν ἐστιν ἀν όρθως
λέγηται, καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἐμμελῶς πολιτευόμενον ἀεὶ²
τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τὸ καλὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ κολακεύοντος
αἱρεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τὸ λυποῦν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ
συμφέροντος. δεῖγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς περὶ τὸν λό-
γον χάριτος καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θέας ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ
γενούμενον. τῶν γὰρ ἵππικῶν πρότερον ἐν τοῖς
θεάτροις ἀναμεμηγμένων τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μετὰ
τοῦ δήμου θεωμένων ὡς ἔτυχε, πρῶτος διέκρινεν
ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοὺς ἵππεας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν
Μάρκος Ὁθων στρατηγῶν, καὶ διένειμεν ἴδιαν
ἐκείνοις θέαν, ἵν τοι εἴτε καὶ νῦν ἔξαιρετον ἔχουσι.
3 τοῦτο πρὸς ἀτιμίας ὁ δῆμος ἔλαβε, καὶ φανέντος
ἐν θεάτρῳ τοῦ Ὁθωνος ἐφυβρίζων ἐσύριττεν, οἱ
δὲ ἵππεῖς ὑπέλαβον κρότῳ τὸν ἀνδρα λαμπρῶς.
αὐθις δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐπέτεινε τὸν συριγμόν, εἴτα
ἐκεῖνοι τὸν κρότον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τραπόμενοι
πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐχρῶντο λοιδορίας, καὶ τὸ θέ-
4 ατρον ἀκοσμία κατεύχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Κικέρων ἤκε
πυθόμενος καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκκαλέσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς
Ἐννοῦς ἱερὸν ἐπετίμησε καὶ παρήνεσεν, ἀπελ-

¹ See the three orations *de Lege Agraria*, which have come down to us almost intact.

CICERO

from the rest of their measures, so overpowered were they by his eloquence¹

XIII For this man beyond all others showed the Romans how great a charm eloquence adds to the right, and that justice is invincible if it is correctly put in words, and that it behooves the careful statesman always in his acts to choose the right instead of the agreeable, and in his words to take away all vexatious features from what is advantageous. A proof of the charm of his discourse may be found in an incident of his consulship connected with the public spectacles. In earlier times, it seems, the men of the equestrian order were mingled with the multitudes in the theatres and saw the spectacles along with the people, seated as chance would have it; Marcus Otho was the first to separate in point of honour the knights from the rest of the citizens, which he did when he was praetor,² and gave them a particular place of their own at the spectacles, which they still retain. The people took this as a mark of dishonour to themselves, and when Otho appeared in the theatre they hissed him insultingly, while the knights received him with loud applause. The people renewed and increased their hisses, and then the knights their applause. After this they turned upon one another with reviling words, and disorder reigned in the theatre. When Cicero heard of this he came and summoned the people to the temple of Bellona, where he rebuked

¹ It was in 67 B C , four years before Cicero's consulship, that Lucius Roseus Otho, as tribune of the people, introduced his law giving the equites a special place at the spectacles, namely, the fourteen rows of seats next those of the senators. The law, however, had only recently been enacted.

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θόντες αὐθις εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐκρότουν τὸν "Οθωνα λαμπρῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἵππέας ἄμυλλαν ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τιμῶν καὶ δόξης τοῦ ἀνδρός.

XIV. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν συνωμοσίᾳ πτήξασα καὶ καταδείσασα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐθις ἀνεθάρρει, καὶ συνῆγον ἀλλήλους καὶ παρεκάλουν εὐτολμότερον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν Πομπήιον ἥδη λεγόμενον ὑποστρέφειν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐξηρέθιζον οἱ Σύλλα πάλαι στρατιώται, διαπεφυκότες μὲν ὅλης τῆς Ἰταλίας, πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ μαχιμώτατοι ταῖς Τυρρηνικαῖς ἐγκατεσπαρμένοι πόλεσιν, ἀρπαγὰς πάλιν καὶ διαφορήσεις πλοιού² των ἑτοίμων διειροπολοῦντες. οὗτοι γὰρ ἡγεμόνα Μάλλιον ἔχοντες, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ὑπὸ Σύλλα στρατευσαμένων, συνίσταντο τῷ Κατιλίνᾳ καὶ παρῆσαν εἰς Ῥώμην συναρχαιρεσιάσοντες. ὑπατείαν γὰρ αὐθις μετήσει, βεβουλευμένος ἀνελεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν³ τὸν Θόρυβον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον προσημαίνειν τὰ πρασσόμενα σεισμοῖς καὶ κεραυνοῖς καὶ φάσμασιν. αἱ δὲ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων μηνύσεις ἀληθεῖς μὲν ἦσαν, οὕπω δὲ εἰς ἔλεγχον ἀποχρώσαι κατ' ἄνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ δυναμένου μέγα τοῦ Κατιλίνα. διὸ τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ὑπερθέμενος ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὸν Κατιλίναν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἀνέκρινεν.⁴ ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς οἰόμενος εἶναι τοὺς πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐφιεμένους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ἄμα τοῖς

CICERO

and exhorted them, whereupon they went back again to the theatre and applauded Otho loudly, and vied with the knights in showing him honour and esteem.

XIV. But Catiline and his fellow-conspirators, who at first were cowed and terrified, began once more to take courage, and assembling themselves together exhorted one another to take matters in hand more boldly before Pompey came back, and he was said to be now returning with his army. It was the old soldiers of Sulla, however, who were most of all urging Catiline on to action. These were to be found in all parts of Italy, but the greatest numbers and the most warlike of them had been scattered among the cities of Etruria, and were again dreaming of robbing and plundering the wealth that lay ready to hand. These men, I say, with Manlius for a leader, one of the men who had served with distinction under Sulla, associated themselves with Catiline and came to Rome to take part in the consular elections. For Catiline was again a candidate for the consulship, and had determined to kill Cicero in the very tumult of the elections. Moreover, even the heavenly powers seemed, by earthquakes and thunderbolts and apparitions, to foreshow what was coming to pass. And there were also human testimonies which were true, indeed, but not sufficient for the conviction of a man of reputation and great power like Catiline. For this reason Cicero postponed the day of the elections, and summoning Catiline to the senate, examined him concerning what was reported. But Catiline, thinking that there were many in the senate who were desirous of a revolution, and at

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συνωμόταις ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Κικέ-
ρωνι μανικὴν ἀπόκρισιν “Τί γάρ,” ἔφη, “πράττω
δεινόν, εἰ, δυεῦν σωμάτων ὄντων, τοῦ μὲν ῥιγνοῦ
καὶ κατεφθιωηκότος, ἔχοντος δὲ κεφαλήν, τοῦ δ'
ἀκεφάλου μέν, ῥιχυροῦ δὲ καὶ μεγάλου, τούτῳ
5 κεφαλὴν αὐτὸς ἐπιτίθημι;” τούτων εἰς τε τὴν
βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον γῆγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μᾶλ-
λον ὁ Κικέρων ἔδεισε, καὶ τεθωρακισμένου αὐτὸν
οἵ τε δυνατοὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῶν νέων
πολλοὶ κατήγαγον εἰς τὸ πεδίον. τοῦ δὲ θώρακος
ἐπίτηδες ὑπέφαινέ τι παραλύσας ἐκ τῶν ὄμων
τοῦ χιτῶνος, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς ὄρωσι τὸν κίνδυ-
6 νον. οἱ δὲ ἡγανάκτουν καὶ συνεστρέφοντο περὶ
αὐτόν· καὶ τέλος ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις τὸν μὲν Κατιλί-
νναν αὐθις ἐξέβαλον, εἶλοντο δὲ Σιλανὸν ὕπατον
καὶ Μουρήναν.

XV. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἥδη τῷ
Κατιλίνᾳ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ συνερχομένων καὶ
καταλοχιζομένων, καὶ τῆς ὡρισμένης πρὸς τὴν
ἐπίθεσιν ἡμέρας ἐγγὺς οὔσης, ἥκον ἐπὶ τὴν Κικέ-
ρωνος οἰκίαν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι
καὶ δυνατώτατοι Ρωμαίων, Μάρκος τε Κράσσος
καὶ Μάρκος Μάρκελλος καὶ Σκηπτίων Μέτελλος·
κόψαντες δὲ τὰς θύρας καὶ καλέσαντες τὸν θυ-
ρωρὸν ἐκέλευνον ἐπεγένατοι καὶ φράσαι Κικέρωνι
2 τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε· τῷ Κράσ-
σῳ μετὰ δεῖπνου ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσιν δὲ θυ-
ρωρός, ὑπὸ δή τινος ἀνθρώπου κομισθείσας ἀγνώ-
στου, ἄλλας ἄλλοις ἐπιγεγραμμένας, αὐτῷ δὲ
Κράσσῳ μίαν ἀδέσποτον. ἦν μόνην ἀναγνοῦν
δὲ Κράσσος, ὡς ἔφραζε τὰ γράμματα φόνον γενη-

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the same time making a display of himself to the conspirators, gave Cicero the answer of a madman: "What dreadful thing, pray," said he, "am I doing, if, when there are two bodies, one lean and wasted, but with a head,¹ and the other headless, but strong and large, I myself become a head for this?" Since this riddle of Catiline's referred to the senate and the people, Cicero was all the more alarmed, and he wore a breastplate when all the nobles and many of the young men escorted him from his house to the Campus Martius. Moreover, he purposely allowed the spectators to get a glimpse of his breastplate by loosing his tunic from his shoulders, thus showing them his peril. The people were incensed and rallied about him; and finally, when they voted, they rejected Catiline once more, and elected Silanus and Murena consuls.²

XV. Not long after this, when Catiline's soldiers in Etruria were already assembling and forming into companies, and when the day set for their attack was near, there came to the house of Cicero at midnight men who were the leading and most powerful Romans, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Scipio Metellus; and knocking at the door and summoning the doorkeeper, they bade him wake Cicero and tell him they were there. Their business was what I shall now relate. After Crassus had dined, his doorkeeper handed him some letters which an unknown man had brought; they were addressed to different persons, and one, which had no signature, was for Crassus himself. Crassus read this letter only, and since its contents told him that

¹ *Unum debile, infirmo capite* (*Cicero, pro Murena*, 25, 51).

² For the year 62 B.C.

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σόμενον πολὺν διὰ Κατιλίνα, καὶ παρήνει τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξελθεῖν, τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἥκεν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα, πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ, καὶ τι τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολυόμενος ἦν ἔσχε διὰ φιλίαν τοῦ Κατιλίνα.

3 Βουλευσάμενος οὖν ὁ Κικέρων ἄμ' ἡμέρᾳ βουλὴν συνήγαγε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίσας ἀπέδωκεν οἷς ἥσαν ἐπεσταλμένας, κελεύσας φανερῶς ἀναγνῶναι. πᾶσαι δ' ἥσαν ὁμοίως ἐπιβουλὴν φράζουσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κόνυτος Ἀρριος, ἀνὴρ στρατηγικός, ἀπήγγελε τοὺς ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ καταλοχισμούς, καὶ Μάλλιος ἀπηγγέλλετο σὺν χειρὶ μεγάλῃ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας αἰώρούμενος ἀεὶ 4 τι προσδοκῶν καινὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης, γίνεται δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς παρακατατίθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὰ πράγματα, δεξαμένους δ' ἐκείνους ὡς ἐπίστανται διοικεῖν καὶ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο δ' οὐ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὅταν τι μέγα δείσῃ, ποιεῖν εἴωθεν ἡ σύγκλητος.

5 XVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην λαβὼν τὴν ἔξουσίαν ὁ Κικέρων τὰ μὲν ἔξω πράγματα Κοίντῳ Μετέλλῳ διεπίστευσε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἰχε διὰ χειρὸς καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν προήει δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολὺ μέρος κατέχειν ἐμβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς παραπέμποντας, οὐκέτι καρτερῶν τὴν μέλλησιν ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκπηδᾶν ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον

¹ See the *Ciassus*, xii. 3. Cicero's treatise on his consulship there referred to, was written in Greek, and is not extant.

CICERO

there was to be much bloodshed caused by Catiline, and advised him to escape secretly from the city, he did not open the rest, but came at once to Cicero, terrified by the danger, and seeking to free himself somewhat from charges that had been made against him on account of his friendship for Catiline.¹

Cicero, accordingly, after deliberation, convened the senate at break of day, and carrying the letters thither gave them to the persons to whom they had been sent, with orders to read them aloud. All the letters alike were found to tell of a plot. And when also Quintus Arrius, a man of praetorian dignity, brought word of the soldiers who were being mustered into companies in Etruria, and Manlius was reported to be hovering about the cities there with a large force, in constant expectation of some news from Rome, the senate passed a decree that matters should be put in the hands of the consuls, who were to accept the charge and manage as best they knew how for the preservation of the city.² Now, the senate is not wont to do this often, but only when it fears some great danger.

XVI. On receiving this power Cicero entrusted matters outside to Quintus Metellus, while he himself kept the city in hand and daily went forth attended by so large a bodyguard that a great part of the forum was occupied when he entered it with his escort. Thereupon Catiline, no longer able to endure the delay, resolved to hasten forth

² Dedit operam consules ne quid respublica detrimentum capiat (Sallust, *Catiline*, 29); decrevit quondam senatus ut L. Opimius consul videret ne quid ies publica detrimentum caperet (Cicero, *m Catil* 1. 2, 4)

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- 2 ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, Μάρκιον δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἐκέλευσε ξίφη λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἔωθεν ὡς ἀσπασομένους τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ διαχρήσασθαι προσπεσόντας. τοῦτο Φουλβία, γυνὴ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐξαγγέλλει τῷ Κικέρωνι, νυκτὸς ἐλθοῦντα καὶ διακελευσαμένη φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κέθηγον. οἱ δὲ ἥκον ἄμ' ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ κωλυθέντες εἰσελθεῖν ἡγανάκτουν καὶ κατεβόων
- 3 ἐπὶ θύραις, ὥστε ὑποπτότεροι γενέσθαι. προελθὼν δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Στησίου Διός ἵερον, δὺν Στάτορα Ρωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἰδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιοντων. ἔνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλθόντος ὡς ἀπολογησομένου, συγκαθίσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάθρου μετῆλθον. ἀρξάμενος δὲ λέγειν ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν λόγοις, ἐκείνου δὲ ὅπλοις πολιτευομένου μέσον εἶναι τὸ
- 4 τεῦχος. δὲ μὲν οὖν Κατιλίνας εὐθὺς ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων ὅπλοφόρων καὶ περιστησάμενος αὐτῷ ῥαβδουχίας ὡς ἄρχοντι καὶ πελέκεις καὶ σημαίας ἐπαράμενος, πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἔχώρει· καὶ δισμυρίων ὄμοῦ τι συνηθροισμένων ἐπῆρε τὰς πόλεις ἀναπεύθων καὶ ἀφιστάς, ὥστε τοῦ πολέμου φανεροῦ γεγονότος τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποσταλῆναι διαμαχούμενον.

¹ From Cicero's oration *pro Sulla* (6, 18) and Sallust's *Catiline* (28) it appears that the names of these would-be murderers were Caius Cornelius and Lucius Vargunterus.

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to Manlius and his army, and ordered Marcus and Cethagus¹ to take their swords and go early in the morning to the house of Cicero on pretence of paying him their respects, and there to fall upon him and dispatch him. This scheme Fulvia, a woman of high rank, made known to Cicero, coming to him by night and urging him to be on his guard against Cethagus and his companion. The men came at break of day, and when they were prevented from entering, they were incensed and made an outcry at the door, which made them the more suspected. Then Cicero went forth and summoned the senate to the temple of Jupiter Stesius (or Stator, as the Romans say), which was situated at the beginning of the Via Sacra, as you go up to the Palatine hill. Thither Catiline also came with the rest in order to make his defence; no senator, however, would sit with him, but all moved away from the bench where he was. And when he began to speak he was interrupted by outcries, and at last Cicero rose and ordered him to depart from the city, saying that, since one of them did his work with words and the other with arms, the city-wall must needs lie between them.² Catiline, accordingly, left the city at once with three hundred armed followers, assumed the fasces and axes as though he were a magistrate, raised standards, and marched to join Manlius; and since about twenty thousand men altogether had been collected, he marched round to the various cities endeavouring to persuade them to revolt, so that there was now open war, and Antonius was sent off to fight it out.

² Cf. Cicero, *in Catil.* 1. 5, 10.

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XVII. Τοὺς δ' ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν διεφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνα συνῆγε καὶ παρεθάρρυνε Κορηνήλιος Λέντλος Σούρας ἐπίκλησιν, ἀνὴρ γένους μὲν ἐνδόξου, βεβιωκὼς δὲ φαύλως καὶ δὶ ἀσέλγειαν ἔξεληλαμένος τῆς βουλῆς πρότερον, τότε δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸ δεύτερον, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνακτωμένοις τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀξίωμα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν Σούραν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σύλλαν χρόνοις ταμεύων συχνὰ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀπώλεσε καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντος ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, προελθὼν ὀλιγώρως πάνυ καὶ καταφρονητικῶς λόγον μὲν οὐκ ἔφη διδόναι, παρέχειν δὲ τὴν κυήμην, ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν 3 οἱ παῖδες ὅταν ἐν τῷ σφαιρίζειν ἀμάρτωσιν. ἐκ τούτου Σούρας παρωνομάσθη· σούραν γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν κυήμην λέγουσι. πάλιν δὲ δίκην ἔχων καὶ διαφθείρας ἐνίους τῶν δικαστῶν, ἐπεὶ δυσὶ μόναις ἀπέφυγε ψήφοις, ἔφη παρανάλωμα γεγονέναι τὸ θατέρῳ κριτῇ δοθέν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ εἰ καὶ μιᾶς ψήφῳ μόνον ἀπελύθῃ.

4 Τοῦτον ὄντα τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτον κεκινημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνα προσδιέφθειραν ἐλπίσι κεναῖς φευδομάντεις καὶ γόητες ἔπη πεπλασμένα καὶ χρησμούς ἄδοντες, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων, προδηλοῦντας εἵμαρμένους εἶναι τῇ Ῥώμῃ Κορηνηλίους τρεῖς μονάρχους, ὃν δύο μὲν ἦδη πεπληρώκεναι τὸ χρεών, Κίνναν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τρίτῳ δὲ

CICERO

XVII. The creatures of Catiline who had been left behind in the city were brought together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of illustrious birth, but one who had led a low life and for his licentiousness had formerly been expelled from the senate, though now he was serving as praetor for the second time, as is the custom with those who have recovered their senatorial dignity. It is said too that he got his surname of Sura for the following reason. In Sulla's time he was quaestor and lost and wasted large amounts of the public moneys. Sulla was angry at this and demanded an accounting from him in the senate, whereupon Lentulus came forward with a very careless and contemptuous air and said that he would not give an account, but would offer his leg, as boys were accustomed to do when they were playing ball and made a miss. On this account he was surnamed Sura, for "sura" is the Roman word for *leg*. At another time, too, he was under prosecution and had bribed some of the jurors, and when he was acquitted by only two votes, he said that what he had given to the second juror was wasted money, since it would have sufficed if he had been acquitted by one vote only.

Such was the nature of this man who had been stirred up by Catiline, and he was further corrupted by vain hopes held out to him by false prophets and jugglers. These recited forged oracles in verse purporting to come from the Sibylline books,¹ which set forth that three Cornelii were fated to be monarchs in Rome, two of whom had already fulfilled their destiny, namely, Cinna and Sulla, and that now to

¹ Cf. Cicero, *in Catil.* iii. 4, 9.

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λοιπῷ Κορυνηλίῳ ἐκείνῳ φέροντα τὴν μοναρχίαν
ῆκειν τὸν δαίμονα, καὶ δεῦν πάντως δέχεσθαι καὶ
μὴ διαφθείρειν μέλλοντα τοὺς καιρούς, ὥσπερ
Κατιλίνας.

XVIII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐπενόει μικρὸν ὁ Λέντλος ἡ
ἀσημον, ἀλλ' ἐδέδοκτο τὴν βουλὴν ἄπασαν ἀναι-
ρεῖν τῶν τ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσους δύναιτο, τὴν
πόλιν δ' αὐτὴν καταπιμπράναι, φείδεσθαί τε
μηδενὸς ἡ τῶν Πομπηίου τέκνων ταῦτα δ' ἔξαρ-
πασαμένους ἔχειν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φυλάττειν ὅμηρα
τῶν πρὸς Πομπήιον διαλύσεων ἥδη γὰρ ἐφοίτα
πολὺς λόγος καὶ βέβαιος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατιόντος
2 ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης στρατείας. καὶ νῦν μὲν ὕριστο
πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν μία τῶν Κρονιάδων, ξίφη δὲ
καὶ στυπτέα καὶ θειοὶ εἰς τὴν Κεθήγου φέροντες
οἰκίαν ἀπέκρυψαν. ἄνδρας δὲ τάξαντες ἑκατὸν
καὶ μέρη τοσαῦτα τῆς Ῥώμης ἔκαστον ἐφ' ἑκά-
στῳ διεκλήρωσαν, ώς δὲ διλίγον πολλῶν ἀψάν-
των φλέγοιτο πανταχόθεν ἡ πόλις. ἄλλοι δὲ
τοὺς ὅχετον ἔμελλον ἐμφράξαντες ἀποσφάττειν
τοὺς ὑδρευομένους.

3 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἔτυχον ἐπιδημοῦντες
Ἀλλοβρίγων δύο πρέσβεις, ἔθνους μάλιστα δὴ
τότε ποιηρὰ πράττοντος καὶ βαρυνομένου τὴν
ἥγεμονίαν. τούτους οἱ περὶ Λέντλον ὀφελίμους
ἥγοντες πρὸς τὸ κινῆσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τὴν
Γαλατίαν ἐποιήσαντο συνωμότας. καὶ γράμματα δὲ
μὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖ βουλὴν, γράμματα δὲ
πρὸς Κατιλίναν ἔδοσαν, τῇ μὲν ὑπηρεσίᾳ

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him, the third and remaining Cornelius, the heavenly powers were come with a proffer of the monarchy, which he must by all means accept, and not ruin his opportunities by delay, like Catiline.

XVIII. Accordingly, it was no trifling or insignificant plan which Lentulus was cherishing, nay, it was decided to kill all the senators and as many of the other citizens as they could, to burn down the city itself, and to spare no one except the children of Pompey; these they were to seize and hold in their own custody and keep as hostages for their reconciliation with Pompey; for already there was current a wide-spread and sure report of his coming back from his great expedition. A night had also been fixed for the attempt, a night of the Saturnalia,¹ and swords, tow, and brimstone had been carried to the house of Cethegus and hidden there. Moreover, they had appointed a hundred men and assigned by lot as many quarters of Rome to each one severally, in order that within a short time many might play the incendiary and the city be everywhere in a blaze. Others, too, were to stop up the aqueducts and kill those who tried to bring water.

But while this was going on, there chanced to be staying at Rome two ambassadors of the Allobroges, a nation which at that time was in a particularly evil plight and felt oppressed by the Roman sway. These men Lentulus and his partisans thought would be useful in stirring up Gaul to revolt, and therefore took them into the conspiracy. They also gave them letters to their senate, and letters to Catiline, making

¹ At the time of the conspiracy of Catiline the Saturnalia lasted only one day, December 19; in the time of Augustus three days were devoted to them (December 17-19). See the note on *Sulla*, xviii 5

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τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὸν δὲ Κατιλίναν παρακαλοῦντες
ἐλευθερώσαντα τοὺς δούλους ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην
4 ἐλαύνειν. συναπέστελλον δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς
τὸν Κατιλίναν Τίτον τινὰ Κροτωνιάτην, κομί-
ζοντα τὰς ἐπιστολάς. οὐαὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀσταθ-
μήτων καὶ μετ' οἴνου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν
ἀλλήλοις ἐντυγχανόντων βουλεύματα πόνῳ καὶ
λογισμῷ νήφοντι καὶ συνέσει περιττῇ διώκων ὁ
Κικέρων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχων ἔξωθεν ἐπισκο-
ποῦντας τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ συνεξιχνεύοντας
αὐτῷ, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν μετέχειν δοκούντων τῆς
συνωμοσίας διαλεγόμενος κρύφα καὶ πιστεύων,
5 ἔγνω τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἔνοντας κοινολογίαν· καὶ
νυκτὸς ἐνεδρεύσας ἔλαβε τὸν Κροτωνιάτην καὶ τὰ
γράμματα, συνεργούντων ἀδήλως τῶν Ἀλλο-
βρίγων.

XIX. "Αμα δ' ἡμέρα βουλὴν ἀθροίσας εἰς τὸ
τῆς Ὄμονοίας ιερὸν ἔξανέγνω τὰ γράμματα καὶ
τῶν μηνυτῶν διήκουσεν. ἔφη δὲ καὶ Σιλανὸς
Ἰούνιος ἀκηκοέναι τινὰς Κεθήγου λέγοντος ὡς
>NNπατοί τε τρεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ τέτταρες ἀναιρέ-
σθαι μέλλουσι. τοιαῦτα δ' ἔτερα καὶ Πείσων,
2 ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, εἰσήγγειλε. Γάιος δὲ Σουλπίκιος,
εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πεμφθεὶς τοῦ
Κεθήγου πολλὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ βέλη καὶ δρόλα,
πλεῦστα δὲ ἔιφη καὶ μαχαίρας εὗρε νεοθήκτους
ἀπάσας. τέλος δὲ τῷ Κροτωνιάτῃ ψηφισαμένης
ἀδειαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῆς βουλῆς ἔξελεγχθεὶς ὁ
Λέντλος ἀπωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν (στρατηγῶν γάρ
ἔτνγχανε), καὶ τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
καταθέμενος διηλλαξεν ἐσθῆτα τῇ συμφορᾷ πρέ-

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the senate promises of freedom and urging Catiline to set the slaves free and march upon Rome. They also sent with them to Catilme a certain Titus of Croton, who was to carry the letters. But the conspirators were unbalanced men who seldom met together without wine and women, while Cicero was following their schemes industriously, with sober judgement and surpassing sagacity: he also had many men outside of their conspiracy who kept watch upon their doings and helped him track them down, and he conferred secretly and confidentially with many who were supposed to belong to the conspiracy; he therefore came to know of their conference with the strangers, and, laying an ambush by night, he seized the man of Croton and his letters with the secret co-operation of the Allobroges.¹

XIX. At break of day, then, he assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, read the letters aloud, and examined the informers. Silanus Junius also said that certain ones had heard Cethegus declare that three consuls and four praetors were going to be taken off. Piso, too, a man of consular dignity, brought in other reports of a like nature. Moreover, Caius Sulpicius, one of the praetors, on being sent to the house of Cethegus, found in it many missiles and weapons, and a huge quantity of swords and knives, all newly sharpened. And finally, after the senate had voted immunity to the man of Croton on condition that he gave information, Lentulus was convicted, resigned his office (he was then praetor), and laying aside his purple-bordered toga in the senate, assumed in its place a garment suitable to his

¹ Cf. Cicero, *in Catil.* iii. 2, 4-6.

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πουσαν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρεδόθησαν εἰς ἄδεσμον φυλακὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.

- 3 Ἡδη δὲ ἐσπέρας οὕσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου περιμένοντος ἀθρόου, προελθὼν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ φράσας τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ προπεμφθείς, παρῆλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου γειτνιῶντος, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἑκείνου γυναικες κατεῖχον, ἵεροις ἀπορρήτοις ὄργιάζουσαι θεὸν ἦν· Ρωμαῖοι μὲν Ἀγαθήν, "Ἐλληνες δὲ
- 4 Γυναικείαν ὄνομάζουσι. θύεται δέ αὐτῇ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ ὑπάτου διὰ γυναικὸς ἢ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, τῶν Ἐστιάδων παρθένων παρουσῶν. εἰσελθὼν οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, καθ' αὐτόν, ὀλίγων παντάπασιν αὐτῷ παρόντων, ἐφρόντιζεν ὅπως χρήσαιτο τοῖς ἀνδράσι. τὴν τε γάρ ἄκραν καὶ προσήκουσαν ἀδικήμασι τηλικούτοις τιμωρίαιν ἔξευλαβεῖτο καὶ κατώκνει δι' ἐπιεύκειαν ἥθους ἀμά καὶ ως μὴ δοκοίη τῆς ἔξουσίας ἄγαν ἐμφορεύσθαι καὶ πικρῶς ἐπεμβαίνειν ἀνδράσι γένει τε πρώτοις καὶ φίλους δυνατοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κεκτημένοις· μαλακώτερόν τε χρησάμενος ὡρρώδει τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσειν μετριώτερόν τι θανάτου παθόντας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαν ἀναρραγήσεσθαι τόλμης, τῇ παλαιᾷ κακίᾳ νέαν ὄργην προσλαβόντας· αὐτός τε δόξειν ἄνανδρος καὶ μαλακός, οὐδὲ ἄλλως δοκῶν εὐτολμότατος εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς.
- 5 Ξ. Ταῦτα τοῦ Κικέρωνος διαποροῦντος γί-

¹ i.e. for confinement under guard in their own houses (*libera custodia*).

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predicament. He and his associates, therefore, were handed over to the praetors for custody without fetters.¹

It was now evening, and the people were waiting about the temple in throngs, when Cicero came forth and told his fellow-citizens what had been done². They then escorted him to the house of a friend and neighbour, since his own was occupied by the women, who were celebrating mysterious rites to a goddess whom the Romans call *Bona Dea*, and the Greeks, *Gynaecaea*. Sacrifice is offered to her annually in the house of the consul by his wife or his mother, in the presence of the Vestal Virgins. Cicero, then, having gone into his friend's house, began to deliberate with himself—and he had only very few companions—what he should do with the men³. For he shrank from inflicting the extreme penalty, and the one befitting such great crimes, and he hesitated to do it because of the kindness of his nature, and at the same time that he might not appear to make an excessive use of his power and to trample ruthlessly upon men who were of the highest birth and had powerful friends in the city; and if he treated them with less severity, he was afraid of the peril into which they would bring the state. For if they suffered any milder penalty than death, he was sure they would not be satisfied, but would break out into every extreme of boldness, having added fresh rage to their old villainy: and he himself would be thought unmanly and weak, especially as the multitude already thought him very far from courageous.

XX. While Cicero was in this perplexity, a sign

² The third oration *in Catilinam*

³ Cf. Sallust's *Catiline*, 46

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νεταὶ τι ταῖς γυναιξὶ σημεῖον θυούσαις. ὁ γὰρ
βωμός, ἥδη τοῦ πυρὸς κατακεκοιμῆσθαι δοκοῦν-
τος, ἐκ τῆς τέφρας καὶ τῶν κεκαυμένων φλοιῶν
φλόγα πολλὴν ἀνήκε καὶ λαμπράν. ὑφ' ἡς αἱ
μὲν ἄλλαι διεπτοίθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἵεραι παρθένοι τὴν
τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναικά Τερεντίαν ἐκέλευσαν ἦ
τάχος χωρεῦν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύειν οἵς
ἔγνωκεν ἐγχειρεῦν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς μέγα
πρός τε σωτηρίαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ τῆς θεοῦ φῶς
2 διδούσης. ἡ δὲ Τερεντία (καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἦν
πρᾳεῖά τις οὐδὲ ἄτολμος τὴν φύσιν, ἄλλὰ φιλό-
τιμος γυνὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ὁ Κικέ-
ρων, τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα παρ' ἐκεί-
νουν φροντίδων ἡ μεταδιδοῦσα τῶν οἰκιακῶν
ἐκείνῳ) ταῦτά τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφρασε καὶ παρώ-
ξυνει ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ Κόντος ὁ
ἀδελφὸς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἐταίρων Πό-
πλιος Νιγίδιος, φὲ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα παρὰ
τὰς πολιτικὰς ἔχρητο πράξεις.

3 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ γενομένων ἐν συγκλήτῳ λόγων
περὶ τιμωρίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς
γνώμην Σιλανὸς εἶπε τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην δοῦναι
προσήκειν ἀχθέντας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. καὶ
προσετίθεντο τούτῳ πάντες ἔφεξῆς μέχρι Γαίου
Καίσαρος τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα δικτάτορος γενομένου.
τότε δὲ νέος ὁν ἔτι καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἔχων τῆς
αὐξήσεως ἀρχάς, ἥδη δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς
ἔλπισιν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμβεβηκὼς ἦ τὰ
Ῥωμαίων εἰς μοναρχίαν μετέστησε πράγματα,

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was given to the women who were sacrificing. The altar, it seems, although the fire was already thought to have gone out, sent forth from the ashes and burnt bark upon it a great bright blaze. The rest of the women were terrified at this, but the sacred virgins bade Terentia the wife of Cicero go with all speed to her husband and tell him to carry out his resolutions in behalf of the country, since the goddess was giving him a great light on this path to safety and glory. So Terentia, who was generally of no mild spirit nor without natural courage, but an ambitious woman, and, as Cicero himself tells us,¹ more inclined to make herself a partner in his political perplexities than to share with him her domestic concerns, gave him this message and incited him against the conspirators; so likewise did Quintus, his brother, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical companions, of whom he made the most and greatest use in his political undertakings.

On the following day the senate discussed the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, who was the first to be asked to give his opinion, said that they ought to be taken to prison and there suffer extremest punishment. All the senators acceded to his opinion one after the other, until it came to Caius Caesar,² who afterwards became dictator. At this time, however, he was a young man still and at the very beginning of his rise to power, but in his public policy and his hopes he had already entered upon that road by which he changed the Roman state into a monarchy. His

¹ In some passage no longer extant.

² Cf. Cicero, *in Catil.* iv. 4, 7.

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4 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανε, τῷ δὲ Κικέρωνι πολλὰς μὲν ὑποψίας, λαβὴν δ' οὐδεμίαν εἰς ἔλεγχον παρέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγόντων ἦν ἐνίων ἀκούειν ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν ἀλῶναι διεκφύγοι τὸν ἄνδρα. τινὲς δέ φασι παριδεῖν ἑκόντα καὶ παραλιπεῖν τὴν κατ' ἐκείνου μῆνυσιν φόβῳ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως· παντὶ γάρ εἶναι πρόδηλον ὅτι μᾶλλον ἀν ἐκείνοι γένοιντο προσθήκη Καίσαρι σωτηρίας ἢ Καῖσαρ ἐκείνοις κολάσεως.

XXI. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἡ γνώμη περιῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν, ἀναστὰς ἀπεφήνατο μὴ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι δημοσίας, αὐτὸν δ' ἀπαχθέντας εἰς πόλεις τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀς ἀν δοκῇ Κικέρωνι, τηρεῖσθαι δεδεμένους ἄχρι ἀν οὐ καταπολεμηθῆ Κατιλίνας. οὕστης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐπιεικούς καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος εἰπεῖν δυνατωτάτου, ροπὴν δὲ Κικέρων προσέθηκεν οὐ μικράν. αὐτός τε γάρ ἀναστὰς ἐνεχείρησεν εἰς ἐκάτερον, τὰ μὲν τῇ προτέρᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ Καίσαρος συνειπών, οἵ τε φίλοι πάντες οἰόμενοι τῷ Κικέρωνι συμφέρειν τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην (ἥττον γάρ ἐν αἰτίαις ἐσεσθαι μὴ θανατώσαντα τοὺς ἄνδρας) ἥρούντο 3 τὴν δευτέραν μᾶλλον γνώμην, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Σιλανὸν αὐθις μεταβαλλόμενον παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐδέ τοὺς εἴποι θανατικὴν γνώμην ἐσχάτην γάρ ἀνδρὶ βουλευτῇ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι δίκην τὸ δεσμωτήριον. εἰρημένης δὲ τῆς γνώμης πρῶτος ἀντέκρουσεν αὐτῇ Κάτλος Λουτάτιος· εἴτα δεξάμενος Κάτων, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ σφοδρῶς

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designs were still unnoticed by the rest, but to Cicero he had given many grounds for suspicion, and yet no hold which could lead to his conviction, although many were heard to say that he had come near being caught by Cicero, but had eluded him. Some, however, say that Cicero purposely overlooked and neglected the information against him through fear of his friends and his power, since it was clear to every one that the other conspirators would be included in Caesar's acquittal, rather than Caesar in their punishment.

XXI. When, then, it was Caesar's turn to give his opinion, he rose and declared it to be against putting the conspirators to death, but in favour of confiscating their property and removing them to whatever cities of Italy Cicero might deem best, there to be put in fetters and closely guarded until Catiline should be defeated. The proposal of Caesar was merciful and its author a very able speaker, and Cicero added no little weight to it. For when he rose to speak himself,¹ he handled the subject in both ways, now favouring the first proposal and now that of Caesar. All his friends, too, thinking that Caesar's proposal was an advantageous one for Cicero, who would be less subject to censure if he did not put the conspirators to death, chose the second proposal rather, so that Silanus also changed his position and excused himself by saying that even his proposal had not meant death: for "extremest punishment," in the case of a Roman senator, meant the prison. Lutatius Catulus was the first to oppose the opinion which Caesar had given; then Cato followed him, helping

¹ The fourth oration *in Catilinam*.

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συνεπερείσας ἐπὶ τὸν Καισαρα τὴν ὑπόνοιαν,
ἐνέπλησε θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος τὴν σύγκλητον,
ώστε θάνατον καταψήσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
4 περὶ δὲ δημεύσεως χρημάτων ἐνίστατο Καῖσαρ,
οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὰ φιλανθρωπα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης
ἐκβαλόντας ἐνὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ σκυθρωποτάτῳ.
Βιαζομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοὺς δημάρ-
χους. οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπέκουον, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων αὐτὸς
ἐνδοὺς ἀνήκε τὴν περὶ δημεύσεως γνώμην.

XVII Ἐχώρει δὲ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἀνδρας. οὐκ ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ πάντες ἦσαν, ἄλλος δ'
ἄλλον ἐφύλαττε τῶν στρατηγῶν. καὶ πρῶτον
ἐκ Παλατίου παραλαβὼν τὸν Λέντλον ἥγε διὰ
τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, τῶν μὲν
ἡγεμονικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν κύκλῳ περιεσπειραμένων
καὶ δορυφορούντων, τούν δὲ δῆμου φρίττοντος τὰ
δρώμενα καὶ παριόντος¹ σιωπῆ, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν
νέων, ὡσπερ ἱεροῖς τισι πατρίοις ἀριστοκρατικῆς
τινος ἔξουσίας τελεῖσθαι μετὰ φόβου καὶ θάμβους
2 δοκούντων. διελθὼν δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ γενόμενος
πρὸς τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ παρέδωκε τὸν Λέντλον τῷ
δημίῳ καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνελεῦν· εἰδός ἔξῆς τὸν
Κέθηγον, καὶ οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ἔκαστον κατα-
γαγὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁρῶν δὲ πολλοὺς ἔτι τῶν
ἀπὸ τῆς² συνωμοσίας ἐν ἀγορᾷ συνεστῶτας
ἀθρόους καὶ τὴν μὲν πρᾶξιν ἀγνοούντας, τὴν δὲ
νύκτα προσμένοντας, ὡς ἔτι ζώντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
καὶ δυναμένων ἔξαρπασθῆναι, φθεγξάμενος μέγα
πρὸς αὐτούς, “Ἐξησαν,” εἶπεν. οὕτω δὲ Ῥω-

¹ παριόντος Bekker and Graux adopt the παριέντος (acquiring) of Coraes.

² τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Graux with Ma: τῆς.

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by the vehemence of his speech to fix suspicion upon Caesar, and filled the senate with angry resolution, so that a decree of death was passed upon the conspirators. As regarded the confiscation of their property, however, Caesar made opposition, deeming it wrong that the merciful part of his own proposal should be rejected and the one part that was most severe adopted. And when many of the senators insisted upon it, he invoked the aid of the tribunes, but they would not listen to his appeal; Cicero himself, however, yielded the point, and remitted that part of the vote which called for confiscation.

XII. Then he went with the senate to fetch the conspirators. These were not all in the same place, but different praetors had different ones under guard. And first he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill and led him along the Via Sacra and through the middle of the forum, the men of highest authority surrounding him as a body-guard, and the people shuddering at what was being done and passing along in silence, and especially the young men, as though they thought they were being initiated with fear and trembling into some ancient mysteries of an aristocratic regime. When Cicero had passed through the forum and reached the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the public executioner with the order to put him to death. Then Cethegus in his turn, and so each one of the others, he brought down to the prison and had him executed. And seeing that many members of the conspiracy were still assembled in the forum in ignorance of what had been done and waiting for night to come, with the idea that the men were still living and might be rescued, he cried out to them with a loud voice and said: "They have

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μαίων οἱ δυσφημεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸ τεθνάναι σημαίνουσιν.

- 3 [”]Ηδη δ' ἦν ἑσπέρα, καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, οὐκέτι σιωπῇ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τάξει προπεμπόντων αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ φωναῖς καὶ κρότοις δεχομένων καθ' οὓς γένοιτο, σωτῆρα καὶ κτίστην ἄνακαλούντων τῆς πατρίδος. τὰ δὲ φῶτα πολλὰ κατέλαμπε τοὺς στενωπούς, λαμπάδια καὶ δᾶδας ἴστώντων ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῶν τεγών προύφαινον ἐπὶ τιμῆς καὶ θέᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὑπὸ πομπῆς τῶν ἀρίστων μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνιόντος· ὃν οἱ πλεῖστοι πόλεμους τε κατειργασμένοι μεγάλους καὶ διὰ θριάμβων εἰσεληλακότες καὶ προσκεκτημένοι γῆν καὶ θάλατταν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐβάδιζον ἀνομολογούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν τότε ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατηγῶν πλούτου καὶ λαφύρων καὶ δυνάμεως χαριν ὁφείλειν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον, ἀσφαλείας δὲ καὶ σωτηρίας ἐνὶ μόνῳ Κικέρων, τηλικοῦτον 5 ἀφελόντι καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον. οὐ γάρ το κωλύσαι τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ κολάσαι τοὺς πράττοντας ἐδόκει θαυμαστόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν πώποτε νεωτερισμῶν οὗτος ἐλαχίστοις κακοῖς ἄνευ στάσεως καὶ ταραχῆς κατέσβεσε. καὶ γάρ τὸν Κατιλίναν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συνερρυηκότων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Λέντλον καὶ Κέθηγον ἐγκαταλιπόντες φύχοντο· καὶ μετὰ τῶν συμμεμενηκότων αὐτῷ διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτός τε διεφθάρη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.
- XXIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἥσαν οἱ τὸν Κικέρωνα παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ

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lived." For thus the Romans who wish to avoid words of ill omen indicate death.

It was now evening, and Cicero went up through the forum to his house, the citizens no longer escorting him on his way with silent decorum, but receiving him with cries and clapping of hands as he passed along, calling him the saviour and founder of his country. And many lights illuminated the streets, since people placed lamps and torches at their doors. The women, too, displayed lights upon the house-tops in honour of the man, and that they might see him going up to his home in great state under escort of the noblest citizens. Most of these had brought to an end great wars and entered the city in triumph, and had added to the Roman dominion no small extent of land and sea, but they now walked along confessing to one another that to many of the commanders and generals of the time the Roman people were indebted for wealth and spoils and power, but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had freed them from so peculiar and so great a peril. For it was not his preventing their schemes and punishing the schemers which seemed so wonderful, but his quenching the greatest of all revolutions with the fewest possible evils, without sedition and commotion. For most of those who had flocked to the standard of Catiline, as soon as they learned the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus, deserted him and went away; and Catiline, after a conflict with his remaining forces against Antonius, perished himself and his army with him.¹

XXIII. However, there were those who were ready to abuse Cicero for what he had done, and to

¹ Near the beginning of 62 B.C.

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ποιεῖν κακῶς, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀρχόντων Καίσαρα μὲν στρατηγοῦντα, Μέτελλον δὲ καὶ Βηστίαν δημαρχοῦντας. οὐ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες, ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἄρχοντος, οὐκ εἴων δημητροῦν αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων βάθρα θέντες οὐ παρίεσαν οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεπον λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ἐκέλευνον, εἰ βούλοιτο, μόνου περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπομόσαντα καταβαίνειν.

2 κάκενος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς ὁμόσων προῆλθε· καὶ γενομένης αὐτῷ σιωπῆς ὥμηνεν, οὐ τὸν πάτριον, ἀλλ’ ἴδιον τινα καὶ καινὸν ὄρκον, ἢ μὴν σεσωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ διατετηρηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἐπώμυνε δὲ τὸν ὄρκον αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ δῆμος. ἐφ' οἷς ἔτι μᾶλλον ὅ τε Καῖσαρ οὖ τε δήμαρχοι χαλεπαίνοντες ἄλλας τε τῷ Κικέρωνι ταραχὰς ἐμηχανῶντο, καὶ νόμος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσήγετο καλεῖν Πομπήιον μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὡς δὴ καταλύ-
3 σοντα τὴν Κικέρωνος δυναστείαν. ἀλλ' ἦν ὅφελος μέγα τῷ Κικέρωνι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει δημαρχῶν τότε Κάτων καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων¹ πολιτεύμασιν ἀπ' ἵσης μὲν ἐξουσίας, μείζονος δὲ δόξης ἀντιτασσόμενος. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ῥᾳδίως ἔλυσε, καὶ τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν οὕτως ἤρε τῷ λόγῳ μεγάλην δημητρόήσας ὥστε τιμᾶς αὐτῷ τῶν πώποτε μεγίστας φηγίσασθαι καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι πατέρα πατρίδος. πρώτῳ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ

¹ ἐκείνων Coraes, Bekker, and Graux, after Xylander: ἐκείνου (referring to Caesar).

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work him harm, and they had as leaders, among the magistrates elect, Caesar as praetor, and Metellus and Bestia¹ as tribunes. When these assumed office, Cicero having still a few days of consular authority,² they would not permit him to harangue the people, but placing their benches so as to command the rostra, would not suffer or allow him to speak; instead, they ordered him, if he wished, merely to pronounce the oath usual on giving up office, and then come down. Cicero accepted these terms and came forward to pronounce his oath; and when he had obtained silence, he pronounced, not the usual oath, but one of his own and a new one, swearing that in very truth he had saved his country and maintained her supremacy. And all the people confirmed his oath for him. At this Caesar and the tribunes were still more vexed and contrived fresh troubles for Cicero. Among other things, a law was introduced by them for calling Pompey home with his army, in order, forsooth, that he might put down the arbitrary power of Cicero. But Cato, who was tribune at this time, was a great help to Cicero and to the whole state, and opposed the measures of the other tribunes with an authority equal to theirs and a greater good repute. For he easily put a stop to their other projects, and so highly extolled the "arbitrary power" of Cicero in a speech to the people, that they voted him the greatest honours ever conferred and called him the father of his country. For he was the first, as it seems, to receive this

¹ Bestia was tribune in 63 B.C., and could not have had any part in dictating the procedure of Cicero.

² Caesar, as praetor, assumed office January 1, 62 B.C., the day after Cicero laid down the consulship; but the new tribunes for the year 62 assumed office early in December of 63.

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τοῦτο καθυπάρξαι, Κάτωνος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ προσαγορεύσαντος.

XXIV. Καὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἵσχυσεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε, πολλοῖς δ' ἐπίφθονον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ, τῷ δ' ἐπαινεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ μεγαλύνειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν δυσχεραι-
νόμενος. οὕτε γάρ βουλὴν οὕτε δῆμον οὕτε δικαστήριον ἦν συνελθεῖν ἐν φιλίᾳ Κατιλίναν ἔδει
2 θρυλούμενον ἀκούσαι καὶ Λέντλον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τελευτῶν κατέπλησε καὶ τὰ συγγράμ-
ματα τῶν ἐγκωμίων· καὶ τὸν λόγον ἥδιστον ὅντα
καὶ χάριν ἔχοντα πλείστην ἐπαχθῆ καὶ φορτικὸν
ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις, ὥσπερ τινὸς ἀεὶ κηρὸς
αὐτῷ τῆς ἀγδίας ταύτης προσούσης. δῆμος δέ,
καίπερ οὕτως ἀκράτῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ συνών, ἀπῆλ-
λακτο τοῦ φθονέν ἐτέροις, ἀφθονώτατος ὡν ἐν
τῷ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρας
ἐγκωμιάζειν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων λαβεῖν
3 ἔστι. πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύουσιν·
οἷον περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, ὅτι χρυσίου ποταμὸς
εἴη ρέοντος, καὶ περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος διαλόγων,
ὡς τοῦ Διός, εἰ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πέφυκεν, οὕτω
διαλεγομένου. τὸν δὲ Θεόφραστον εἰώθει τρυφῆν
ἰδίαν ἀποκαλεῖν. περὶ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους
λόγων ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα δοκοίη κάλλιστον εἶναι,
4 τὸν μέγιστον εἶπε. καίτοι τινὲς τῶν προσποιου-
μένων δημοσθενίζειν ἐπιφύονται φωνῆ τοῦ Κικέ-
ρωνος, ἣν πρός τινα τῶν ἐταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν ἐπι-
στολῇ γράφας, ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπονυστάζειν

¹ Cicero himself nowhere says this, nor does he mention Cato in connection with the title. In his oration *in Pisonem*,

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title,¹ after Cato had given it to him before the people.

XXIV. So at this time Cicero had the greatest power in the state, but he made himself generally odious, not by any base action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself, which made him hateful to many. For there could be no session either of senate or assembly or court of justice in which one was not obliged to hear Catiline and Lentulus endlessly talked about. Nay, he even went so far as to fill his books and writings with these praises of himself; and he made his oratory, which was naturally very pleasant and had the greatest charm, irksome and tedious to his hearers, since this unpleasant practice clung to him like a fatality. But nevertheless, although he cherished so strong an ambition, he was free from envying others, since he was most ungrudging in his encomiums upon his predecessors and contemporaries, as may be gathered from his writings. There are also many sayings of his on record which prove this; for instance, he said of Aristotle that he was a river of liquid gold,² and of the dialogues of Plato that Jupiter, were it his nature to use human speech, would thus discourse.³ Theophrastus, too, he used to call his own special delight. And when he was asked which of the speeches of Demosthenes he thought the best, he replied, "the longest." And yet some of those who pretend to be imitators of Demosthenes dwell much upon an expression which Cicero used in a letter to one of his friends, to the effect that in some parts of

3, 6, he says that Quintus Catulus gave him the title in the Senate. ² *Acad. Prior.* ii. 38, 119.

³ *Brutus*, 31, 121 (si Graece loquatur)

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τὸν Δημοσθένη· τῶν δὲ μεγάλων καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐπαίνων οὓς πολλαχοῦ χρήται περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι περὶ οὓς μάλιστα τῶν ἴδιων ἐσπούδασε λόγων, τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου, Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραψεν, ἀμυημονοῦσι.

- 5 Τῶν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνδόξων ἀπὸ λόγου καὶ σοφίας οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς δύναμις μάλιστα τῶν ἴδιων ἐποίησεν ἐνδοξότερον ἢ λέγων ἢ γράφων εὐμενῶς περὶ ἑκάστου. Κρατίππῳ δὲ τῷ Περιπατητικῷ διεπράξατο μὲν ‘Ρωμαίῳ γενέσθαι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄρχοντος ἡδη, διεπράξατο δὲ καὶ¹ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι δεηθῆναι μένειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς νέοις ως κοσμοῦντα τὴν 6 πόλιν. ἐπιστολαὶ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰσὶ πρὸς Ἡρώδην, ἔτεραι δὲ πρὸς τὸν οἰόν, ἐγκελευσομένου συμφιλοσοφεῖν Κρατίππῳ. Γοργίαν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα αἴτιώμενος εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους προάγειν τὸ μειράκιον ἀπελαύνει τῆς συνουσίας 7 αὐτοῦ. καὶ σχεδὸν αὕτη τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μία καὶ δευτέρα πρὸς Πέλοπα τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν ὄργῃ τινι γέγραπται, τὸν μὲν Γοργίαν αὐτοῦ προστηκόντως ἐπικόπτοντος, εἴπερ ἦν φαῦλος καὶ ἀκόλαστος, ὥπερ ἐδόκει, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πέλοπα μικρολογουμένου καὶ μεμφιμοιροῦντος ὥσπερ ἀμελῆσαντα τιμάς τινας αὐτῷ καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ Βυζαντίων γενέσθαι.

XXV. Ταῦτά τε δὴ φιλότιμα, καὶ τὸ πολλάκις

¹ καὶ supplied here by Reiske, and deleted before δεηθῆναι by Sintenis¹ (in crit. notes). Graux simply transposes.

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his speeches Demosthenes nods; but of the great and admirable praises which he often bestows upon him, and of the fact that those speeches of his own to which he devoted most labour, namely, the speeches against Antony, were entitled by him *Philippics*, they say nothing.

Moreover, of the men of his own time who were famous for eloquence or learning, there is not one whom he did not make more famous by what he said or wrote in favour of him. For Cratippus the Peripatetic he obtained the Roman citizenship from Caesar, now in power, and he also induced the council of the Areopagus to pass a decree requesting him to remain at Athens and discourse with the young men, and thus be an ornament to the city. Furthermore, there are letters from Cicero to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he urges them to study philosophy with Cratippus.¹ But Gorgias the rhetorician he censured for leading the young man into pleasures and drinking parties, and banished him from his son's society.² This is almost the only one of his Greek letters (there is also a second, addressed to Pelops of Byzantium) which was written in a spirit of anger; and Gorgias he properly rebukes, if, as he was thought to be, he was worthless and intemperate; but towards Pelops he shows a mean and querulous spirit for having neglected to obtain for him certain honorary decrees from the Byzantians.

XXV. These complaints were characteristic of

¹ These letters are not extant.

² The younger Cicero, in a letter to Tiro (*ad fam.* xvi. 21, 6), says that he had found Gorgias useful as a teacher of declamation, but had dismissed him in obedience to his father's positive command.

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ἐπαιρόμενον τοῦ λόγου τῇ δεινότητι τὸ πρέπον
προκεισθαι. Μουνατίφ μὲν γάρ ποτε συνηγορή-
σας, ὡς ἀποφυγῶν τὴν δίκην ἐκεῖνος ἐδίωκεν
ἔταῦρον αὐτοῦ Σαβῖνον, οὕτω λέγεται προπεσένν
ὑπ' ὄργῆς ὁ Κικέρων ὥστ' εἰπεῖν· “Σὺ γάρ ἐκεί-
νην, ὡς Μουνάτιε, τὴν δίκην ἀπέφυγες διὰ σαυτόν,
οὐκ ἐμού πολὺ σκότος ἐν φωτὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ
2 περιχέαντος;” Μάρκον δὲ Κράσσον ἐγκωμιάζων
ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὐημέρησε, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας
αὐθις ὀλίγας λοιδορῶν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν
“Οὐ γάρ ἐνταῦθα πρώην αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπήνεις;”
“Ναί,” φησι, “μελέτης ἔνεκεν γυμνάζων τὸν
3 λόγον εἰς φαύλην ὑπόθεσιν.” εἰπόντος δέ ποτε
τοῦ Κράσσου μηδένα Κράσσον ἐν ‘Ρώμῃ βεβιω-
κέναι μακρότερον ἐξηκονταετίας, εἰθ’ ὑστερον
ἀρνουμένου καὶ λέγοντος, “Τί δ’ ἀν ἐγώ παθὼν
τοῦτ’ εἶπον;” “Ηιδεις,” ἔφη, “‘Ρωμαίους ἡδέως
ἀκουσομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἐδημαγώγεις.” ἀρέ-
σκεσθαι δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τοῖς Στωικοῖς φήσαντος,
ὅτι πλούσιον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν,
“Ορα μὴ μᾶλλον,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι πάντα τοῦ σοφοῦ
4 λέγουσιν εἶναι.” διεβάλλετο δὲ εἰς φιλαργυρίαν
ὁ Κράσσος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τῶν παιδῶν ὁ
ἔτερος Ἀξίφ τιν δοκῶν δόμοιος εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
τῇ μητρὶ προστριβόμενος αἰσχρὰν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀξίφ
διαβολὴν εὐδοκίμησε λόγον ἐν βουλῇ διελθών,
ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Κικέρων τί φαίνεται αὐτῷ, “Αξιος,”
εἶπε, “Κράσσον.”

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ambition, as well as the fact that he was often led on by the cleverness of his speech to disregard propriety. For instance, he once served as advocate for Munatius, who was no sooner acquitted than he prosecuted a friend of Cicero's, Sabinus, whereupon, it is said, Cicero was so transported with anger as to say : "Was it, pray, on your own merits, Munatius, that you were acquitted, and not because I spread much darkness about the court when before there was light ?" And again, he gained great applause by an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the rostra, and then a few days afterwards as publicly reviled him, whereupon Crassus said : "What, did you not stand there yourself a day or two ago and praise me ?" "Yea," said Cicero, "exercising my eloquence by way of practice on a bad subject." Again, Crassus once said that no Crassus had lived in Rome to be older than sixty years, and then tried to deny it, exclaiming, "What could have led me to say this ?" "You knew," said Cicero, "that the Romans would be delighted to hear it, and by that means you tried to court their favour." And when Crassus expressed his satisfaction with the Stoicks because they represented the good man as rich, "Consider," said Cicero, "whether your satisfaction is not rather due to their declaration that all things belong to the wise." Now, Crassus was accused of covetousness. Again, one of the sons of Crassus who was thought to resemble a certain Axius, and on this account had brought his mother's name into scandalous connection with that of Axius, once made a successful speech in the senate, and when Cicero was asked what he thought of him, he answered with the Greek words " Axios Krassou."¹

¹ "Worthy of Crassus."

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XXVI. Μέλλων δὲ Κράστος εἰς Συρίαν ἀπαίρειν ἐβούλετο τὸν Κικέρωνα μᾶλλον αὐτῷ φίλουν ἢ ἔχθρὸν εἶναι· καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος ἔφη βούλεσθαι δειπνῆσαι παρ' αὐτῷ· κἀκεῖνος ὑπεδέξατο προθύμως. ὀλίγας δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις περὶ Βατινίου φίλων τινῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὡς μνωμένου διαλύσεις καὶ φιλίαν (ἥν γὰρ ἔχθρός), “Οὐ δίπου καὶ Βατίνιος,” εἶπε, “δειπνῆσαι παρ' ἐμοὶ 2 βούλεται;” πρὸς μὲν οὖν Κράστον τοιοῦτος. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Βατίνιον ἔχοντα χοιράδας ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ καὶ λέγοντα δίκην οἰδοῦντα ρήτορα προσείπεν. ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τέθυηκεν, εἴτα μετὰ μικρὸν πυθόμενος σαφώς ὅτι ξῆ, “Κακὸς τούνυν 3 ἀπόλοιτο κακῶς ὁ ψευσάμενος.” ἐπεὶ δὲ Καίσαρι ψηφισαμένῳ τὴν ἐν Καμπανίᾳ χώραν κατανεμηθῆναι τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδυσχέραινον ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ, Λεύκιος δὲ Γέλλιος ὁμοῦ τι πρεσβύτατος ὡν εἶπεν ὡς οὐ γενήσεται τοῦτο ξῶντος αὐτοῦ, “Περιμείνωμεν,” εἶπεν ὁ Κικέρων, “μακρὰν γὰρ οὐκ αἰτεῖται Γέλλιος 4 ὑπέρθεσιν.” ἥν δέ τις Ὁκταούγιος αἰτίαν ἔχων ἐκ Λιβύης γεγονέναι πρὸς τοῦτον ἐν τινι δίκῃ λέγοντα τοῦ Κικέρωνος μὴ ἔξακούειν, “Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἔχεις,” εἶπε, “τὸ οὖς ἀτρύπητον.” Μετέλλον δὲ Νέπωτος εἰπόντος ὅτι πλείονας καταμαρτυρῶν ἀνήρηκεν ἡ συνηγορῶν σέσωκεν, “Ομολογῶ γάρ,” ἔφη, “πίστεως ἐν ἐμοὶ πλέον ἡ δεινότητος 5 εἶναι.” νεανίσκου δέ τινος αἰτίαν ἔχοντος ἐν πλακοῦντι φάρμακον τῷ πατρὶ δεδωκέναι θρα-

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XXVI. When Crassus was about to set out for Syria, wishing that Cicero should be a friend rather than an enemy, he said to him in a friendly manner that he wished to dine with him; and Cicero readily received him into his house. But a few days afterwards, when some friends interceded with him for Vatinius, saying that the man sought reconciliation and friendship (for he was an enemy), "It surely cannot be," said Cicero, "that Vatinius also wishes to dine with me." Such, then, was his treatment of Crassus. Now, Vatinius himself had swellings on his neck, and once when he was pleading a case Cicero called him a *tumid* orator. Again, after hearing that Vatinius was dead, and then after a little learning for a surety that he was alive, "Wretchedly perish, then," said Cicero, "the wretch who lied!" And again, Caesar once got a decree passed that the land in Campania should be divided among his soldiers, and many of the senators were dissatisfied, and Lucius Gellius, who was about the oldest of them, declared that it should never be done while he was alive; whereupon Cicero said: "Let us wait, since Gellius does not ask for a long postponement." There was a certain Octavius, too, who was reputed to be of African descent; to this man, who said at a certain trial that he could not hear Cicero, the orator replied: "And yet your ear is not without a perforation."¹ And when Metellus Nepos declared that Cicero had brought more men to death as a hostile witness than he had saved from it as an advocate, "Yes," said Cicero, "I admit that my credibility is greater than my eloquence." Again, when a certain young man who was accused of having given his father poison in

¹ Usually the mark of a slave.

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συνομένου καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι λοιδορήσει τὸν Κικέρωνα, “Τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “παρὰ σοῦ βούλομαι μᾶλλον ἢ πλακοῦντα.” Ποπλίου δὲ Σηστίου συνήγορον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν τινι δίκῃ παραλαβόντος μεθ' ἑτέρων, αὐτὸν δὲ πάντα βούλομένου λέγειν καὶ μηδενὶ παριέντος εἰπέν, ώς δῆλος ἦν ἀφιέμενος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἥδη τῆς ψήφου φερομένης, “Χρῶ σήμερον,” ἔφη, “τῷ καιρῷ, Σήστιε· 6 μέλλεις γάρ αὔριον ἴδιωτης εἶναι.” Πόπλιου δὲ Κώνσταντινού εἶναι βούλόμενον, ὃντα δὲ ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀφυῆ, πρός τινα δίκην ἐκάλεσε μάρτυρα· τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν εἰδέναι φάσκοντος, “Ισως,” ἔφη, “δοκεῖς περὶ τῶν νομικῶν ἐρωτᾶσθαι.” Μετέλλου δὲ Νέπωτος ἐν διαφορᾷ τινι πολλάκις λέγοντος “Τίς σοῦ πατήρ ἐστιν,” ὁ Κικέρων “Σοὶ ταῦτην” ἔφη “τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἡ μήτηρ χαλεπω- 7 τέραν ἐποίησεν.” ἐδόκει δὲ ἀκόλαστος ἡ μήτηρ εἶναι τοῦ Νέπωτος, αὐτὸς δέ τις εὐμετάβολος. καὶ ποτε τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀπολιπὼν ἄφνω πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Συρίαν, εἰπ̄τ’ ἐκείθεν ἐπανῆλθεν ἀλογώτερον. Θάψας δὲ Φίλαγρου τὸν καθηγητὴν ἐπιμελέστερον ἐπέστησεν αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ κόρακα λίθινους καὶ ὁ Κικέρων “Τοῦτο” 8 ἔφη “σοφώτερον ἐποίησας· πέτεσθαι γάρ σε μᾶλλον ἢ λέγειν ἐδίδαξεν.” ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκος Ἀππιος ἐν τινι δίκῃ προοιμιαζόμενος εἰπε φίλοιν αὐτοῦ δεδεήσθαι παρασχεῖν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ λογιώτητα καὶ πίστιν, “Εἴθ' οὐτως,” ἔφη, “σιδηροῦς γέγονας ἀνθρωπος ὥστε μηδὲν ἐκ τοσούτων ὅν γῆτησαθ' ὁ φίλος παρασχεῖν; ”

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a cake put on bold airs and threatened to cover Cicero with abuse, "That," said Cicero, "I would rather have from you than a cake." There was Publius Sextius, too, who retained Cicero as an advocate in a case, along with others, and then wanted to do all the speaking himself, and would allow no one else a word; when it was clear that he was going to be acquitted by the jurors and the vote was already being given, "Use your opportunity to-day, Sextius," said Cicero, "for to-morrow you are going to be a nobody." Publius Consta, too, who wanted to be a lawyer, but was ignorant and stupid, was once summoned by Cicero as witness in a case; and when he kept saying that he knew nothing, "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think you are being questioned on points of law." Again, in a dispute with Cicero, Metellus Nepos asked repeatedly "Who is your father?" "In your case," said Cicero, "your mother has made the answer to this question rather difficult." Now, the mother of Nepos was thought to be unchaste, and he himself a fickle sort of man. He once suddenly deserted his office of tribune and sailed off to join Pompey in Syria, and then came back from there with even less reason. Moreover, after burying his teacher Philagrus with more than usual ceremony, he set upon his tomb a raven in stone; whereupon Cicero remarked: "In this you have acted more wisely than is your wont, for he taught you to fly rather than to speak." And again, when Marcus Appius prefaced his speech in a case by saying that his friend had begged him to exhibit diligence, eloquence, and fidelity, "And then," said Cicero, "are you so hard-hearted as to exhibit none of those great qualities which your friend demanded?"

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XXVII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἔχθροὺς ἡ ἀντιδίκους σκώμμασι χρῆσθαι πικροτέροις δοκεῖ ῥητορικὸν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ οἷς ἔτυχε προσκρούειν ἔνεκα τοῦ γελοίου πολὺ συνῆγε μῖσος αὐτῷ. γράψω δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα. Μάρκον Ἀκυνίου ἔχοντα δύο γαμβροὺς φυγάδας "Ἀδραστον ἐκάλει. Λευκίου δὲ Κόττα τιμητικὴν ἔχοντος ἀρχήν, φιλοιωνοτάτου δὲ δύτος, ὑπατείαν μετιὼν ὁ Κικέρων ἐδίψησε, καὶ τῶν φίλων κύκλῳ περιστάντων ὡς ἔπινεν, "Ορθῶς φοβεῖσθε," εἶπε, "μή μοι γένοιτο χαλεπὸς ὁ τιμητῆς δῖτι ὕδωρ πίνω." Βωκωνίῳ δὲ ἀπαντήσας ἄγοντι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τρεῖς ἀμορφοτάτας θυγατέρας ἀνεφθέγξατο.

"Φοίβου ποτ' οὐκ ἐῶντος ἔσπειρεν τέκνα."

3 Μάρκου δὲ Γελλίου δοκοῦντος οὐκ ἔξ ἐλευθέρων γεγονέναι, λαμπρῷ δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ γράμματα πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἔξαναγνόντος, "Μῆθαυμάζετε," εἶπε, "καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἔστι τῶν ἀναπεφωνηκότων." ἐπεὶ δὲ Φαῦστος ὁ Σύλλα τοῦ μοναρχήσαντος ἐν Ρώμῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγράψαντος ἐν δανείοις γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τῆς οὐσίας διασπαθήσας ἀπάρτιον προέγραψε, ταύτην ἔφη μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τὴν προγραφὴν ἀρέσκειν ἢ τὴν πατρῷαν.

XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτων ἐγίνετο πολλοῖς ἐπαχθῆς· καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλωδίου συνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην λαβόντες. ἦν Κλώδιος ἀνὴρ εὐγενῆς, τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ νέος, τῷ δὲ φρουρήματι

¹ Adrastus, mythical king of Argos, gave his two daughters in marriage to Tydeus and Polyneices, both of whom were fugitives from their native cities.

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XXVII. Now, this use of very biting jests against enemies or legal opponents seems to be part of the orator's business; but his indiscriminate attacks for the sake of raising a laugh made many people hate Cicero. And I will give a few instances of this also. Marcus Aquinius, who had two sons-in-law in exile, he called Adrastus.¹ Again, Lucius Cotta, who held the office of censor, was very fond of wine, and Cicero, when canvassing for the consulship, was a-thirst, and as his friends stood about him while he drank, said: "You have good reason to fear that the censor will deal harshly with me—for drinking water." And when he met Voconius escorting three very ugly daughters, he cried out:—

"It was against the will of Phoebus that he begat children."²

Again, when Marcus Gellius, who was thought to be of servile birth, had read letters to the senate in a loud and clear voice, "Do not marvel," said Cicero, "he too is one of those who have cried aloud for their freedom."³ And when Faustus, the son of the Sulla who was dictator at Rome and placarded many people for death, got into debt, squandered much of his substance, and placarded his household goods for sale, Cicero said he liked this placarding better than his father's.

XXVIII. As a consequence of this he became odious to many; and besides, the partisans of Clodius combined against him on the following ground. Clodius was a man of noble birth, young in years, but bold

² An iambic trimeter from some lost tragedy, perhaps the *Oedipus* of Euripides (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 911).

³ A play upon the phrase (used of a slave) "in libertatem reclamare."

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θρασὺς καὶ αὐθάδης. οὗτος ἐρῶν Πομπήιας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παρεισῆλθε κρύφα, λαβὼν ἑσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλτρίας· ἔθυον γὰρ αἱ γυναικες τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἐκείνην καὶ ἀθέατον ἀνδράσι θυσίαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ
2 Καίσαρος οἰκίᾳ, καὶ παρῆν ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς· ἀλλὰ μειράκιον ὃν ἔτι καὶ μήπω γενειῶν ὁ Κλάδιος ἥλπιζε λήσεσθαι διαδὺς πρὸς τὴν Πομπήιαν μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθε νυκτὸς εἰς οἰκίαν μεγάλην, ἥπορεύτο τῶν διόδων· καὶ πλανώμενον αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσα Αὔρηλίας θεραπαινὶς τῆς Καίσαρος μητρός, ἥτησεν ὄνομα. φθέγξασθαι δὲ ἀναγκασθέντος ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος ἀκόλουθον Πομπήιας ζητεῖν "Ἄβραν τούνομα, συνεῖσα τὴν φωνὴν οὐ γυναικείαν οὖσαν ἀνέκραγε καὶ
3 συνεκάλει τὰς γυναικάς. αἱ δὲ ἀποκλείσασαι τὰς θύρας καὶ πάντα διερευνώμεναι λαμβάνουσι τὸν Κλάδιον εἰς οἴκημα παιδίσκης, ἢ συνεισῆλθε, καταπεφευγότα. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος περιβοήτου γενομένου Καΐσάρ τε τὴν Πομπήιαν ἀφῆκε καὶ δίκην¹ ἀσεβείας ἀπεγράψατο τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

XXIX. Κικέρων δὲ ἦν μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλος καὶ τῶν περὶ Κατιλίναν πραττομένων ἔχρητο προθυμοτάτῳ συνεργῷ καὶ φύλακι τοῦ σώματος, ἵσχυριζομένου δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔγκλημα τῷ μηδὲ γεγονέναι κατ' ἐκείνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πορρωτάτῳ χωρίοις διατρίβειν, κατεμαρτύρησεν ὡς ἀφιγμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκαδε καὶ

¹ δικηγ before this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, where once stood some such phrase as εἰς τὸν δημάρχων (Plutarch, *Caesar*, x. 5). So (substantially) Graux.

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and presumptuous in spirit. This man, being in love with Pompeia, Caesar's wife, got into his house secretly, by assuming the dress and guise of a lute-player; for the women of Rome were celebrating in Caesar's house that mysterious rite which men were not allowed to witness,¹ and no man was there; but being still a beardless youth Clodius hoped without being noticed to slip through to Pompeia along with the women. But since he got in at night and the house was large, he lost his way in the passages; and as he was wandering about, a maid of Aurelia, Caesar's mother, caught sight of him and asked him his name. Being thus compelled to speak, he said that he was looking for an attendant of Pompeia named Abra, whereupon the maid, perceiving that his voice was not that of a woman, raised a cry and called the women together. These shut the doors, searched carefully all about, and found Clodius, who had taken refuge in the chamber of the girl with whom he came into the house. The affair having become noised abroad, Caesar divorced Pompeia and had an action for sacrilege brought against Clodius.

XXIX. Now, Cicero was a friend of Clodius, and in the affair of Catiline had found him a most eager co-worker and guardian of his person; but when Clodius replied to the charge against him by insisting that he had not even been in Rome at the time, but had been staying in places at the farthest remove from there, Cicero testified against him, declaring that Clodius had come to his house and

¹ Cf. chapter xix. 3.

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- 2 διειλεγμένου περί τινων· ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές. οὐ μὴν ἐδόκει μαρτυρεῖν ὁ Κικέρων διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γνωμήν τερευτίαν ἀπόλο-
γούμενος. ἦν γάρ αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν Κλώδιον ἀπέ-
χθεια διὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑκείνου Κλωδίαν, ὡς
τῷ Κικέρωνι βουλομένην γαμηθῆναι καὶ τοῦτο
διὰ Τύλλου τινὸς πράττουσαν, ὃς ἔταιρος μὲν ἦν
καὶ συνήθης ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνος, ἀεὶ δὲ
πρὸς τὴν Κλωδίαν φοιτῶν καὶ θεραπέύων ἐγγὺς
- 3 οἰκοῦνται ὑποψίαιν τῇ Τερευτίᾳ παρέσχε. χα-
λεπὴ δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὐδεῖς καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος
ἄρχοντα παρώξυνε τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεπιβέσθαι καὶ
καταμαρτυρῆσαι. κατεμαρτύρουν δὲ τοῦ Κλω-
δίουν πολλοὶ τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιορ-
κίας, ῥᾳδιουργίας, ὅχλων δεκασμούς, φθορᾶς
γυναικῶν. Λευκούλλος δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδας
παρεῖχεν ὡς συγγένοιστο τῇ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
- 4 ὁ Κλώδιος, ὅτε Λευκούλλῳ συνφέκει. πολλῇ δὲ
ἥν δόξα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς πλη-
σιάζειν τὸν Κλώδιον, ὃν Τερτίαν μὲν Μάρκιος ὁ
‘Ρήξ, Κλωδίαν δὲ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν, ἥν
Κοναδραντίαν¹ ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τῶν ἔραστῶν τις
αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς βαλάντιον ὡς ἀργύ-
ριον εἰσέπεμψε· τὸ δὲ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ
νομίσματος κοναδράντην ἐκάλουν. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ
μάλιστα τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλώδιος.
5 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς καταμαρ-
τυροῦντας αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεστῶτας ἀντιταπτομένου

¹ Κοναδραντίαν Sintenis with the MSS.; Κοναδρανταρίαν Becker, after Xylander and Du Soul (cf. Cic. pro Cael. 26, 62, mulier quadrantaria).

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consulted him on certain matters ; which was true. However, it was thought that Cicero did not give his testimony for the truth's sake, but by way of defence against the charges of his own wife Terentia. For there was enmity between her and Clodius on account of his sister Clodia, whom Terentia thought to be desirous of marrying Cicero and to be contriving this with the aid of a certain Tullus ; now, Tullus was a companion and an especial intimate of Cicero, and his constant visits and attentions to Clodia, who lived near by, made Terentia suspicious. So, being a woman of harsh nature, and having sway over Cicero, she incited him to join in the attack upon Clodius and give testimony against him. Moreover, many men of the better class bore witness against Clodius for perjury, recklessness, bribery of the multitude, and debauching of women. And Lucullus actually produced female slaves who testified that Clodius had commerce with his youngest sister when she was living with Lucullus as his wife. There was also a general belief that Clodius had intercourse with his other two sisters, of whom Tertia was the wife of Marcius Rex, and Clodia of Metellus Celer ; the latter was called Quadrantia, because one of her lovers had put copper coins into a purse and sent them to her for silver, and the smallest copper coin was called "quadrans." It was with regard to this sister in particular that Clodius was in evil repute. However, since the people at this time set themselves against those who combined and testified against him, the jurors were

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φοβηθέντες οἱ δικασταὶ φυλακὴν περιεστήσαντο,
καὶ τὰς δέλτους οἱ πλεῖστοι συγκεχυμένοις τοῖς
γράμμασιν ἥμεγκαν. ὅμως δὲ πλείουνες ἔδοξαν οἱ
ἀπολύνοντες γενέσθαι· καὶ τις ἐλέχθη καὶ δεκα-
6 σμὸς διελθεῖν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Κάτλος ἵπαντήσας τοῖς
κριταῖς, “Τμέες,” ἔπειν, “ώς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ ἀσφα-
λείας γῆτησασθε τὴν φυλακήν, φοβούμενοι μῆ-
τις ὑμῶν ἀφέληται τὸ ἀργύριον.” Κικέρων δὲ
τοῦ Κλωδίου πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντος ὅτι μαρτυρῶν
οὐκ ἔσχε πίστιν παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς, “Ἄλλ,
ἐμοὶ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “οἱ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν δικα-
στῶν ἐπίστευσαν· τοσοῦτοι γάρ σου κατεψηφί-
σαντο· σοὶ δὲ τριάκοντα οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν· οὐ
γάρ πρότερον ἀπέλυσαν ἢ ἔλαβον τὸ ἀργύριον”
7 οἱ μέντοι Καίσαροι οὐ κατεμαρτύρησε κληθεὶς ἐπὶ¹
τὸν Κλωδίον, οὐδὲ ἔφη μοιχείαν κατεγνωκέναι τῆς
γυναικός, ἀφεικέναι δὲ αὐτὴν ὅτι τὸν Καίσαρος
ἔδει γάμον οὐ πράξεως αἰσχρᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
φήμης καθαρὸν εἶναι.

XXX. Διαφυγὴν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Κλωδίος
καὶ δῆμαρχος αἱρεθεὶς εὐθὺς εἴχετο τοῦ Κικέρω-
νος, πάνθ' ὅμοιν πράγματα καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
συνάγων καὶ ταράττων ἐπ' αὐτὸν. τόν τε γὰρ
δῆμον φκειώσατο νόμοις φιλανθρώποις, καὶ τῶν
ὑπάτων ἐκατέρῳ μεγάλας ἐπαρχίας ἐψηφίσατο,
Πείσωνι μὲν Μακεδονίαν, Γαβινίῳ δὲ Συρίαν,
πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων συνέτασσεν εἰς τὸ πολύ-
τευμα, καὶ δούλους ὠπλισμένους περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε.
2 τῶν δὲ πλεῦστον δυναμένων τότε τριῶν ἀνδρῶν,

¹ Cf. also the *Caesar*, x. 7. Each juror was provided with three tablets, on one of which was marked A (*absolvo*) ; on a second C (*condemno*) ; and on a third N L. (*non liquet*). The

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frightened and surrounded themselves with a guard, and most of them cast their voting-tablets with the writing on them confused.¹ But nevertheless those who were for acquittal appeared to be in the majority; and some bribery also was said to have been used. This led Catulus to say, when he met the jurors, "It was indeed as a measure of safety that you asked for your guard; you were afraid that someone would take your money away from you"² And Cicero, when Clodius told him that as a witness he had found no credit with the jurors, said: "Nay, twenty-five of the jurors gave me credit, for so many voted against you; and thirty of them gave you no credit, for they did not vote to acquit you until they had got your money."³ Caesar, however, when summoned as a witness, gave no testimony against Clodius, and denied that he had condemned his wife for adultery, but said that he had put her away because Caesar's wife must be free not only from shameful conduct, but even from shameful report.

XXX. But Clodius, having escaped his peril, and having been chosen tribune,⁴ at once began to attack Cicero, arraying and stirring up against him all things and all men alike. He won the favour of the people by benevolent laws, got large provinces voted to each of the consuls (Macedonia to Piso, and Syria to Gabinius), brought many of the poorer class into organized political activity, and kept armed slaves about his person. Now, of the three men who at that time had most power,

jurors voted by placing one of these tablets in the urn. Plutarch must have misunderstood his source.

¹ Cf. Cicero, *ad Att.* 1, 16, 5.

² Cf. Cicero, *ibid.* 16, 10. ⁴ For the year 58 B.C.

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Κράσσον μὲν ἄντικρυς Κικέρωνι πολεμοῦντος,
Πομπηίου δὲ θρυπτομένου πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους,
Καίσαρος δὲ μέλλοντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἔξιέναι μετὰ
στρατεύματος, ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑποδὺς ὁ Κικέρων,
καίπερ οὐκ ὅντα φίλου, ἀλλ’ ὑποπτον ἐκ τῶν περὶ
Κατιλίναν, ἡξίωσε πρεσβευτὴς αὐτῷ συστρα-
3 τεύειν. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κλάδιος
ὅρῶν ἐκφεύγοντα τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Κικέ-
ρωνα προσεποιεῖτο συμβατικῶς ἔχειν, καὶ τῇ
Τερεντίᾳ τὴν πλείστην ἀνατιθεὶς αἰτίαν, ἐκείνου
δὲ μεμνημένος ἐπιεικῶς ἀεὶ καὶ λόγους εὐγνώ-
μονας ἐνδιδούς, ὡς ἂν τις οὐ μισῶν οὐδὲ χαλε-
πανων, ἀλλ’ ἐγκαλῶν μέτρια καὶ φιλικά, παντά-
πασιν αὐτοῦ τὸν φόβον ἀνήκειν, ὥστ’ ἀπειπεῖν τῷ
Καίσαρι τὴν πρεσβείαν καὶ πάλιν ἔχεσθαι τῆς
4 πολιτείας. ἐφ' φ' παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Καίσαρ τὸν τε
Κλάδιον ἐπέρρωσε καὶ Πομπήιον ἀπέστρεψε
κομιδὴ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, αὐτὸς τε κατεμαρτύρησεν
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καλῶς μηδὲ νομίμως
ἄνδρας ἀκρίτους ἀνηρῆσθαι τοὺς περὶ Λέντλον
καὶ Κέθηγον. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ κατηγορία, καὶ ἐπὶ⁵
τοῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκαλεῖτο. κινδυνεύων οὖν καὶ
διωκόμενος ἐσθῆτα μετήλλαξε καὶ κόμης ἀνά-
πλεως περιών ίκέτευε τὸν δῆμον. πανταχοῦ δὲ ὁ
Κλάδιος ἀπήντα κατὰ τοὺς στενωπούς, ἀνθρώ-
πους ἔχων ὑβριστὰς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ θρασεῖς, οἱ
πολλὰ μὲν χλευάζοντες ἀκολάστως εἰς τὴν μετα-
βολὴν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, πολλαχοῦ

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Crassus was an out-and-out foe of Cicero, Pompey was dallying with both, and Caesar was about to set out for Gaul with an army ; into Caesar's favour, therefore, Cicero insinuated himself (although Caesar was not a friend, but an object of suspicion owing to the affair of Catiline), and asked to accompany him on his campaign as legate.¹ But no sooner had Caesar granted the request than Clodius, seeing that Cicero was thus escaping his tribunical power, pretended to be desirous of a reconciliation, and by laying the chief blame upon Terentia, and always speaking of Cicero in friendly terms and using kindly expressions about him, as one who bore him no hatred or even ill-will, but had moderate complaints to make of him in a friendly way, he altogether took away his fear, so that he declined the office of legate under Caesar and again applied himself to public matters. But at this conduct Caesar was exasperated, and encouraged Clodius against Cicero, and completely alienated Pompey from him, while he himself testified before the people that he did not think it right or lawful that men should be put to death without a trial, as in the case of Lentulus, Cethegus, and their accomplices. For this was the denunciation made against Cicero, and to this he was summoned to make answer. And so, being in peril of prosecution, he changed his attire,² and with his hair untrimmed went about supplicating the people. But Clodius met him everywhere in the streets, with a band of bold and insolent men about him, who made many unbridled jests upon Cicero's change of attire,

¹ According to Cicero (*ad Att.* ii. 18, 3), it was Caesar who made the request. ² To a garb of mourning.

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δὲ πηλῷ καὶ λίθοις βάλλοντες ἐνίσταντο τὰς
ἰκεσίαις.

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον μὲν
δλίγου δεῖν σύμπαν τὸ τῶν ἵππικῶν πλῆθος
συμμετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ δισμυρίων οὐκ
ἐλάττους οἴνων παρηκόλουθουν κομῶντες καὶ συνι-
κετεύοντες· ἔπειτα τῆς βουλῆς συνελθούσης ὅπως
ψηφίσαιτο τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐπὶ πένθεστι μεταβαλεῖν
τὰ ἴματα, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐναντιωθέντων, Κλω-
δίου δὲ σιδηροφορουμένου περὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον,
ἔξέδραμον οὐκ δλίγοι τῶν βουλευτικῶν καταρ-
2 ρηγγύμενοι τοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ βοῶντες. ὡς δ' ἦν
οὕτ' οἰκτος οὕτε τις αἰδὼς πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν, ἀλλ'
ἔδει τὸν Κικέρωνα φεύγειν ἢ βίᾳ καὶ σιδήρῳ
κριθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Κλώδιον, ἔδειτο Πομπήϊον
βοηθεῖν ἐπίτηδες ἐκποδῶν γεγονότος καὶ διατρί-
βοντος ἐν ἀγροῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλβανόν. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν ἔπειτε Πείσωνα τὸν γαμβρὸν δεησόμενον.
3 ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Πομ-
πήιος οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰς ὅψιν ἐλθεῖν, δεινὴ γὰρ
αὐτὸν αἰδὼς εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μεγάλους ἥγω-
νισμένου ἀγώνας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς
χάριν ἐκείνῳ πεπολιτευμένου, ἀλλὰ Καίσαρι
γαμβρὸς ὃν δεομένῳ προοῦδωκε τὰς παλαιὰς
χάριτας καὶ κατὰ θύρας ἄλλας ὑπεξελθὼν ἀπε-
δίδρασκε τὴν ἔντευξιν. οὕτω δὴ προδοθεὶς ὁ
4 Κικέρων ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγονὼς ἕρημος ἐπὶ τοὺς
πατέρους κατέφυγε. καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἦν χαλε-
πὸς ἀεί, Πείσων δὲ διελέχθη πραότερον αὐτῷ,

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and often pelted him with mud and stones, and so interfered with his supplications to the people.

XXXI. However, in the first place, nearly the whole body of knights changed their attire with Cicero, and as many as twenty thousand young men escorted him with their hair untrimmed and joined in his suppliant entreaties to the people;¹ and besides, when the senate had met in order to pass a vote that the people should change their dress in token of public calamity, and the consuls had opposed it, and Clodius was in arms about the senate-house, not a few of the senators ran out, rending their garments and crying aloud. But since this sight awakened neither pity nor any mercy, but Cicero was obliged either to go into exile or to appeal to force and the sword against Clodius, he begged for aid from Pompey, who had purposely got out of the way and was staying at his country seat in the Alban hills. First Cicero sent Piso,² his son-in-law, to entreat for him; then he went up thither himself also. Pompey, however, on learning of his coming, could not endure to see him, for he felt a strong sense of shame towards the man who had made great struggles in his behalf and had often adopted a political course to please him; but since he was Caesar's son-in-law, at his request he proved false to his old obligations, slipped out by another door, and so ran away from the interview. Thus betrayed by him and left desolate, Cicero fled for refuge to the consuls. Gabinius was always severe with him, but Piso dealt

¹ Cf. Cicero's oration *post red. ad Quir.* 3, 8

² Not the consul who is mentioned in xxx 1 and below in § 4.

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παραινῶν ἐκστῆναι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι τῇ τοῦ Κλωδίου ῥύμῃ καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν σωτῆρα τῆς πατρίδος ἐν στάσεσι καὶ κακοῦ δὲ ἐκεῖνον οὕστης.

Τοιαύτης τυχῶν ἀποκρίσεως ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουλεύετο σὸν τοῖς φίλοις· καὶ Λεύκουλλος μὲν ἐκέλευε μένειν, ὡς περιεσόμενον, ἄλλοι δὲ φεύγειν, ὡς ταχὺ τοῦ δήμου ποθήσοντος αὐτόν, ὅταν ἐμπλησθῇ τῆς Κλωδίου μανίας καὶ ἀπονούσας.
ἢ ταῦτ' ἔδοξε Κικέρωνις καὶ τὸ μεν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἰδρυμένον ἔτίμα διαφερόντως, εἰς Καπιτώλιον κομίσας ἀνέθηκεν ἐπιγράψας “Ἀθηνᾶς Ρώμης φύλακι,” πομποὺς δὲ παρὰ τῶν φίλων λαβῶν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως καὶ πεζῇ διὰ Λευκανίας ἐπορεύετο, λαβέσθαι Σικελίας βουλόμενος.

XXXII. Ὡς δ' ἦν φανερὸς ἥδη πεφευγώς, ἐπήγαγεν αὐτῷ φυγῆς ψῆφου ὁ Κλωδίος, καὶ διάγραμμα προοῦθηκεν εἵργειν πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μὴ παρέχειν στέγην ἐντὸς μιλιών πεντακοσίων Ἰταλίας. τοῦς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἐλάχιστος ἦν τοῦ διαγράμματος τούτου λόγος αἰδονυμένοις τὸν Κικέρωνα, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνύειν φιλοφροσύνην παρέπεμπον αὐτόν· ἐν δὲ Ἰππωνίῳ, πόλει τῆς Λευκανίας, ἦν Οὐιβῶνα νῦν καλοῦσιν, Οὐιβίος, Σικελὸς ἀνήρ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆς Κικέρωνος φιλίας ἀπολελαυκῶς καὶ γεγονὼς

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with him more gently, advising him to stand aside and yield to the impetuous assaults of Clodius, to submit to the change in the times, and to become once more a saviour of his country when she was involved in seditions and misfortunes through Clodius.

After getting such answer to his appeal, Cicero took counsel with his friends : Lucullus urged him to remain in the city, believing that he would prevail ; but others advised him to go into exile, believing that the people would quickly long for him when they were sated with the folly and madness of Clodius. This Cicero decided to do ; so he took the statue of Minerva which had long stood in his house, and which he honoured exceedingly, carried it to the capitol,¹ and dedicated it there with the inscription "To Minerva, Guardian of Rome" ; then, accepting an escort from his friends, about midnight he slipped out of the city, and set out on foot through Lucania, desiring to reach Sicily.

XXXII. But as soon as it was known that he had fled, Clodius caused a vote of banishment to be passed upon him, and issued an edict that all men should refuse him fire and water and that no man should give him shelter within five hundred miles of Italy. Now, most men paid not the slightest heed to this edict out of respect for Cicero, and escorted him on his way with every mark of kindness ; but at Hipponium, a city of Lucania,² which is now called Vibo, Vibius, a Sicilian, who had profited much from Cicero's friendship and particularly by being made prefect of engineers during

¹ Cf Cicero, *de leg.* ii. 17, 42 ; *ad fin.* viii. 25, 1.

² Rather Bruttium

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ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ τεκτόνων ἐπαρχος, οἰκίᾳ μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τὸ χωρίον δὲ καταγράψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ Γάιος Οὐεργύλιος, ὁ τῆς Σικελίας στρατηγός, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνι κεχρημένος,
3 ἔγραψεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς Σικελίας. ἐφ' οἷς ἀθυμήσας ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Δυρράχιον ἀνέμφορῷ περαιούμενος, ἀντιπνεύσαντος πελαγίου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπαλινδρόμησεν, εἰτ' αὐθις ἀνήχθη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Δυρράχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος ἀποβαίνειν σεισμὸν τε τῆς γῆς καὶ σπασμὸν ἄμα γενέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. ἀφ' ὃν συνέβαλον οἱ μαντικοὶ μὴ μόνιμον αὐτῷ τὴν φυγὴν ἔσεσθαι· μεταβολῆς γὰρ
4 εἶναι ταῦτα σημεῖα. πολλῶν δὲ φοιτώντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' εὐνοίας καὶ τῶν Ἐλληνίδων πόλεων διαιμιλωμένων πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς πρεσβείαις, ὅμως ἀθυμῶν καὶ περίλυπτος διῆγε τὰ πολλά, πρὸς τὴν Ἱταλίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες, ἀφορῶν, καὶ τῷ φρονήματι μικρὸς ἄγαν καὶ ταπεινὸς ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς γεγονὼς καὶ συνεσταλμένος, ὡς οὐκ ἀντιστῆσαι παιδείᾳ συμβεβιωκότα τοσαύτῃ προσεδόκησε. καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἡξίου τοὺς φίλους μὴ ῥήτορα καλεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφον· φιλοσοφίαν γὰρ ὡς ἔργον ἥρησθαι, ῥήτορικῇ δὲ ὄργανῳ χρῆσθαι πολιτευόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας. ἀλλ' ἡ δόξα δεινὴ τὸν λόγον, ὥσπερ βαφήν, ἀποκλύσαι τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐνομόρξασθαι πάθη δι' ὄμιλαν καὶ συνήθειαν τοῖς

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his consulship, would not receive him in his house, but sent him word that he would assign him his country-place for residence; and Caius Vergilius, the praetor of Sicily, who had been on most intimate terms with Cicero, wrote him to keep away from Sicily.¹ Disheartened at this treatment, he set out for Brundisium, and from there tried to cross to Dyrrhachium with a fair breeze, but since he met a counter-wind at sea he came back the next day, and then set sail again. It is said, too, that after he had put in at Dyrrhachium and was about to land, there was an earthquake accompanied by a violent convulsion of the sea. Wherefore the soothsayers conjectured that his exile would not be lasting, since these were signs of change. But although many people visited him out of goodwill, and the Greek cities vied with one another in sending him deputations, still, he passed his time for the most part in dejection and great grief;² looking off towards Italy like a disconsolate lover, while in his spirit he became very petty and mean by reason of his misfortune, and was more humbled than one would have expected in a man who had enjoyed so lofty a discipline as his. And yet he often asked his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had chosen philosophy as an occupation, but used oratory merely as an instrument for attaining the needful ends of a political career. But public opinion has great power to wash away reason, like a dye, from the soul of man, and by force of familiar association to impress the feelings of the vulgar on those who engage

¹ Cf. Cicero, *pro Plancio*, 40, 95 ff.

² As his letters to Atticus (iii. 8-21) show.

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πολιτευομένοις, ἂν μή τις εὖ μάλα φυλαττόμενος οὕτω συμφέρηται τοῖς ἐκτὸς ως τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν, οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι παθῶν συμμεθέξων.

XXXIII. Ὁ δὲ Κλώδιος ἔξελάσας τὸν Κικέρωνα κατέπρησε μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, κατέπρησε δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ναὸν Ἐλευθερίας ἐπωκοδόμησε· τὴν δ' ἀλλην οὐσίαις ἐπώλει καὶ διεκήρυττε καθ' ἡμέραν, μηδὲν ὠνουμένου μηδενός. ἕκ δὲ τούτου φοβερὸς ὥν τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνειμένον εἰς ὑβριν πολλῆν καὶ θρασύτητα συνεφελκύμενος, ἐπεχείρει τῷ Πομπήῳ, τῶν διφκημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν ἔνια σπαράττων. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Πομπήιος ἀδοξῶν ἐκάκιζεν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν προέμενος τὸν Κικέρωνα· καὶ πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς παντοῖος ἐγίνετο πράττων κάθοδον αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. ἐνισταμένου δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου συνέδοξε τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲν διὰ μέσου πρᾶγμα κυροῦν μηδὲ πράττειν δημόσιον, εἰ μὴ Κικέρωνι κάθοδος γένοιτο. τῶν δὲ περὶ Λέντλον ὑπατευόντων καὶ τῆς στάσεως πρόσω βαδιζούστης, ὥστε τρωθῆναι μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ δημάρχους, Κόιντον δὲ τὸν Κικέρωνος ἀδελφὸν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ως τεθνηκότα κείμενον διαλαθεῖν, ὅτε δῆμος ἤρχετο τρέπεσθαι τῇ γυνώμῃ, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων Ἀννιος Μίλων πρώτος ἐτόλμησε τὸν Κλώδιον εἰς δίκην ἀπάγειν βιαίων, καὶ Πομπήῳ πολλοὶ συνήλθον ἔκ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων. μεθ' ὧν προελθὼν καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον

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in political life, unless one is right well on his guard when he engages himself in things external, and is resolved to participate only in the things themselves, and not in the feelings attendant upon them.

XXXIII As for Clodius, after driving Cicero away he burned down his villas, and burned down his house, and erected on its site a temple to Liberty; the rest of his property he offered for sale and had it proclaimed daily, but nobody would buy anything. Being therefore formidable to the patricians, and dragging along with him the people, who indulged in great boldness and effrontery, he assailed Pompey, attacking fiercely some of the arrangements made by him on his expedition. The disgrace which this brought upon Pompey led him to reproach himself for his abandonment of Cicero; and changing front he used every effort to effect Cicero's return, and so did his friends. But since Clodius opposed himself to this, the senate decided to ratify no measure that came up in the mean time and to do no public business, unless Cicero should be permitted to return.¹ During the consulship of Lentulus,² however, when the disorder went on increasing, so that tribunes were wounded in the forum and Quintus the brother of Cicero lay unnoticed for dead among the slain,³ the people began to change their minds, and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, first ventured to prosecute Clodius for violence, and many joined themselves to Pompey both from the people and from the surrounding cities. With these Pompey came forth, drove

¹ Cf. Cicero, *pro Sest.* 31, 67 f.; Plutarch, *Pompey*, xl ix 1-3.

² 57 B.C.

³ Cf. Cicero, *pro Sest.* 35, 75 f.

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ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐκάλει
 4 τοὺς πολύτας. καὶ λέγεται μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἐκ
 τοσαύτης ὁμοφροσύνης ἐπιψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆ-
 μον. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀμιλλωμένη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
 ἔγραψεν ἐπαινεθῆναι τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι τὸν Κικέ-
 ρωνα παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐθεράπευσαν, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
 αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, ἀς Κλώδιος διεφθάρκει,
 τέλεσι δημοσίοις ἀνασταθῆναι.

5 Κατέχει δὲ Κικέρων ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν
 φυγὴν καὶ τοσαύτῃ τὰς πόλεις χαρὰ καὶ σπουδὴ
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν εἶχεν ὥστε
 τὸ ῥήθεν ὑπὸ Κικέρωνος ὕστερον ἐνδεέστερον εἶναι
 τῆς ἀληθείας. ἔφη γάρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅμων τὴν
 Ἰταλίαν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσενεγκεῖν.
 ὅπου καὶ Κράσσος, ἐχθρὸς ὁν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς
 φυγῆς, τότε προθύμως ἀπῆκτα καὶ διελύετο, τῷ
 παιδὶ Ποπλίῳ χαριζόμενος, ὡς ἔλεγε, ζηλωτῇ τοῦ
 Κικέρωνος ὅντι.

XXXIV. Χρόνον δ' οὐ πολὺν διαλιπὼν καὶ
 παραφυλάξεας ἀποδημοῦντα τὸν Κλώδιον ἐπῆλθε
 μετὰ πολλῶν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ τὰς δημαρχικὰς
 δέλτους, ἐν αἷς ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν διωκημένων ἦσαν,
 ἀπέσπασε καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἔγκαλοῦντος δὲ περὶ
 τούτου τοῦ Κλωδίου, τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος
 ως παρανόμως ἐκ πατρικίων εἰς δημαρχίαν παρέλ-
 θοι, καὶ κύριον οὐδέν εἶναι τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ'
 2 αὐτοῦ, Κάτων ἡγανάκτησε καὶ ἀντεῖπε, τὸν μὲν
 Κλώδιον οὐκ ἐπαινῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσχεραίνων τοῖς
 πεπολιτευμένοις, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ βίαιον ἀποφαίνων

¹ On the question of Cicero's recall.

² Cf. Cicero, in *Pisonem*, 22, 52.

³ Cf. Cicero, *post red. in sen.* 15, 39

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Clodius from the forum, and summoned the citizens to the vote.¹ And it is said that the people never passed any vote with such unanimity. The senate, too, vying with the people, wrote letters of thanks to all the cities which had ministered to Cicero during his exile, and decreed that his house and his villas, which Clodius had destroyed, should be restored at the public cost.²

Thus Cicero came home in the sixteenth month after his exile; and so great was the joy of the cities and the eagerness of men to meet him that what was said by Cicero afterwards fell short of the truth. He said, namely, that Italy had taken him on her shoulders and carried him into Rome.³ And there Crassus also, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily met him and was reconciled with him, to gratify his son Publius, as he said, who was an ardent admirer of Cicero.

XXXIV. After allowing only a short time to pass and watching for an opportunity when Clodius was absent from the city, Cicero went up with a great company to the capitol, and there tore away and destroyed the tablets of the tribunes, in which were the records of their administration. When Clodius brought charges against him for this and Cicero argued that it was illegal for Clodius to pass from the ranks of the patricians into the tribunate,⁴ and that therefore none of his acts was valid, Cato was indignant and spoke against Cicero; not that he approved of Clodius, nay, he was actually displeased at his political course, but he set forth that it was a

⁴ Clodius had secured an adoption into a plebeian family in order to become a candidate for the tribuneship. Cf Cicero, *pro domo sua*, 29, 77.

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ἀναίρεσιν ψηφίσασθαι δογμάτων καὶ πράξεων τοσούτων τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐν αἷς εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν περὶ Κύπρου καὶ Βυζάντιου διοίκησιν. ἐκ τούτου προσέκρουσεν ὁ Κικέρων αὐτῷ πρόσκρουσιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφανὲς προελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμαυρότερον.

XXXV Μετὰ ταῦτα Κλωδίον μὲν ἀποκτίννυσι Μίλων καὶ διωκόμενος φόνου Κικέρωνα παρεστήσατο συνήγορον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ κινδυνεύοντος ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ θυμοειδοῦς τοῦ Μίλωνος ταραχὴ γένηται περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπέτρεψε Πομπηίῳ ταύτην τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κρίσεις βραβεῦσαι, παρέχοντα τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀσφάλειαν. ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων περιλαβόντος τοὺς στρατιώταις, ὁ Μίλων τὸν Κικέρωνα δείσας μὴ πρὸς τὴν δύψιν ἀηθείᾳ διαταραχθεὶς χείρον διαγωνίσηται, συνέπεισεν ἐν φορείῳ κομισθέντα πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡσυχάζειν, ἔχρι οὖ συνίαστιν οἱ κριταὶ 2 καὶ πληροῦνται τὸ δικαστήριον. ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἦν, ὡς ἔσικεν, ἐν δπλοὶς ἀθαρσής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λέγειν μετὰ φόβου προσήσῃ, καὶ μόλις ἀν ἐπαύσατο¹ παλλόμενος καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἀκμῆν τοῦ λόγους καὶ κατάστασιν λαβόντος. Δικινύιῳ δὲ Μουρήνᾳ φεύγοντι δίκην ὑπὸ Κάτωνος βοηθῶν, καὶ φίλοτιμούμενος Ὁρτήσιον ὑπερβαλεῖν εὐημερήσαντα, μέρος οὐδὲν ἀνεπαύσατο τῆς νυκτὸς, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ σφόδρα φροντίσαι καὶ διαγρυπνῆσαι κακωθεὶς ἐνδεέστερος αὐτοῦ φανῆναι.

¹ ἀν ἐπαύσατο Giaux withl D (ἀνεπαύσατο M^a). ἐπαύσατο

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strange and violent measure for the senate to vote the abrogation of so many acts and decrees, among which were those for his own administration at Cyprus and Byzantium. This led to an antagonism between him and Cicero which came to no open manifestation, but made their friendly treatment of one another less marked.

XXXV. After this Clodius was killed by Milo,¹ and Milo, being prosecuted for murder, engaged Cicero as his advocate. But the senate was afraid that at the trial of Milo, who was a man of repute and high spirit, there might be a disturbance in the city, and therefore intrusted the superintendence of this and the other trials to Pompey, who was to furnish security for the city and the courts of justice. So Pompey, while it was still night, posted his soldiers on the heights so as to command the forum, and Milo, fearing that Cicero might be disturbed at the unusual sight and conduct his case less successfully, persuaded him to be brought in a litter to the forum and to wait there quietly until the jurors assembled and the court-room was filled. Now Cicero, as it would seem, was not only without courage under arms, but also felt fear when he began to speak, and in many trials he hardly ceased quivering and trembling after his eloquence had become high and sustained. When he was to plead for Licinius Murena in a case brought against him by Cato, and was ambitious to surpass Hortensius, who had made a successful plea, he took no rest at all during the night before, so that his lack of sleep and his great anxiety did him harm, and he was thought inferior

¹ Early in 52 B.C. For this year Pompey had been made sole consul.

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4 τότε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος δίκην ἐκ τοῦ φορέου προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν Πομπήιον ἄνω καθεξόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ κύκλῳ τὰ ὅπλα περιλάμποντα τὴν ἀγοράν, συνεχύθη καὶ μόδις ἐνήρξατο τοῦ λόγου, κραδαινόμενος τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐνισχόμενος, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μίλωνος εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως παρισταμένου τῷ ἀγώνι καὶ κόμην θρέψαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐσθῆτα φαιὰν ἀπαξιώσαντος· ὅπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα δοκεῖ συναίτιον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς καταδίκης. ἀλλ' ὃ γε Κικέρων διὰ ταῦτα φιλέταιρος μᾶλλον ἡ δειλὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

XXXVII. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ιερέων οὓς Αὔγουρας Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἀντὶ Κράσσου τοῦ νέου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πάρθοις αὐτοῦ τελευτήν. εἴτα κλήρῳ λαχῶν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν Κιλικίαν καὶ στρατὸν ὄπλιτῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων, ἵππεων δὲ δισχιλίων ἔξακοσίων, ἐπλευσε, προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ Καππαδοκίαν Ἀριοβαρζάνη τῷ βασιλεῖ 2 φίλα καὶ πειθήμια παρασχεῖν. ταῦτά τε δὴ παρεστήσατο καὶ συνήρμοσεν ἀμέμπτως ἄτερ πολέμου, τοὺς τε Κίλικας ὄρῶν πρὸς τὸ Παρθικὸν πταῖσμα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ νεωτερισμὸν ἐπηρμένους κατεπράγνεν ἡμέρως ἄρχων. καὶ δῶρα μὲν οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων διδόντων ἔλαβε, δείπνων δὲ τοὺς ἐπαρχικοὺς ἀνῆκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τοὺς χαρίεντας ἀνελάμβανεν ἐστιάσεσιν οὐ πολὺ 3 τελῶς, ἀλλ' ἐλευθερίως. ἡ δ' οἰκία θυρωρὸν οὐκ εἶχεν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὥφθη κατακείμενος ὑπ' οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἔωθεν ἐστὼς ἡ περιπατῶν πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου τοὺς ἀσπαζομένους ἐδεξιούτο. λέγεται δὲ μήτε

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to himself in his plea. And so at this time, when he came out of his litter to plead Milo's cause and saw Pompey stationed on the heights as in a camp, and arms flashing all around the forum, he was confounded and could scarcely begin his speech, for his body quivered and his voice faltered; whereas Milo showed the good courage of a brave man at the trial and had not deigned to let his hair go untrimmed or to change his attire to a dark one; and this seems most of all to have contributed to his condemnation. However, Cicero's behaviour led men to think him devoted to his friends rather than cowardly.

XXXVI. He became also one of the priests whom the Romans call Augurs, in place of the younger Crassus, who had died among the Parthians.¹ Then the lot gave him Cilicia as his province, with an army of twelve thousand men-at-arms and twelve hundred horsemen, and he set sail,² with instructions to keep Cappadocia friendly and obedient to King Ariobarzanes. This he accomplished and arranged satisfactorily without war, and seeing that the Cilicians, in view of the Parthian disaster to the Romans and the uprising in Syria, were in an agitated state, he pacified them by his mild government. Gifts he would not receive, not even when the kings offered them, and he relieved the provincials from the expense of entertainments; but he himself daily received men of pleasing accomplishments at banquets which were not expensive, although generous. His house, too, had no door-keeper, nor did anyone ever see him lying a-bed, but early in the morning he would stand or walk in front of his chamber and receive those who came to pay him their respects. It is

¹ In 53 B.C. See the *Crassus*, chapter xxv.

² In 51 B.C.

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ράβδοις αἰκίσασθαι τινα μήτ' ἐσθῆτα περισχίσαι
μήτε βλασφημίαν ὑπ' ὄργης ἢ ζημίας προσβαλεῖν
μεθ' ὑβρεων. ἀνευρῶν δὲ πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων
κεκλεμμένα τάς τε πόλεις εὐπόρους ἐποίησε, καὶ
τοὺς ἀποτίνοντας οὐδὲν τούτου πλείου παθόντας
ἐπιτίμους διεφύλαξεν. ἥψατο δὲ καὶ πολέμου,
λῃστὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀμανὸν οἰκούντων τρεψά-
μενος· ἐφ' φὶ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν ἀνηγγορεύθη. Καιλίου¹ δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δεο-
μένου παρδάλεις αὐτῷ πρός τινα θέαν εἰς Ῥώμην
ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀποστεῖλαι, καλλωπιζόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς
πεπραγμένοις γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶναι παρ-
δάλεις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ· πεφευγέναι γὰρ εἰς Καρίαν
ἀγανακτούσας ὅτι μόναι πολεμοῦνται, πάντων
εὐρήνην ἔχόντων. πλέων δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας
τοῦτο μὲν Ῥόδῳ προσέσχε, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀθήναις
ἐνδιέτριψεν ἀσμενος πόθῳ τῶν πάλαι διατριβῶν.
6 ἀνδράσι δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπὸ παιδείας συγγενό-
μενος καὶ τοὺς τότε φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἀσπασά-
μενος καὶ τὰ πρέποντα θαυμασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς
Ἐλλάδος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανῆλθεν, ἥδη τῶν πρα-
γμάτων ὥσπερ ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς ἀφισταμένων ἐπὶ
τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον.

XXXVII. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ ψηφιζομένων
αὐτῷ θριαμβον ἦδιον ἀν ἔφη παρακολουθῆσαι
Καισαρι θριαμβεύοντι συμβάσεων γενομένων.
ἰδίᾳ δὲ συνεβούλευε πολλὰ μὲν Καισαρι γράφων,

¹ Καιλίου Coraes, Bekker und Graux, after Xylander:
Κεκιλίου

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said, moreover, that he never ordered any man to be chastised with rods or to have his raiment torn from him, and that he never inflicted angry abuse or contumelious punishments. He discovered that much of the public property had been embezzled, and by restoring it he made the cities well-to-do, and men who made restitution he maintained in their civil rights without further penalties. He engaged in war, too, and routed the robbers who made their homes on Mount Amanus;¹ and for this he was actually saluted by his soldiers as Imperator. When Caelius the orator asked Cicero to send him panthers from Cilicia for a certain spectacle at Rome, Cicero, pluming himself upon his exploits, wrote to him that there were no panthers in Cilicia; for they had fled to Caria in indignation because they alone were warred upon, while everything else enjoyed peace.² On his voyage back from his province he first touched at Rhodes, and then gladly spent some time at Athens in fond remembrance of his old pursuits in that place. Then, after associating with men who were foremost for their learning, and after greeting his old-time friends and intimates, and after receiving from Greece the tokens of admiration that were his due, he returned to Rome,³ where a violent inflammation, as it were, was already forcing matters on towards the civil war.

XXXVII. Accordingly, when the senators were voting him a triumph, he said he would more gladly follow in Caesar's triumphal procession if matters could be settled; and privately he gave much advice

¹ Cf. Cicero, *ad fam.* ii. 10, 2 f.

² *Ad fam.* ii. 11 2.

³ January 4, 49 B.C. Cf. *ad fam.* xvi. 11, 2 f.

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πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου δεόμενος, πραύνων
ἐκάτερον καὶ παραμυθούμενος. ὡς δ' ἦν ἀνήκεστα
καὶ Καίσαρος ἐπερχομένου Πομπήιος οὐκ ἔμεινεν,
ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν
ἔξελπε, ταύτης μὲν ἀπελείφθη τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέ-
2 ρων, ἔδοξε δὲ Καίσαρι προστίθεσθαι. καὶ δῆλος
ἔστι τῇ γυώμῃ πολλὰ ῥιπτασθεὶς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα
καὶ δυσπαθήσας. γράφει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς
διαπορεῦν ποτέρωσε χρὴ τρέπεσθαι, Πομπηίου
μὲν ἔνδοξον καὶ καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς τὸν πόλε-
μον ἔχοντος, Καίσαρος δὲ ἄμεινον τοὺς πράγμασι
χρωμένου καὶ μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς φίλους
σωζόντος, ὥστ' ἔχειν μὲν δὲ φύγη, μὴ ἔχειν δὲ
3 πρὸς δὲ φύγη. Τρεβατίου δέ, τινὸς τῶν Καίσαρος
έταίρων, γράψαντος ἐπιστολὴν διτὶ Καίσαρος οἰεται
δεῖν μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔξετάξεσθαι μεθ' αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων μετέχειν, εἰ δὲ ἀναδύεται διὰ
γῆρας, εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα βαδίζειν κάκει καθήμενον
ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν ἐκποδῶν ἀμφοτέροις γενούμενον,
θαυμάσας ὁ Κικέρων διτὶ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγρα-
ψεν, ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς ὅργην ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον
πράξει τῶν πεπολιτευμένων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς
ἐπιστολαῖς γεγραμμένα τοιαῦτά ἔστι.

XXXVIII. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος εἰς Ἰθηρίαν ἀπά-
ραντος, εὐθὺς ὡς Πομπήιον ἔπλευσε· καὶ τοῖς
μὲν ἄλλοις ἀσμένοις ὠφθη, Κάτων δὲ αὐτὸν ἴδων
ἴδιᾳ πολλὰ κατεμέμφετο Πομπηίῳ προσθέμενον·
αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἦν

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to Caesar by letter, and much to Pompey in person by way of personal entreaty, trying to mollify and pacify each of them. But when things were past healing, and Caesar was advancing upon the city, and Pompey did not stay there, but abandoned the city in the company of many good men, Cicero did not take part in this flight, and was thought to be attaching himself to Caesar. And it is clear that his judgement drew him strongly in both directions and that he was in distress. For he writes in his letters that he knew not which way he ought to turn, since Pompey had honourable and good grounds for going to war, while Caesar managed matters better and had more ability to save himself and his friends: he therefore knew from whom he should flee, but not to whom he should flee.¹ And when Trebatius, one of the companions of Caesar, wrote him a letter stating that Caesar thought he ought above all things to range himself on his side and share his hopes, but that if he declined to do this by reason of his age, he ought to go to Greece and take up a quiet life there out of the way of both, Cicero was amazed that Caesar himself did not write, and replied in a passion that he would do nothing unworthy of his political career. Such, then, is the purport of his letters.

XXXVIII. But when Caesar set out for Spain, Cicero at once sailed to Pompey.² The rest of Pompey's followers were glad to see him, but when Cato saw him, he privately blamed him much for attaching himself to Pompey. In his own case, Cato said, it was not honourable to abandon the

¹ Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo
(*ad Att.* viii. 7, 2).

² In April, 49 B.C., Caesar set out for Spain, and in June Cicero sailed for Greece.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἶλετο τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ χρησιμώτερον ὅντα τὴν πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις εἰ μένων ἵστος ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβαῖνον ἡρμόζετο, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης πολέμου γεγονέναι Καίσαρι καὶ τοσούτου μεθέξοντα κινδύνου δεῦρ' ἥκειν.

- 2 Οὗτοί τε δὴ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνέστρεφον οἱ λόγοι τὴν γνωμήν, καὶ τὸ μέγα μηδὲν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι Πομπήιον. αἴτιος δ' ἦν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀρνούμενος μεταμέλεσθαι, φλαυρίζων δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰ βουλεύματα δυσκολαίνων ὑπούλως, καὶ τοῦ παρασκώπτειν τι καὶ λέγειν χαρίεν εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐκ ἀπεχόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγέλαστος ἀεὶ περιὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ σκυθρωπός, ἔτεροι δὲ παρέχων γέλωτα 3 μηδὲν δεομένοις. βέλτιον δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα παραθέσθαι. Δομιτίου τοίνυν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τάξιν ἡγεμονικὴν ἄγοντος οὐ πολεμικὸν καὶ λέγοντος ὡς ἐπιεικῆς τὸν τρόπον ἐστὶ καὶ σώφρων, “Τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν τοῖς τέκνοις φυλάσσεις;” ἐπαινούντων δέ τινων Θεοφάνην τὸν Λεσβίον, διὸ ἦν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τεκτόνων ἐπαρχος, ὡς εὖ παραμυθήσαιτο Ροδίους τὸν στόλον ἀποβαλόντας, “Ηλίκον,” εἶπεν, “ἀγαθόν ἐστι τὸ Γραικὸν ἔχειν ἐπαρχον.” Καίσαρος δὲ κατορθοῦντος τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτούς, Λέντλῳ μὲν εἰπόντι πυνθάνεσθαι

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line of public policy which he had chosen from the beginning ; but Cicero, though he was of more service to his country and his friends if he remained at home without taking sides and accommodated himself to the issue of events, without any reason and under no compulsion had made himself an enemy of Caesar, and had come thither to share in their great danger.

By these words the purpose of Cicero was upset, as well as by the fact that Pompey made no great use of him. But he was himself to blame for this, since he made no denial that he was sorry he had come, made light of Pompey's preparations and showed a lurking displeasure at his plans, and did not refrain from jests and witty remarks about his comrades in arms ; nay, although he himself always went about in the camp without a smile and scowling, still he made others laugh in spite of themselves. And it will be well to give a few instances of this also. When Domitius, then, was advancing to a post of command a man who was no soldier, with the remark that he was gentle in his disposition and prudent, "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him as a guardian of your children?" And when certain ones were praising Theophanes the Lesbian, who was prefect of engineers in the camp, because he had given excellent consolation to the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "What a great blessing it is," said Cicero, "to have a Greek as prefect!" Again, when Caesar was successful for the most part and in a way was laying siege to them,¹ Lentulus said he had heard

¹ At Dyrrhachium. See the *Caesar*, xxxix.; *Caesar, B.C.* in. 41-55

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στυγνοὺς εἶναι τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους, ἀπεκρί-
5 νατο· “Λέγεις αὐτοὺς δυσνοεῖν Καίσαρι.” Μαρ-
κίου δέ τινος ἥκουντος ἐξ Ἰταλίας νεωστὶ καὶ
λέγοντος ἐν ‘Ρώμῃ φύμην ἐπικρατεῖν ὡς πολιορ-
κοῦτο Πομπήιος, “Εἴτ’ ἐξέπλευσας,” εἶπεν, “ἴνα
τοῦτο πιστεύσῃς αὐτὸς θεασάμενος;” μετὰ δὲ
τὴν ἥτταν Νονιού μὲν εἰπόντος ὅτι δεῖ χρηστὰς
ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ἐπτὰ γὰρ ἀετοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ τοῦ Πομπηίου λελείφθαι, “Καλῶς ἄν,”
6 ἔφη, “παρήνεις, εἰ κολοιοὶς ἐπολεμοῦμεν.” Λα-
βιηνοῦ δὲ μαντείαις τισὶν ἴσχυριζομένου καὶ λέ-
γοντος ὡς δεῖ περιγενέσθαι Πομπήιον, “Οὐκοῦν,”
ἔφη, “στρατηγήματι τούτῳ χρώμενοι νῦν ἀποβε-
βλήκαμεν τὸ στρατόπεδον.”

XXXIX. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ γενομένης τῆς κατὰ Φάρ-
σαλον μάχης, ἃς οὐ μετέσχε δι' ἀρρωστίαν, καὶ
Πομπηίου φυγόντος, ὁ μὲν Κάτων καὶ στράτευμα
συχνὸν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ καὶ στόλον ἔχων μέγαν
ἐκείνον ἥξειν στρατηγεῖν κατὰ νόμον καὶ τὸ τῆς
ὑπατείας ἀξιώμα προΐχοντα. διωθούμενος δὲ
τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ὅλως φεύγων τὸ
συστρατεύεσθαι παρ' οὐδὲν ἥλθεν ἀναιρεθῆναι,
2 Πομπηίου τοῦ νέου καὶ τῶν φίλων προδότην
ἀποκαλούντων καὶ τὰ ἔιφη σπασαμένων, εἰ μὴ
Κάτων ἐνστὰς μόλις ἀφέλετο καὶ διῆκεν αὐτὸν
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. κατασχὼν δὲ εἰς Βρευτέ-
σιον ἐνταῦθα διέτριβε, Καίσαρα περιμένων βρα-
δύνοντα διὰ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον
3 ἀσχολίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Τάραντα καθωρμισμένος

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that Caesar's friends were gloomy, to which Cicero replied: "You mean that they are ill-disposed to Caesar." And when a certain Marcius, who had recently come from Italy, spoke of a report which prevailed in Rome that Pompey was besieged, "And then," said Cicero, "did you sail off that you might see with your own eyes and believe?" Again, after the defeat, when Nonnius said they ought to have good hopes, since seven eagles were left in the camp of Pompey, "Your advice would be good," said Cicero, "if we were at war with jackdaws." And when Labienus, insisting on certain oracles, said that Pompey must prevail, "Yes," said Cicero, "this is the generalship that has now cost us our camp."

XXXIX. However, after the battle at Pharsalus,¹ in which Cicero took no part because of illness, had been fought, and Pompey was in flight, Cato, who had a considerable army and a large fleet at Dyr rhachium, asked Cicero to take the command in accordance with custom and because of his superior consular rank. But Cicero rejected the command and was altogether averse to sharing in the campaign, whereupon he came near being killed; for the young Pompey and his friends called him a traitor and drew their swords upon him, and that would have been the end of him had not Cato interposed and with difficulty rescued him and sent him away from the camp.² So Cicero put in at Brundisium and tarried there, waiting for Caesar, who was delayed by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. But when word was brought that Caesar had landed at

¹ In August, 48 B.C.

² Cf. *Cato the Younger*, lv. 3.

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ἀπιγγέλλετο καὶ πεζῇ περιῳδῶν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βρευ-
τέσιον, ὡρμησε πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ πάνυ μὲν ὡν
δύσελπις, αἰδούμενος δὲ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνδρὸς
ἐχθροῦ καὶ κρατοῦντος λαμβάνειν πεῖραν. οὐ
μήν ἐδέστην αὐτῷ πρᾶξαί τι παρ' ἀξίᾳν ἢ εἰπεῖν.

⁴ οὐ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν
ἄλλων ἀπαντῶντα, κατέβη καὶ ἡσπάσατο καὶ
διαλεγόμενος μόνῳ συχνῶν σταδίων ὁδὸν προῆλ-
θεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλει τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονού-
μενος, ὥστε καὶ γράψαντι λόγον ἐγκώμιον Κά-
τωνος ἀντιγράφων τόν τε λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν
⁵ βίον ὡς μάλιστα τῷ Περικλέους ἐοικότα καὶ
Θηραμένους ἐπαινεῖν. οὐ μὲν οὖν Κικέρωνος
λόγος Κάτων, οὐ δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέ-
γραπταί.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κοίντου Λιγαρίου δίκην φεύ-
γοντος ὅτι τῶν Καίσαρος πολεμιῶν εἰς ἐγεγόνει,
καὶ Κικέρωνος αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντος, εἴπειν τὸν
Καίσαρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· “Τί κωλύει διὰ
χρόνου Κικέρωνος ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ἐπεὶ πάλαι
⁶ κέκριται πονηρὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ¹ καὶ πολέμιος;” ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἀρξάμενος λέγειν ὁ Κικέρων ὑπερφυῖς ἐκίνει καὶ
προῦβαινεν αὐτῷ πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτε
θαυμαστὸς ὁ λόγος, πολλὰς μὲν οὔναι χρόας ἐπὶ²
τοῦ προσώπου τὸν Καίσαρα, πάσας δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς
τρεπόμενον τροπὰς κατάδηλοι εἶναι, τέλος δὲ τῶν
κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀφαμένου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγώνων
ἐκπαθῆ γενόμενον τιναχθῆναι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῆς
χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν ἔνια τῶν γραμματείων. τὸν
γοῦν ἄνθρωπον ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας βεβιασμένος.

¹ οὐ ἀνὴρ Bekker, after Schaefer ἀνήρ.

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Tarentum¹ and was coming round by land from there to Brundisium, Cicero hastened to meet him, being not altogether despondent, but feeling shame to test in the presence of many witnesses the temper of a man who was an enemy and victorious. However, there was no need that he should do or say anything unworthy of himself. For Caesar, when he saw him approaching far in advance of the rest, got down and embraced him and journeyed on for many furlongs conversing with him alone. And after this he continued to show him honour and kindness, so that in his reply to the encomium upon Cato which Cicero wrote he praised Cicero's eloquence and his life, as most resembling that of Pericles and Theramenes. Now, the discourse of Cicero was entitled "Cato," and that of Caesar "Anti-Cato."

It is said also that when Quintus Ligarius was under prosecution because he had been one of the enemies of Caesar, and Cicero was his advocate, Caesar said to his friends: "What is to prevent our hearing a speech from Cicero after all this while, since Ligarius has long been adjudged a villain and an enemy?" But when Cicero had begun to speak and was moving his hearers beyond measure, and his speech, as it proceeded, showed varying pathos and amazing grace, Caesar's face often changed colour and it was manifest that all the emotions of his soul were stirred; and at last, when the orator touched upon the struggles at Pharsalus,² he was so greatly affected that his body shook and he dropped from his hand some of his documents. At any rate he acquitted Ligarius under compulsion

¹ In September, 47 B.C.

² Cf. *pro Ligario*, 9, 27 f

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- XL. Ἐκ τούτου Κικέρων, εἰς μοναρχίαν τῆς πολιτείας μεθεστώσης, ἀφέμενος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἐσχόλαζε τοῖς βουλομένοις φιλοσοφεῖν τῶν νέων, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τούτους συνηθείας, εὐγενεστάτους καὶ πρώτους ὅντας, αὖθις
- 2 ἵσχυει ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον. αὐτῷ δὲ ἔργον μὲν ἦν τὸ τοὺς φιλοσόφους συντελεῖν διαλόγους καὶ μεταφράζειν, καὶ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν ἡ φυσικῶν ὄνομάτων ἔκαστον εἰς Ῥωμαικὴν μεταβάλλειν διάλεκτον· ἐκεῖνος γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς φασιν, ὁ καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν καὶ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐποχὴν καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄτομον, τὸ ἴμερές, τὸ κενόν, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔξονομάσας πρῶτος ἡ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις, τὰ μὲν μεταφοραῖς, τὰ δὲ οἰκείωτησιν ἀλλαις γνώριμα
- 3 καὶ προσήγορα μηχανησάμενος. τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ποίησιν ἕυκολίᾳ παίζων ἔχρητο. λέγεται γάρ, ὅπηνίκα ῥεύει πρὸς τὸ τοιούτον, τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ ποιεῖν πεντακόσια.
- Τὸ μεν οὖν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου τούτου περὶ Τοῦσκλον ἐν χωρίοις αὐτοῦ διάγων ἔγραφε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους Δαέρτου βίον ἔχην, εἴτε παίζων, ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν, εἴθ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας σπαργῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ ἀδημονῶν τοῖς καθεστῶσι.
- 4 σπανίως δὲ εἰς ἀστυ θεραπείας ἔνεκα τοῦ Καίσαρος κατήγει, καὶ πρῶτος ἦν τῶν συναγορευόντων ταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ λέγειν ἀεί τι καινὸν εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα φιλοτιμουμένων. οἷόν ἐστι

¹ In Latin, respectively, *visum* (*concepcionis*) *assensio* (*assent*), *assensionis retentio* (*withholding of assent*), *comprehensio* (*perception*), *individuum* (*atom*), *vacuum* (*void*); “amores”

CICERO

XL After this, when the government had been changed to a monarchy, Cicero abstained from public affairs and devoted his time to those of the young men who wished to study philosophy, and mainly from his intimacy with these, since they were of the highest birth and standing, he was once more very influential in the state. He made it his business also to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render into Latin the several terms of dialectics and natural philosophy; for he it was, as they say, who first, or principally, provided Latin names for "phantasia," "synkatathesis," "epokhe," and "katalepsis," as well as for "atomon," "ameres," "kenon,"¹ and many others like these, contriving partly by metaphors and partly by new and fitting terms to make them intelligible and familiar. His facility in verse-making, too, he employed to divert himself. It is said, indeed, that when he applied himself to such work, he would make five hundred verses in a night.

During this time, then, he lived for the most part at his country-seat in Tusculum, and he used to write to his friends that he was living the life of Laertes,² either jesting, as was his wont, or because his ambition filled him with a desire for public activity and made him dissatisfied with the turn things had taken. He rarely went down to the city, and then only to pay court to Caesar, and he was foremost among those who advocated Caesar's honours and were eager to be ever saying something new about him and his measures. Of this sort is

(*indivisible*), with its Latin equivalent, does not occur in the extant works of Cicero (Gudeman).

² Cf. *Odyssey*, i., 189 ff.

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καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Πομπηίου λεχθὲν εἰκόνων, ἃς ἀνηργημένας καὶ καταβεβλημένας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταθῆναι καὶ ἀνεστάθησαν. ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων ὅτι ταύτη τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν Πομπηίου ἵστησι, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ πήγυνυσιν ἀνδριάντας.

XLI. Διανοούμενος δὲ, ὡς λέγεται, τὴν πάτριον ἴστορίαν γραφῆ περιλαβεῖν καὶ πολλὰ συμμέξαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὄλως τοὺς συνηγμένους λόγους αὐτῷ καὶ μύθους ἐνταῦθα τρέψαι, πολλοῖς μὲν δημοσίοις, πολλοῖς δὲ ἰδίοις κατελήφθη πράγμασιν ἀβουλήτοις καὶ πάθεσιν, ὃν αὐθαίρετα 2 δοκεῖ πλεῖστα συμβῆναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπεπέμψατο τὴν γυναικα Τερεντίαν ἀμεληθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐφοδίων ἐνδεής ἀποσταλῆναι καὶ μηδ ὅτε κατήρευν αὐθις εἰς Ἰταλίαν τυχεῖν εὐγνώμονος. αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦλθεν, ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ πολὺν χρόνον, ἐρχομένη δὲ τῇ θυγατρὶ, παιδίσκη νέῃ, τοσαύτην ὁδόν, οὐ πομπὴν πρέπουσαν, οὐ χορηγίαν παρέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πάντων ἔρημον καὶ κενὴν ἀπέδειξεν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ὀφλήμασι καὶ μεγάλοις. 3 αὗται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ λεγόμεναι τῆς διαστάσεως εὐπρεπέσταται προφάσεις. τῇ δὲ Τερεντίᾳ καὶ ταύτας ἀρουραῖς λαμπρὰν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀπολογίαν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον γῆμας παρθένον, ὡς μὲν ἡ Τερεντία κατεφήμιζεν, ἔρωτι τῆς ὥρας, ὡς δὲ Τίρων ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύ-

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what he said about the statues of Pompey. These Caesar ordered to be set up again after they had been thrown down and taken away: and they were set up again. What Cicero said was that by this act of generosity Caesar did indeed set up the statues of Pompey, but firmly planted his own also.

XLI. He purposed, as we are told, to write a comprehensive history of his native country, combining with it many Greek details, and introducing there all the tales and myths which he had collected; but he was prevented by many public affairs which were contrary to his wishes, and by many private troubles, most of which seem to have been of his own choosing. For in the first place he divorced his wife Terentia because he had been neglected by her during the war, so that he set out in lack of the necessary means for his journey, and even when he came back again to Italy did not find her considerate of him. For she did not come to him herself, although he tarried a long time at Brundisium, and when her daughter, a young girl,¹ made the long journey thither, she supplied her with no fitting escort and with no means; nay, she actually stripped and emptied Cicero's house of all that it contained, besides incurring many large debts. These, indeed, are the most plausible reasons given for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied that these were the reasons, and Cicero himself made her defence a telling one by marrying shortly afterwards a maiden.² This he did, as Terentia asserted, out of love for her youthful beauty; but as Tiro, Cicero's freedman, has written,

¹ Tullia was old enough to have lost her first husband and married a second (§ 5). ² Publia, of patrician family.

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θερος γέγραφεν, εὐπορίας ἔνεκεν πρὸς διάλυσιν
 4 δανείων. ἦν γὰρ ἡ παῖς σφόδρα πλουσία, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐν πίστει κληρονόμος ἀπολειφθεὶς διεφύλαττεν. ὅφείλων δὲ πολλὰς μυριάδας ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἐπείσθη τὴν παῖδα γῆμαι παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς ἀπαλλάξαι τοῖς ἔκεινης χρησάμενον. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τοῦ γάμου μηησθεὶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἀντιγραφαῖς ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτόν φησι γυναῖκα παρ' ἥ ἐγήρασε· χαριέντως ἂμα τὴν οἰκουρίαν ὡς ἀπράκτου καὶ ἀστρατεύτου παρασκώπτων τοῦ
 5 Κικέρωνος. γῆμαντι δὲ αὐτῷ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνουν ἡ θυγάτηρ ἀπέθανε τίκτουσα παρὰ Λέντλῳ· τούτῳ γάρ ἐγαμήθη μετὰ τὴν Πείσωνος τοῦ προτέρου ἄνδρὸς τελευτήν. καὶ συνῆλθον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν παραμυθίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πανταχόθεν οἱ φίλοι·¹ βαρέως δὲ ἄγαν ἥμεργκε τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὥστε καὶ τὴν γαμηθεῖσαν ἀποπέμψασθαι δόξασαν ἡσθῆναι τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς Τυλλίας.

XLII. Τὰ μὲν ὅντα κατ' οἶκον οὕτως εἶχε τῷ Κικέρωνι. τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνισταμένης πράξεως οὐ μετέσχε, καίπερ ὅν ἑταῖρος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Βρούτον καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τὰ παρόντα καὶ τὰ πάλαι ποθέν πράγματα δοκῶν ὡς ἔτερος οὐδείς. ἀλλ' ἔδεισαν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ τὴν τε φύσιν ὡς ἐνδεῖ τόλμης, τόν τε χρόνον, ἐν ὧ καὶ ταῖς ἐρρωμενεστάταις φύσεσιν ἐπιλείπει τὸ θαρ-
 2 ρεῖν. ὡς δὲ οὖν ἐπέπρακτο τοῖς περὶ Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον τὸ ἔργον καὶ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων συνισταμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐθις ἦν δέος ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις περιπετῆ γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἀντώ-

¹ φίλοι Σιαυχ, after Volkmanus: φιλόσοφοι.

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to get means for the payment of his debts. For the girl was very wealthy, and Cicero had been left her trustee and had charge of her property. So since he owed many tens of thousands he was persuaded by his friends and relatives to marry the girl, old as he was, and to get rid of his creditors by using her money. But Antony, who spoke of the marriage in his replies to Cicero's Philippics, says that he cast out of doors the wife with whom he had grown old, and at the same time makes witty jibes upon the stay-at-home habits of Cicero, who was, he said, unfit for business or military service. Not long after Cicero's marriage his daughter died in child-birth at the house of Lentulus, to whom she had been married after the death of Piso, her former husband. His friends came together from all quarters to comfort Cicero; but his grief at his misfortune was excessive, so that he actually divorced the wife he had wedded, because she was thought to be pleased at the death of Tullia.

XLII. Such, then, were Cicero's domestic affairs. But in the design that was forming against Caesar he took no part, although he was one of the closest companions of Brutus and was thought to be distressed at the present and to long for the old state of affairs more than anybody else. But the conspirators feared his natural disposition as being deficient in daring, and his time of life, in which courage fails the strongest natures. And so, when the deed had been accomplished by the partisans of Brutus and Cassius,¹ and the friends of Caesar were combining against the perpetrators of it, and it was feared that the city would again be plunged into civil

¹ On the Ides of March, 44 B.C.

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νιος μὲν ὑπατεύων τὴν Βουλὴν συνήγαγε καὶ
βραχέα διελέχθη περὶ ὁμονοίας, Κικέρων δὲ πολλὰ
πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν οἰκείως διελθὼν ἔπεισε τὴν
σύγκλητον Ἀθηναίους μιμησαμένην ἀμυηστίαν
τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι ψηφίσασθαι, νεῦμαι δὲ τοῦς
3 περὶ Κάσσιου καὶ Βρούτου ἐπαρχίας. ἔσχε δὲ
τούτων τέλος οὐδέν. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφ'
έαυτοῦ πρὸς οἰκτον ἔξαχθεὶς ως εἶδε τὸν νεκρὸν
ἐκκομιζόμενον δι' ἀγοράς, Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ τὴν
ἐσθῆτα δείξαντος αὐτοῦς αἴματος κατάπλεων καὶ
κεκομμένην πάντη τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἐκμανέντες ὑπ'
ὅργης ἐν ἀγορᾷ ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
καὶ πῦρ ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἔθεον ως ὑφά-
ψουντες. οἱ δὲ τοῦτον μὲν τῷ προπεφυλάχθαι
διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔτερους δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ
μεγάλους προσδοκῶντες ἔξελιπον τὴν πόλιν.

XLIII. Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπῆρτο, καὶ
πᾶσι μὲν ἦν φοβερὸς ως μοναρχήσων, τῷ δὲ
Κικέρωνι φοβερώτατος. ἀναρρωνυμένην τε γὰρ
αὐτῷ πάλιν ὄρων τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
καὶ τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου ἐπιτήδειον εἰδὼς ἤχθετο
παρόντι. καὶ πού τι καὶ προύπηρχεν ὑποψίας
αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὴν τῶν Βίων ἀνο-
2 μοιότητα καὶ διαφοράν. ταῦτα δείσας ὁ Κικέρων
πρῶτον μὲν ὥρμησε πρεσβευτὴς Δολοβέλλᾳ
συνεκπλεῦσαι εἰς Συρίαν ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μέλλοντες
ὑπατεύειν μετ' Ἀντώνιον, Ἰρτιος καὶ Πάνσας,
ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ζηλωταὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἐδέ-
οντο μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ὑποδεχόμενοι καταλύ-

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wars, Antony, as consul, convened the senate and said a few words about concord, while Cicero, after a lengthy speech appropriate to the occasion, persuaded the senate to imitate the Athenians¹ and decree an amnesty for the attack upon Caesar, and to assign provinces to Cassius and Brutus. But none of these things came to pass. For when the people, who of themselves were strongly moved to pity, saw Caesar's body carried through the forum, and when Antony showed them the garments drenched with blood and pierced everywhere with the swords, they went mad with rage and sought for the murderers in the forum, and ran to their houses with firebrands in order to set them ablaze. For this danger the conspirators were prepared beforehand and so escaped it,² but expecting others many and great, they forsook the city.

XLIII At once, then, Antony was highly elated, and all men were fearful that he would make himself sole ruler, and Cicero most fearful of all. For Antony saw that Cicero's power in the state was reviving, and knew that he was attached to Brutus and his party, and was therefore disturbed at his presence in the city. And besides, they had previously been somewhat suspicious of one another because of the marked difference in their lives. Fearing these things Cicero at first was inclined to sail to Syria with Dolabella, as his legate; but the consuls elect to succeed Antony,³ Hirtius and Pansa, who were good men and admirers of Cicero, begged him not to desert them, and undertook

¹ These declared a general amnesty after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus in 403 B.C.

² Cf. Plutarch's *Brutus*, chapter xx. ³ In 43 B.C.

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σειν Ἀντώνιον ἐκείνου παρόντος, οὐδὲ οὕτ' ἀπι-
στῶν παντάπασιν οὔτε πιστεύων Δολοβέλλαν μὲν
εἴασε χαίρειν, ὅμολογήσας δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰρτιον
τὸ θέρος ἐν Ἀθήναις διάξειν, ὅταν δὲ ἐκείνοις
παραλάβωσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀφίξεσθαι πάλιν, αὐτὸς
3 καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔξεπλευσε. γενομένης δὲ περὶ τὸν
πλοῦν διατριβῆς, καὶ λόγων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, οἷα
φιλεῖ, καινῶν προσπεσόντων, μεταβεβλήσθαι
μὲν Ἀντώνιον θαυμαστὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ πάντα⁴
πράττειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον,
ἐνδεῦν δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας τὰ πράγματα μὴ
τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχειν διάθεσιν, καταμεμφάμενος
αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀνέστρεφεν
4 αὐθις εἰς Ῥώμην. καὶ τῶν πρώτων οὐ διημάρ-
τανει ἐλπίδων· τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ⁵
χαρᾶς καὶ πόθου πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν ἔξεχύθη,
καὶ σχεδὸν ἡμερήσιον ἀνήλωσαν χρόνον αἱ περὶ⁶
τὰς πύλας καὶ τὴν εἰσόδον αὐτοῦ δεξιώσεις καὶ
φιλοφροσύναι. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλὴν συναγα-
γόντος Ἀντώνιον καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἥλθεν,
ἀλλὰ κατέκειτο μαλακῶς ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ κόπου σκη-
πτόμενος. ἐδόκει δὲ τάληθὲς ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι
φόβος ἐκ τινος ὑποψίας καὶ μηνύσεως καθ' ὅδον
αὐτῷ προσπεσούσης. Ἀντώνιος δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν
εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαβολῇ καὶ στρατιώτας ἔπειμψεν
ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἥ καταπρῆσαι τὴν οἰκίαν κελεύσας,
ἐνστάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ δεηθέντων ἐνέχυρα
λαβὼν μόνον ἐπαύσατο. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως
ἀντιπαρεξιόντες ἀτρέμα καὶ φυλαττόμενοι διετέ-

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to put down Antony if Cicero would remain at Rome. So Cicero, who neither distrusted nor trusted them altogether, let Dolabella go without him, and after agreeing with Hirtius and Pansa to spend the summer at Athens, and to come back again when they had assumed office, set off by himself. But there was some delay about his voyage, and, as is often the case, new and unexpected reports came from Rome, to the effect that Antony had undergone a wonderful change and was doing and administering everything to please the senate, and that matters needed only Cicero's presence to assume the best possible complexion; he therefore blamed himself for his excessive caution and turned back again to Rome. And in his first expectations he was not disappointed; for a great crowd of people, moved with joy and longing for him, poured forth to meet him, and almost a day's time was consumed in the friendly greetings given him at the gates and as he entered the city. On the following day, however, when Antony convened the senate and invited him to be present, Cicero did not come, but kept his bed, pretending to be indisposed from fatigue. The truth, however, seemed to be that he was afraid of a plot against him, in consequence of some suspicion and of information that had unexpectedly come to him on the road. But Antony was indignant at the implication and sent soldiers with orders to bring Cicero or burn down his house; but since many opposed this course and entreated him to desist, he did so, after merely taking sureties. And thenceforward they kept up this attitude, quietly ignoring one another and mutually on their guard,

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λουν, ἄχρι οὗ Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας παραγενόμενος τόν τε κλῆρον ἀνεδέξατο τοῦ Καίσαρος ἑκείνου, καὶ περὶ τῶν δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ἀς Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας κατείχεν, εἰς διαφορὰν κατέστη πρὸς αὐτόν.

- XLIV. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Φίλιππος ὁ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἔχων καὶ Μάρκελλος ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα συνέθεντο, Κικέρωνα μὲν ἑκείνῳ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας δύναμιν ἔν τε τῇ Βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρέχειν, ἑκείνον δὲ Κικέρωνα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἀσφάλειαν. ἥδη γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσαμένων περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε τὸ μειράκιον. ἕδόκει δὲ καὶ μείζων τις αἰτίᾳ γεγονεῖαι τοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα δέξασθαι προθύμως τὴν Καίσαρος φιλίαν. ἔτι γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, Πομπηίου ξῶντος καὶ Καίσαρος ἕδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους ὁ Κικέρων καλεῖν τινα τοὺς τῶν συγκλητικῶν παῖδας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ως μέλλοντος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔνα τὸν Διὸς ἀποδεικνύειν τῆς Ῥώμης 2 ἡγεμόνα· τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ὑπὸ σπουδῆς θέοντας ἵστασθαι περὶ τὸν νεών, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ταῖς περιπορφύροις καθέζεσθαι σιωπὴν ἔχοντας. ἔξαιφνης δὲ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν καθ' ἔνα τῶν παίδων ἀνισταμένων κύκλῳ παρὰ τὸν θεὸν παραπορεύεσθαι, τὸν δὲ πάντας ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ ἀποπέμπειν ἀχθομένους. ὡς δ' οὗτος ἦν προσιὼν κατ' αὐτὸν, ἐκτεῖναι τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ εἰπεῖν. “³Ω Ῥωμαῖοι, πέρας ὑμῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων 4 οὗτος ἡγεμὸν γενόμενος.” τοιοῦτόν φασιν ἐν-

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until the young Caesar came from Apollonia,¹ assumed the inheritance of the elder Caesar, and engaged in a dispute with Antony concerning the twenty-five million drachmas which Antony was detaining from the estate.²

XLIV. After this, Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who had married the sister of the young Caesar, came with the young man to Cicero and made a compact that Cicero should give Caesar the influence derived from his eloquence and political position, both in the senate and before the people, and that Caesar should give Cicero the security to be derived from his wealth and his armed forces. For already the young man had about him many of the soldiers who had served under the elder Caesar. It was thought, too, that there was a stronger reason why Cicero readily accepted the young man's friendship. For it would appear that while Pompey and Caesar were still living Cicero dreamed that someone invited the sons of the senators to the Capitol, on the ground that Jupiter was going to appoint one of their number ruler of Rome; and that the citizens eagerly ran and stationed themselves about the temple, while the youths, in their purple-bordered togas, seated themselves there in silence. Suddenly the door of the temple opened, and one by one the youths rose and walked round past the god, who reviewed them all and sent them away sorrowing. But when this young Caesar advanced into his presence the god stretched out his hand and said: "O Romans, ye shall have an end of civil wars when this youth has become your ruler." By such a dream as

¹ Where he was studying.

² Caesar's widow had made Antony guardian of the estate.

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πνιον ἰδόντα τὸν Κικέρωνα τὴν μὲν ἰδέαν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκμεμάχθαι καὶ κατέχειν ἐναργῶς, αὐτὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ καταβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἀρειον αὐτοῦ, τοὺς παῖδας ἥδη γεγυμνασμένους ἀπέρχεσθαι, κἀκεῖνον ὁφθῆναι τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον οἷος ὥφθη καθ' ὑπνον, ἐκπλαγέντα δὲ πυνθάνεσθαι τίνων εἴη
5 γονέων. ἦν δὲ πατρὸς Ὁκταονίου τῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν, Ἄττιας δὲ μητρός, ἀδελφιδῆς Καίσαρος. ὅθεν Καίσαρ αὐτῷ παῖδας οὐκ ἔχων ἰδίους τὴν οὐσίαν ἔαντον καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἔδωκεν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τῷ παιδὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις ἐντυγχάνειν ἐπιμελῶς, κἀκεῖνον οἰκείως δέχεσθαι τὰς φιλοφροσύνας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τύχης αὐτῷ γεγονέναι συμβεβήκει Κικέρωνος ὑπατεύοντος.

XLV. Αὕται μὲν οὖν προφάσεις ἥσαν αἱ λεγόμεναι¹ τὸ δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μῆσος Κικέρωνα πρῶτον, εἴτα ἡ φύσις ἥττων οὖσα τιμῆς προσεπούησε Καίσαρι νομίζοντα προσλαμβάνειν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν. οὕτω γὰρ ὑπῆρε τὸ μειράκιον αὐτὸν ὥστε καὶ πατέρα προσα-
2 γορεύειν. ἐφ' ὧ σφόδρα Βροῦτος ἀγανακτῶν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἄττικὸν ἐπιστολαῖς καθήψατο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὅτι διὰ φόβον Ἀντώνιον θεραπεύων τὸν Καίσαρα δῆλός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πατρίδι πράττων, ἀλλὰ δεσπότην φιλάνθρωπον αὐτῷ μνώμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τόν γε παῖδα

¹ αἱ λεγόμεναι Bekker, after Reiske : λεγόμεναι.

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this, they say, Cicero had impressed upon him the appearance of the youth, and retained it distinctly, but did not know him.¹ The next day, however, as he was going down to the Campus Martius, the youths, who had just finished exercising there, were coming away, and the youth of his dream was seen by Cicero for the first time, and Cicero, amazed, inquired who his parents were. Now, his father was Octavius, a man of no great prominence, but his mother was Attia, a daughter of Caesar's sister. For this reason Caesar, who had no children of his own, willed his property and his family name to him. After this, it is said, Cicero took pains to converse with the youth when they met, and the youth welcomed his kind attentions; and indeed it happened that he was born during Cicero's consulship.

XLV. These, then, were the reasons that were mentioned; but it was Cicero's hatred for Antony in the first place, and then his natural craving for honour, that attached him to the young Caesar, since he thought to add Caesar's power to his own political influence. And indeed the young man carried his court to him so far as actually to call him father. At this Brutus was very angry, and in his letters to Atticus attacked Cicero, saying that in paying court to Caesar through fear of Antony he was plainly not obtaining liberty for his country, but wooing a kind master for himself.² However, Brutus took up

¹ According to Dion Cassius (xlv. 2) and Suetonius (*Divus Augustus*, 94), Cicero dreamed that Octavius was let down from heaven by a chain of gold, and presented with a whip by Jupiter.

² Cicero, *ad Brutum*, 1. 17, 5 (Brutus to Atticus).

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Κικέρωνος ὁ Βροῦτος ἐν Ἀθήναις διατρίβοντα παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀναλαβὼν ἔσχεν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας, καὶ πολλὰ χρώμενος αὐτῷ κατώρθου.

- 3 Τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἄκμὴν ἔσχεν ἡ δύναμις ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε μεγίστην, καὶ κρατῶν ὅσον ἐβούλετο τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἔξέκρουσε καὶ κατεστασίασε καὶ πολεμήσοντας αὐτῷ τοὺς δύο ὑπάτους, Ἰρτιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ἔξέπεμψε, Καίσαρι δὲ ῥαβδούχους καὶ στρατηγικὸν κόσμον, ὡς δὴ προπολεμούντι τῆς πατρίδος, ἔπεισε ψηφίσασθαι 4 τὴν σύγκλητον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἦττητο, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀποθανόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης πρὸς Καίσαρα συνέστησαν αἱ δυνάμεις, δείσασα δὲ ἡ βουλὴ νέον ἄνδρα καὶ τύχῃ λαμπρᾷ κεχρημένον ἐπειράτο τιμᾶς καὶ δωρεᾶς ἀποκαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ περισπᾶν τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς μὴ δεομένη τῶν προπολεμούντων 5 Ἀντώνιον πεφευγότος, οὕτως ὁ Καίσαρ φοβηθεὶς ὑπέπεμπε τῷ Κικέρωνι τοὺς δεομένους καὶ πειθούντας ὑπατείαν μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοῦ πράττειν, χρήσθαι δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἔγνωκε, παραλαμβάνοντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον διοικεῖν ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης γλυκόμενον. ὡμολόγει δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς ὡς δεδιὼς κατάλυσιν καὶ κινδυνεύων ἔρημος γενέσθαι χρήσαιτο τῇ Κικέρωνος ἐν δέοντι φιλαρχίᾳ, προτρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ὑπατείαν μετιέναι συμπράττοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάζοντος.

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Cicero's son who was studying philosophy at Athens, gave him a command, and achieved many successes through his instrumentality¹

Cicero's power in the city reached its greatest height at this time, and since he could do what he pleased, he raised a successful faction against Antony, drove him out of the city, and sent out the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, to wage war upon him, while he persuaded the senate to vote Caesar the lictors and insignia of a praetor, on the ground that he was fighting in defence of the country. But after Antony had been defeated,² and, both consuls having died after the battle, the forces had united under Caesar, the senate became afraid of a young man who had enjoyed such brilliant good fortune, and endeavoured by honours and gifts to call his troops away from him and to circumscribe his power, on the ground that there was no need of defensive armies now that Antony had taken to flight. Under these circumstances Caesar took alarm and secretly sent messengers to Cicero begging and urging him to obtain the consulship for them both, but to manage affairs as he himself thought best, after assuming the office, and to direct in all things a youthful colleague who only craved name and fame. And Caesar himself admitted afterwards that it was the fear of having his troops disbanded and the danger of finding himself left alone which led him to make use in an emergency of Cicero's love of power, by inducing him to sue for the consulship with his co-operation and assistance in the canvass.

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, xxiv. 2; xxvi. 3.

² Near Mutina, a city in Gallia Cispadana, early in the year 43 B.C. Octavius Caesar acted in conjunction with the two consuls. Cf. Appian, *B.C.*, vi. 71.

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XLVI. Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι μάλιστα Κικέρων ἐπαρθεὶς ὑπὸ νέου γέρων καὶ φενακισθεὶς καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάσας καὶ παρασχών αὐτῷ τὴν σύγκλητον εἰνθὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων αἰτίαν εἶχεν, δὲνγω δ' ὑστερον αὐτὸν ἀπολωλεκώς ηὔθετο καὶ 2 τοῦ δήμου προέμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. αὐξηθεὶς γὰρ ὁ ινανίας καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν λαβὼν Κικέρωνα μὲν εἴσετε χαίρειν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ φίλοις γενόμενος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ταῦτα συνενεγκών, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι κτῆμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐνείματο πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ κατεγράφησαν ἄνδρες οὓς ἔδει θηῆσκειν, ὑπὲρ διακοσίους. πλείστην δὲ τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων αὐτοῖς ἔριν ἡ Κικέρωνος προγραφὴ παρέσχεν, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοτος εἰ μὴ πρώτος ἐκεῖνος ἀποθνήσκοι, Λεπίδου δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προστιθεμένου, Καίσαρος δὲ πρὸς 3 ἀμφοτέρους ἀντέχοντος. ἐγίνοντο δ' αἱ σύνοδοι μόνοις ἀπόρρητοι περὶ πόλιν Βοιωνίαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ συνήσσαν εἰς τόπον τινὰ πρόσω τῶν στρατοπέδων ποταμῷ περιρρεόμενον. λέγεται δὲ τὰς πρώτας ἡμέρας διαγωνισάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κικέρωνος δὲ Καίσαρος ἐνδούναι τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ προέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως οὕτως 4 εἶχεν. ἔδει Κικέρωνος ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρα, Παύλου δὲ τάδελφοῦ Λέπιδου, Λευκίου δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀντώνιου, δις ἦν θεῖος αὐτῷ πρὸς μητρός. οὕτως ἔξέπεσον ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ λύστης τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπέδειξαν ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου θηρίον ἐστὶν ἀγριώτερον ἔξουσίαν πάθει προσλαβόντος.

XLVII. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων ἦν μὲν ἐν ἀγροῖς ἴδιοις περὶ Τοῦσκλουν, ἔχων τον

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XLVI. Here, indeed, more than at any other time, Cicero was led on and cheated, an old man by a young man. He assisted Caesar in his canvass and induced the senate to favour him. For this he was blamed by his friends at the time, and shortly afterwards he perceived that he had ruined himself and betrayed the liberty of the people. For after the young man had waxed strong and obtained the consulship,¹ he gave Cicero the go-by, and after making friends with Antony and Lepidus and uniting his forces with theirs, he divided the sovereignty with them, like any other piece of property. And a list was made out by them of men who must be put to death, more than two hundred in number. The proscription of Cicero, however, caused most strife in their debates, Antony consenting to no terms unless Cicero should be the first man to be put to death, Lepidus siding with Antony, and Caesar holding out against them both. They held secret meetings by themselves near the city of Bononia for three days, coming together in a place at some distance from the camps and surrounded by a river. It is said that for the first two days Caesar kept up his struggle to save Cicero, but yielded on the third and gave him up. The terms of their mutual concessions were as follows. Caesar was to abandon Cicero, Lepidus his brother Paulus, and Antony Lucius Caesar, who was his uncle on the mother's side. So far did anger and fury lead them to renounce their human sentiments, or rather, they showed that no wild beast is more savage than man when his passion is supplemented by power.

XLVII. While this was going on, Cicero was at his own country-seat in Tusculum, having his brother with

¹ In August, 43 B.C., when only twenty years of age

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- ἀδελφὸν μεθ' αὐτοῦ πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰς προγραφὰς ἔγνωσαν εἰς "Αστυρα μεταβῆναι, χωρίον παράλιον τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πλεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πρὸς Βρούτον· ἥδη γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐφοίτα κρατοῦντος. ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ἐν φορείοις ἀπειρηκότες ὑπὸ λύπης· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐφιστάμενοι καὶ τὰ φορεῖα παραβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις προσωλο-
2 φύροντο. μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ Κόιντος ἥθυμει, καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσήει τῆς ἀπορίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔφη λαβεῖν οἴκοθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι γλίσχρον ἦν ἐφόδιον ἀμεινον οὖν εἶναι τὸν μὲν Κικέρωνα προλαμβάνειν τῇ φυγῇ, αὐτὸν δὲ μετα-
θεῖν οἴκοθεν συσκευασάμενον. ταῦτ' ἔδοξε· καὶ περιλαβόντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνακλαυσάμενοι διελύθησαν.
3 'Ο μὲν οὖν Κόιντος οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν προδοθεὶς τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀνηρέθη μετὰ τοῦ παιδός. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων εἰς "Αστυρα κομισθεὶς καὶ πλοῖον εὑρὼν εὐθὺς ἐνέβη καὶ παρέπλευσεν ἄχρι Κιρκαίου, πνεύματι χρώμενος. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ βουλομένων εὐθὺς αἴρειν τῶν κυβερ-
νητῶν, εἴτε δείσας τὴν θάλασσαν εἴτ' οὕπω παντάπασι τὴν Καίσαρος ἀπεγνωκὼς πίστιν, ἀπέβη καὶ παρῆλθε πεζῇ σταδίους ἐκατὸν ὡς εἰς
4 'Ρώμην πορευόμενος. αὐθις δὲ ἀλύων καὶ μετα-
βαλλόμενος κατήει πρὸς θάλασσαν εἰς "Αστυρα. κάκεν διενυκτέρευσεν ἐπὶ δεινῶν καὶ ἀπόρων λογισμῶν, ὥστε καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος οἰκίαν διενοήθη κρύφα καὶ σφάξας ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ

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hum; but when they learned of the proscriptions they determined to remove to Astura, a place of Cicero's on the sea-coast, and from there to sail to Brutus in Macedonia; for already a report was current that he was in force there. So they were carried along in litters, being worn out with grief; and on the way they would halt, and with their litters placed side by side would lament to one another. But Quintus was the more dejected and began to reflect upon his destitute condition; for he said that he had taken nothing from home, nay, Cicero too had scanty provision for the journey; it was better, then, he said, that Cicero should press on in his flight, but that he himself should get what he wanted from home and then hasten after him. This they decided to do, and after embracing one another and weeping aloud, they parted.

So then Quintus, not many days afterwards, was betrayed by his servants to those who were in search of him, and put to death, together with his son. But Cicero was brought to Astura, and finding a vessel there he embarked at once and coasted along as far as Circaeum, with the wind in his favour. From there his pilots wished to set sail at once, but Cicero, whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet altogether given up his trust in Caesar, went ashore and travelled along on foot a hundred furlongs in the direction of Rome. But again losing resolution and changing his mind, he went down to the sea at Astura. And there he spent the night in dreadful and desperate calculations; he actually made up his mind to enter Caesar's house by stealth, to slay himself upon the hearth, and so to fasten upon Caesar an

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τῆς ἔστιας ἀλάστορα προσβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀπέκρουσε τῆς ὁδοῦ δέος βασάνων· καὶ πολλὰ¹ ταραχώδη καὶ παλίντροπα βουλεύματα τῆς γυνώμης μεταλαμβάνων παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις ἑαυτὸν εἰς Καιήτην² κατὰ πλοῦν κομίζειν, ἔχων ἐκεῖ χωρία καὶ καταφυγὴν ὥρᾳ θέρους φιλάνθρωπου, δταν ἥδιστον οἱ ἐτησίαι καταπνέωσιν.

5 "Ἐχει δ' ὁ τόπος καὶ ναὸν Ἀπόλλωνος μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρθέντες ἀθρόοι κόρακες ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς προσεφέρουντο τῷ πλοίῳ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ γῆν ἐρεστομένῳ· καὶ καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν κεραίαν ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ μὲν ἐβόων, οἱ δὲ ἕκοπτον τὰς τῶν μηρυμάτων ἀρχάς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι πονηρόν. ἀπέβη δ' οὗν δὲ Κικέρων, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἔπαυλιν
6 ὡς ἀναπαυσόμενος κατεκλίθη, τῶν δὲ κοράκων οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος διεκάθηντο φθεγγόμενοι θορυβώδεις, εἰς δὲ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ κλινίδιον ἐγκεκαλυμμένου τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπῆγε τῷ στόματι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τὸ ἴμάτιον. οἱ δὲ οἰκέται ταῦθ' ὄρωντες, καὶ κακίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰ περιμένουσι τοὺς δεσπότους φονευομένους θεαταὶ γενέσθαι, θηρία δὲ αὐτῷ βοηθεῖ καὶ προκήδεται παρ' ἀξίᾳ πράττοντος, αὐτὸι δὲ οὐκ ἀμύνονται, τὰ μὲν δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ βίᾳ λαβόντες ἐκόμιζον ἐν τῷ φορείῳ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν.

XLVIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ σφαγεῖς ἐπῆλθον, ἐκατοντάρχης Ἐρέννιος καὶ Ποπίλλιος χιλίαρχος,

¹ πολλὰ Graux, after Coraes · τὰλλα

² Καιήτην Coraes and Bekker, after Wyttenbach; Καιήτας Sintenis (in notes), and Graux; Καιήτας MSS.

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avenging daemon. But a fear of tortures drove him from this course also ; then, revolving in his mind many confused and contradictory purposes, he put himself in the hands of his servants to be taken by sea to Caieta, where he had lands and an agreeable retreat in summer time, when the breath of the Etesian winds is most pleasant.

The place has also a temple of Apollo, a little above the sea. From thence a flock of crows flew with loud clamour towards the vessel of Cicero as it was rowed towards land ; and alighting on either end of the sail-yard, some cawed, and others pecked at the ends of the ropes, and everybody thought that the omen was bad. Nevertheless Cicero landed, and going to his villa lay down to rest. Then most of the crows perched themselves about the window, cawing tumultuously, but one of them flew down upon the couch where Cicero lay with muffled head, and with its beak, little by little, tried to remove the garment from his face. The servants, on seeing this, rebuked themselves for waiting to be spectators of their master's murder, while wild beasts came to his help and cared for him in his undeserved misfortune, but they themselves did nothing in his defence. So partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they took him and carried him in his litter towards the sea.

XLVIII. But meantime his assassins came to the villa, Herennius a centurion, and Popillius a tribune,

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ῳ πατροκτονίας ποτὲ δίκην φεύγοντι συνεῖπεν ὁ Κικέρων, ἔχοντες ὑπηρέτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς θύρας κεκλεισμένας εὑρόντες ἔξεκοψαν, οὐ φαινομένου τοῦ Κικέρωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἔνδον εἰδέναι φασκόντων.

2 λέγεται υεανίσκον τινὰ τεθραμμένον μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐλευθερίοις καὶ μαθήμασιν, ἀπέλευθερον δὲ Κοίντον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, Φιλόλογον τούνομα, φράσαι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ φορεῖνον κομιζόμενον διὰ τῶν καταφύτων καὶ συσκίων περιπάτων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ μὲν οὖν χιλίαρχος ὀλίγους ἀναλαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ περιέθει πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, τοῦ δὲ Ἐρευνίου δρόμῳ φερομένον διὰ τῶν περιπάτων ὁ Κικέρων ἥσθετο, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἐνταῦθα καταθέσθαι

3 τὸ φορεῖον. αὐτὸς δὲ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τῶν γενεών ἀπτόμενος ἀτενὲς ἐνεώρα τοῖς σφαγεύσιν, αὐχμοῦ καὶ κόμης ἀνάπλεως καὶ συντετηκὼς ὑπὸ φροντίδων τὸ πρόσωπον, ὥστε τοὺς πλεύστους ἐγκαλύψασθαι τοῦ Ἐρευνίου 4 σφάζοντος αὐτόν. ἐσφάγη δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ τοῦ φορείου προτείνας, ἕτοις ἐκεῦνο γεγονὼς ἔξηκοστὸν καὶ τέταρτον. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, Ἀντωνίου κελεύσαντος, αἷς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἔγραψεν. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ δὲ Κικέρων τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου λόγους Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραψε καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰ βιβλία Φιλιππικοὶ καλοῦνται.

XLIX. Τῶν δὲ ἀκρωτηρίων εἰς Ῥώμην κομισθέντων ἔτυχε μὲν ἀρχαιρεσίας τελῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ᾧδὼν ἀνεβόησεν ὡς νῦν αἱ προγραφαὶ τέλος ἔχοιεν. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐπὶ τοῦ

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who had once been prosecuted for parricide and defended by Cicero; and they had helpers. After they had broken in the door, which they found closed, Cicero was not to be seen, and the inmates said they knew not where he was. Then, we are told, a youth who had been liberally educated by Cicero, and who was a freedman of Cicero's brother Quintus, Philologus by name, told the tribune that the litter was being carried through the wooded and shady walks towards the sea. The tribune, accordingly, taking a few helpers with him, ran round towards the exit, but Herennius hastened on the run through the walks, and Cicero, perceiving him, ordered the servants to set the litter down where they were. Then he himself, clasping his chin with his left hand, as was his wont, looked steadfastly at his slayers, his head all squalid and unkempt, and his face wasted with anxiety, so that most of those that stood by covered their faces while Herennius was slaying him. For he stretched his neck forth from the litter and was slain, being then in his sixty-fourth year.¹ Herennius cut off his head, by Antony's command, and his hands—the hands with which he wrote the *Philippics*. For Cicero himself entitled his speeches against Antony "Philippics," and to this day the documents are called *Philippics*.

XLIX. When Cicero's extremities were brought to Rome, it chanced that Antony was conducting an election, but when he heard of their arrival and saw them, he cried out, "Now let our proscriptions have an end." Then he ordered the head and hands to be placed over the ships' beaks on the

¹ Cicero was murdered on the seventh of December, 43 B.C.

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- βήματος θεῖναι, θέαμα Ῥωμαίους φρικτόν, οὐ τὸ
Κικέρωνος ὄρᾶν πρόσωπον οἰομένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς
2 Ἀντωνίου ψυχῆς εἰκόνα. πλὴν ἐν γέ τι φρονή-
σας μέτριον ἐν τούτοις Πομπωνίᾳ τῇ Κοίντου
γυναικὶ τὸν Φιλόλογον παρέδωκεν. η δὲ κυρία
γενομένη τοῦ σώματος ἀλλαις τε δεινᾶς ἐχρήσατο
τιμωρίαις, καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἀποτέμνοντα τὰς αὐτοῦ
κατὰ μικρὸν ὅπτάν, εἰτ' ἐσθίειν ἡνάγκασεν. οὕτω
γάρ ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων ιστορήκασιν· ὁ δ'
αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύθερος Τίρων τὸ
παράπαν οὐδὲ μέμνηται τῆς τοῦ Φιλόλόγου
προδοσίας.
- 3 Πυνθάνομαι δὲ Καίσαρα χρόνοις πολλοῖς ὕστε-
ρον εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς ἓν τῶν θυγατριδῶν τὸν δὲ
βιβλίον ἔχοντα Κικέρωνος ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐκ-
πλαγέντα τῷ ἴματιῳ περικαλύπτειν ἵδοντα δὲ
Καίσαρα λαβεῖν καὶ διελθεῖν ἐστῶτα μέρος πολὺ^ν
τοῦ βιβλίου, πάλιν δ' ἀποδιδόντα τῷ μειρακίῳ
φάναι· “Λόγιος ἀνήρ, ὃ παι, λόγιος καὶ φιλό-
4 πατρις.” ἐπεὶ μέντοι τάχιστα κατεπολέμησεν
Ἀντωνίου ὑπατεύων αὐτὸς εἶλετο συνάρχοντα
τοῦ Κικέρωνος τὸν υἱόν, ἐφ' οὐ τάς τ' εἰκόνας ἡ
βουλὴ καθεῖλεν Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰς ἀλλας ἡκύρωσε
τιμᾶς καὶ προσεψηφίσατο μηδενὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίων
ὄνομα Μάρκου ἔνια. οὕτω τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰς τὸν
Κικέρωνος οἶκον ἐπανήνεγκε τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἀντω-
νίου κολάσεως.

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rostra, a sight that made the Romans shudder ; for they thought they saw there, not the face of Cicero, but an image of the soul of Antony. However, he showed at least one sentiment of fair dealing in the case when he handed over Philologus to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus. And she, having got the man into her power, besides other dreadful punishments which she inflicted upon him, forced him to cut off his own flesh bit by bit and roast it, and then to eat it. This, indeed, is what some of the historians say ; but Cicero's own freedman, Tiro, makes no mention at all of the treachery of Philologus.

I learn that Caesar, a long time after this, paid a visit to one of his daughter's sons ; and the boy, since he had in his hands a book of Cicero's, was terrified and sought to hide it in his gown ; but Caesar saw it, and took the book, and read a great part of it as he stood, and then gave it back to the youth, saying : "A learned man, my child, a learned man and a lover of his country." Moreover, as soon as he had finally defeated Antony,¹ and when he was himself consul, he chose Cicero's son as his colleague in the office, and it was in his consulship that the senate took down the statues of Antony, made void the other honours that had been paid him, and decreed besides that no Antony should have the name of Marcus. Thus the heavenly powers devolved upon the family of Cicero the final steps in the punishment of Antony

¹ At Alexandria, in 30 B.C. (see the *Antony*, lxxxi. 1 f.).

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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἀ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος ἴστορουμένων εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφίκται γρῶσιν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἀφεικὼς δὲ τὸ συγκρίνειν τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔξιν αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκῶ μὴ παρήσειν ἄρρητον, ὅτι Δημοσθένης μὲν εἰς τὸ φήτορικὸν ἐνέτεινε πᾶν ὅσον εἶχεν ἐκ φύσεως ἢ ἀσκήσεως λόγιον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἐναργείᾳ μὲν καὶ δεινότητι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ τῶν δικῶν συνεξεταζομένους, δύκῳ δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικούς, ἀκριβείᾳ δὲ καὶ τέχνῃ τοὺς σοφιστάς· Κικέρων δὲ καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ ποικίλος τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους σπουδῆ γενόμενος συντάξεις μὲν ἰδίας φιλοσόφους ἀπολέλουπεν οὐκ δλίγας εἰς τὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν τρόπον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰς δίκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας γραφομένων λόγων δῆλός ἐστιν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ γραμμάτων παρεπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος.

2 Ἐστι δέ τις καὶ τοῦ ἥθους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἑκατέρου δίοψις. ὁ μὲν γάρ Δημοσθενικὸς ἔξι παντὸς ὡραισμοῦ καὶ παιδιᾶς εἰς δεινότητα καὶ σπουδὴν συνηγμένος οὐκ ἐλλυχνίων ὅδωδεν, ὥσπερ ὁ Πυθέας ἐσκωπτεν, ἀλλ' ὑδροποσίας καὶ φροντίδων καὶ τῆς λεγομένης πικρίας τοῦ τρόπου

3 4 καὶ στυγνότητος, Κικέρων δὲ πολλαχοῦ τῷ

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO

COMPARISON OF DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO

I. THESE, then, are the memorable incidents in the recorded careers of Demosthenes and Cicero which have come to our knowledge. And though I have renounced the comparison of their oratorical styles,¹ yet this, I think, ought not to be left unsaid, namely, that Demosthenes devoted to the rhetorical art all the powers of speech which he possessed by nature or acquired by practice, surpassing in force and effectiveness his rivals in forensic and judicial pleading, in pomp and majesty of utterance the professional declaimers, and in precision and skill the sophists; Cicero, on the other hand, became widely learned and had a variety of interest in the pursuit of letters, and left behind him not a few philosophical treatises of his own conforming to the fashion of the Academy; indeed, even in the speeches which he wrote for the forum and the courts he clearly desires to display by the way a considerable acquaintance with letters.

It is possible, too, to get a glimpse of the character of each in his style of speaking. For that of Demosthenes, which had no prettiness or pleasantry, and was condensed with a view to power and earnestness, did not smell of lamp-wicks, as Pytheas scoffingly said,² but of water-drinking and anxious thought, and of what men called the bitterness and sullenness of his disposition; whereas Cicero was often carried away by his love of jesting

¹ See the *Demosthenes*, iii. 1

² Cf. the *Demosthenes*, viii. 3.

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σκωπτικῷ πρὸς τὸ βωμολόχου ἐκφερόμενος καὶ πράγματα σπουδῆς ἀξία γέλωτι καὶ παιδιᾶ κατειρωνευόμενος ἐν ταῖς δίκαιαις εἰς τὸ χρειώδες ἡφείδει τοῦ πρέποντος, ὃσπερ ἐν τῇ Καιλίου¹ συνηγορίᾳ μηδὲν ἀτοπον ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τοσαύτῃ τρυφῇ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ ταῖς ἥδοναῖς χρώμενον· τὸ γὰρ ὅν ἔξεστι μὴ μετέχειν, μανικον εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἥδονῇ τὸ εὑδαιμον τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων 5 φιλοσόφων τιθεμένων. λέγεται δὲ Κάτωνος Μουρήναν διώκουτος ὑπατεύων ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν Κάτωνα κωμῳδεῖν τὴν Στωικὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτοπίαις τῶν παραδόξων λεγομένων δογμάτων· γέλωτος δὲ λαμπροῦ κατιώντος ἐκ τῶν περιεστάτων πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ἡσυχῇ διαμειδίασας ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τοὺς καθημένους εἰπεῖν· “Ως γέλοιον, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἔχομεν ὑπατον.” 6 δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γέλωτος οἰκεῖος ὁ Κικέρων γεγονέναι καὶ φιλοσκώπτης, τό τε πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ μειδίαμα καὶ γαλήνην παρεῖχε. τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένους ἀεὶ τις ἐπῆν σπουδή, καὶ τὸ πεφροντικὸς τοῦτο καὶ σύνουνον οὐν ῥᾳδίως ἀπέλειπεν² ὅθεν καὶ δύσκολον αὐτὸν οἱ ἔχθροὶ καὶ δύστροπον, ὡς αὐτός φησιν, ἀπεκάλουν.

II. Ἐτι τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι κατιδεῖν ἔστι τὸν μὲν ἐμμελῶς καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπτόμενον ἐγκωμίων, ὅτε τούτου δεήσαι πρὸς ἔτερόν τι μεῖζον, τᾶλλα δὲ εὐλαβῆ καὶ μέτριον· ἡ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀμετρία τῆς

¹ Καιλίου Coraes, Bekker, and Graux, after Wyttenbach : Κεκιλίου.

² ἀπέλειπεν with Graux and Bekker, after Coraes. ἀπέλιπεν.

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into scurrility, and when, to gain his ends in his cases, he treated matters worthy of serious attention with ironical mirth and pleasantry, he was careless of propriety. Thus, in his defence of Caelius, he said that his client, surrounded as he was by great luxury and extravagance, did nothing out of the way when indulging in pleasures; for not to enjoy what is in one's possession was madness, he said, particularly when the most eminent philosophers assert that true happiness consists in pleasure.¹ And we are told that when Cato prosecuted Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, defended him, and because of Cato's beliefs made much fun of the Stoic sect, in view of the absurdities of their so-called paradoxes;² and when loud laughter spread from the audience to the jurors, Cato, with a quiet smile, said to those who sat by: "What a funny man we have, my friends, for consul!" And it would seem that Cicero was naturally prone to laughter and fond of jesting; his face, too, was smiling and peaceful. But in that of Demosthenes there was always a certain intense seriousness, and this look of thoughtfulness and anxiety he did not easily lay aside. For this reason his enemies, as he himself says,³ called him morose and ill-mannered.

II. Still further, then, in their writings it is possible to see that the one touches upon his own praises cautiously and so as not to give offence, when there was need of this for some weightier end, while on other occasions he is careful and moderate; whereas Cicero's immoderate boasting of

¹ Cf. Cicero, *pro Caeiro*, 12, 28; but Plutarch's interpretation does Cicero great injustice. Cf. 17, 39 f.

² Cf. *pro Murena*, 29-31. ³ In *Phil* ii 30

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περιαυτολογίας ἀκρασίαν τινὰ κατηγόρει πρὸς δόξαν, βοῶντος ὡς τὰ δόπλα ἔδει τῇ τηθέννῳ καὶ 2 τῇ γλώττῃ τὴν θριαμβικὴν ὑπείκειν δάφνην. τελευτῶν δ' οὐ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πράξεις μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς εἰρημένους ὑφ' αὐτοῦ¹ καὶ γεγραμμένους, ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Ἀναξιμένει τοῖς σοφισταῖς διαμειρακιευόμενος, οὐ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἄγειν ἀξιῶν καὶ ὄρθοῦν,

βριθύν, ὁπλιτοπάλαν, δάιον ἀντιπάλοις.

3 ἵσχειν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόγου τὸν πολιτευόμενον ἀναγκαῖον, ἀγαπᾶν δ' ἀγενής καὶ λιχνεύειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δόξαν. ὅθεν ἐμβριθέστερος ταύτη καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερος² ὁ Δημοσθένης, τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ πολλῆς δεομένην τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀκρωμένων εύνοίας ἀποφαινόμενος, ἀνελευθέρους δὲ καὶ Βαναύσους, ὥσπερ εἰσί, τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ φυσωμένους ἡγούμενος.

III. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δημητηρείν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι δύναμις δύμαλῶς ἀμφοτέροις ὑπῆρξεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὅπλων καὶ στρατοπέδων κυρίους δεῖσθαι, Δημοσθένους μὲν Χάρητα καὶ Διοπείθην καὶ Λεωσθένην, Κικέρωνος δὲ Πομπήιον καὶ Καίσαρα τὸν νέον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικήναν ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν.

¹ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ Graux with M^a: ὑπ'³ αὐτοῦ.

² μεγαλοπρεπέστερος with Bekker, after Stephanus. μεγαλοπρεπέστατος.

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himself in his speeches proves that he had an intemperate desire for fame, his cry being that arms must give place to the toga and the laurel of triumph to the tongue.¹ And at last he praises not only his deeds and actions, but also his speeches, both those which he delivered himself and those which he committed to writing, as if he were impetuously vying with Isocrates and Anaximenes the sophists, instead of claiming the right to lead and instruct the Roman people,

“Steadfast, in heavy armour clad, destructive to foes.”²

It is necessary, indeed, that a political leader should prevail by reason of his eloquence, but ignoble for him to admire and crave the fame that springs from his eloquence. Wherefore in this regard Demosthenes is more stately and magnificent, since he declares that his ability in speaking was a mere matter of experience, depending greatly upon the goodwill of his hearers,³ and considers illiberal and vulgar, as they are, those who are puffed up at such success.

III. It is true that in haranguing and guiding the people both had equal power, so that even those who controlled armies and camps had need of their services; Chares, Diopeithes, and Leosthenes needed Demosthenes, and Pompey and the young Caesar needed Cicero, as Caesar himself says in his Memoirs addressed to Agrippa and Maecenas.

¹ Cedant auna togae, concedat laurea laudi (*m. Pisonem*, 29, 72 ff.).

² The second verse of an elegiac distich attributed to Aeschylus in *Moralis*, p. 334 d. Cf. Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.⁴ p. 242. ³ Cf. *On the Crown*, 277.

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- 2 ὁ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα καὶ λέγεται τρόπον ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδεικνύναι καὶ βασανίζειν, ἔξουσία καὶ ἀρχὴ πᾶν πάθος κινοῦσα καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποκαλύπτουσα κακίαν, Δημοσθένει μὲν οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν, οὐδὲ ἔδωκε τοιαύτην διάπειραν ἑαυτοῦ, μηδεμίαν ἀρχῆν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἄρξας, ὃς οὐδὲ τῆς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ συντεταγμένης ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ἐστρατήγησε δυνάμεως.
- 3 Κικέρων δὲ ταμίας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ ἀνθύπατος εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἀποσταλείς, ἐν φῷτρῳ τῆς φιλοπλούντιας ἀκμαζούσης, καὶ τῶν πεμπομένων στρατηγῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων, ὡς τοῦ κλέπτειν ἀγεννοῦς δύτος, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρπάζειν τρεπομένων, οὐ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐδόκει δεινόν, ἀλλ' ὁ μετρίως τοῦτο ποιῶν ἡγαπάτο, πολλὴν μὲν ἐπίδειξιν ὑπεροψίας χρημάτων ἐποιήσατο, πολλὴν
- 4 δὲ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπατος, ἔξουσίαν δὲ λαβών αὐτοκράτορος καὶ δικτάτορος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Κατιλίναν, ἐμαρτύρησεν ἅμα τῷ Πλάτωνι μαντευομένῳ παῦλαν ἔξειν κακῶν τὰς πόλεις, δταν εἰς ταῦτὸ δύναμις τε μεγάλη καὶ φρόνησις ἔκ τινος τύχης χρηστῆς ἀπαντήσῃ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης.
- 5 Χρηματίσασθαι τοίνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Δημοσθένης μὲν ἐπιψόγως λέγεται, λογογραφῶν κρύφα τοῖς περὶ Φορμίωνα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον ἀντιδίκους, καὶ διαβληθεὶς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς χρήμασιν, ὀφλὼν δὲ τῶν Ἀρπαλείων. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς γράφοντας (οὐκ διλόγοι δὲ εἰσὶν οὗτοι) ψεύδεσθαι

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But what is thought and said most of all to reveal and test the character of a man, namely power and authority, which rouses every passion and uncovers every baseness, this Demosthenes did not have, nor did he give any such proof of himself, since he held no conspicuous office, nor did he even command the force which was raised by him against Philip ; whereas Cicero was sent out as quaestor to Sicily, and as pro-consul to Cilicia and Cappadocia, at a time when the love of wealth was at its greatest height, and when those who were sent out as praetors and governors, feeling that theft was an ignoble thing, resorted to open plundering, so that the taking of property was not thought heinous, but he who did this in moderation was held in high esteem ; and yet Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt for wealth, and many of his humanity and goodness. And when in Rome itself he was appointed consul in name, but really received the power of a dictator and sole ruler against Catiline and his conspirators, he bore witness to the truth of Plato's prophecy¹ that states would then have respite from evil, when in one and the same person, by some happy fortune, great power and wisdom should be conjoined with justice.

Moreover, it is said to the reproach of Demosthenes that he made money by his eloquence, since he secretly wrote speeches for Phormio and Apollodorus, who were adversaries in the same case, and since he was accused in the matter of the Great King's money, and condemned for taking that of Harpalus. And if we should say that those who write these things (and these writers are not few)

¹ *Republic*, p. 473 d

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6 φαίημεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε πρὸς δωρεὰς βασιλέων σὺν χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ διδομένας ἀντιβλέψαι Δημοσθέ-
νης οὐκ ἀν ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδὲ ἦν τοῦτο ἔργον¹ ἀν-
θρώπου δανείζοντος ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς, ἀμύχανον
ἀντειπεῖν· περὶ δὲ Κικέρωνος, ὅτι καὶ Σικελιωτῶν
ἀγορανομοῦντι καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν
ἀνθυπατεύοντι καὶ τῶν ἐν 'Ρώμῃ φίλων, ὅτ' ἔξ-
πιπτε τῆς πόλεως, δωρουμένων πολλὰ καὶ δεօμέ-
νων λαβεῖν ἀντέσχει, εἴρηται.

IV. Καὶ μὴν ἡ γε φυγὴ τῷ μὲν αἰσχρὰ κλοπῆς
ἀλόντι συνέπεσε, τῷ δὲ καλλιστον ἔργον ἀνθρώ-
πους ἀλιτηρίους ἐκκόψαντι τῆς πατρίδος. διὸ 81
τοῦ μὲν οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐκπίπτοντος, ἐφ' ὃ δὲ ἡ
σύγκλητος ἐσθῆτά τε διήλλαξε καὶ πένθος ἔσχε
καὶ γυνώμην ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς εἰπεῖν ἐπείσθη πρό-
2 τερον ἡ Κικέρωνι κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαι. τὴν
μέντοι φυγὴν ἀργῶς ὁ Κικέρων διήνεγκεν ἐν
Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενος, τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ ἡ
φυγὴ μέγα μέρος τῆς πολιτείας γέγονε. συνα-
γωνιζόμενος γάρ, ὀσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς "Ἐλλησι καὶ
τοὺς Μακεδόνων πρέσβεις ἔξελαύνων ἐπήρχετο
τὰς πόλεις, πολὺν βελτίων Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ
'Αλκιβιάδου παρὰ τὰς αὐτὰς τύχας φανεὶς πολί-
της· καὶ μέντοι κατελθὼν αὐθις ἔαυτὸν ἐπέδωκεν
εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην πολιτείαν, καὶ διετέλει πο-
3 λεμῶν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Μακεδόνας. Κικέ-
ρωνα δ' ὡνείδισεν ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ Λαίλιος αἰτουμένου

¹ τοῦτο ἔργον Bekker and Graux, after Reiske : τοῦτο τὸ
ἔργον

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tell what is untrue, still, at least, that Demosthenes could not bring himself to look with indifference upon gifts which kings offered as marks of honour and favour, and that this was not to be expected of a man who lent money on bottomry, it is impossible to deny; whereas, in the case of Cicero, that the Sicilians when he was quaestor, and the king of Cappadocia when he was pro-consul, and his friends in Rome when he was going into exile, offered him large sums and begged him to take them, only to meet with his refusal, has been said.

IV. And surely in the matter of banishment, at least, for the one it was disgraceful, since he had been convicted of theft; but for the other it was a most honourable result, since he had rid his country of baleful men. Therefore no account was made of the one when he went into exile; but for the other the senate changed its garb and put on mourning and could not be induced to discuss any business until Cicero's return had been decreed. However, Cicero spent his exile idly, remaining quietly in Macedonia; but the exile of Demosthenes proved to be a great part of his service to the state. For he took part in the struggles of the Greeks, as has been said, and drove out the Macedonian envoys in the various cities which he visited, and so showed himself to be a far better citizen than Themistocles or Alcibiades when they were having the same fortune; and furthermore, when he returned from exile, he again devoted himself to this same public service, and steadfastly continued waging war upon Antipater and the Macedonians. Cicero, on the contrary, was reproached in the senate by Laelius for sitting silent

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Καίσαρος ὑπατείαν μετιέναι παρὰ νόμον, οὕπω γενειῶντος, σιωπῆ καθήμενον. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐγκαλῶν ών μείζονα καὶ βαρυτέραν πεπαιδοτριβηκότι τυραννίδα τῆς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ καταλυθείσης.

V. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν μὲν οἰκτείραι τις ἄν, ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην δι' ἀγέννειαν ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιφερόμενον καὶ περιφεύγοντα τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενον τοὺς οὐ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς φύσεως ἥκουντας ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἰτ' ἀποσφαγέντα τοῦ δ', εἰ καὶ μικρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἵκετείαν ἐνέδωκεν, ἀγαστὴ μὲν ἡ παρασκευὴ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τήρησις, ἀγαστὴ δὲ ἡ χρῆσις, δῆτα τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀσυλίαν, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ μείζονα βωμὸν καταφυγών, ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων λαβὼν ἐαυτὸν ὥχετο, τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου καταγελάσας ὡμότητος.

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when Caesar asked leave to stand for the consulship, which was contrary to law, since he was still a beardless youth. And Brutus also, in one of his letters, accused him of having reared up a tyranny greater and more severe than that which the writer himself had overthrown.¹

V. And after all, the one is to be pitied for the manner of his death—an old man ignobly carried up and down by servants, trying to escape death, hiding himself from those who were coming after him not much in advance of nature's final summons, and then beheaded; whereas in that of the other, even though it had a slight touch of supplication, we must admire the preparation of the poison and its place of custody, must admire, too, the use he made of it, because, since the god would not afford him asylum, he took refuge at a greater altar, as it were, made his escape from arms and mercenaries, and laughed to scorn the cruelty of Antipater.

¹ Cicero, *ad Brutum*, i 17, 2 (Brutus to Atticus).

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ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Ι. Τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως βίον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρος, ὑφ' οὗ κατελύθη Πομπήιος, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ γράφοντες, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποκειμένων πράξεων οὐδὲν ἄλλο προεροῦμεν ἢ παρατησόμεθα τοὺς ἀναγυνώσκοντας, ἐὰν μὴ πάντα μηδὲ καθ' ἔκαστον ἔξειργασμένως τι τῶν περιβοήτων ἀπαγγέλλωμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιτέμνοντες 2 τὰ πλεῖστα, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἴστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἔνεστι δήλωσις ὑρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ρήμα καὶ παιδιά τις ἔμφασιν ἥθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται 3 καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων. ὕσπερ οὖν οἱ ξωγράφοι τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ὅψin εἰδῶν, οἵς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἥθος, ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἐλάχιστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες, οὕτως ἡμὲν δοτέον εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον, ἔάσαντας ἐτέροις τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας.

ΙΙ. Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι τῷ γένει πρὸς πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης ἀπὸ Καράνου, πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Αἰακίδης ἀπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, τῶν πάνυ πεπιστευμένων ἐστί. λέγεται δὲ Φίλιππος ἐν Σαμο-

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I. IT is the life of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, who overthrew Pompey, that I am writing in this book, and the multitude of the deeds to be treated is so great that I shall make no other preface than to entreat my readers, in case I do not tell of all the famous actions of these men, nor even speak exhaustively at all in each particular case, but in epitome for the most part, not to complain. For it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities. Accordingly, just as painters get the likenesses in their portraits from the face and the expression of the eyes, wherein the character shows itself, but make very little account of the other parts of the body, so I must be permitted to devote myself rather to the signs of the soul in men, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of their great contests.

II. As for the lineage of Alexander, on his father's side he was a descendant of Heracles through Canarus, and on his mother's side a descendant of Aeacus through Neoptolemus; this is accepted without any question. And we are told that Philip, after

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θράκη τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι συμμυηθεὶς αὐτός τε μειρά-
κιον ὧν ἔτι κάκείνης παιδὸς ὄρφανῆς γονέων
ἐρασθῆναι καὶ τὸν γάμον οὕτως ἀρμόσαι, πείσας
2 τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς Ἀρύμβαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν νύμφη,
πρὸ τῆς συκτὸς ἥ συνειρχθῆσαν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον,
ἔδοξε βροντῆς γενομένης ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτῆς τῇ γαστρὶ¹
κεραυνόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς πολὺ πῦρ ἀναφθέν,
εἴτα ῥηγνύμενον εἰς φλόγας πάντη φερομένας
διαλυθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ
τὸν γάμου εἶδεν ὅναρ αὐτὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα σφραγίδα
τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικός· ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ τῆς σφρα-
3 γῆδος, ὡς φέτο, λέοντος εἰχεν εἰκόνα. τῶν δὲ
ἄλλων μάντεων ὑφορωμένων τὴν ὅψιν, ὡς ἀκρι-
βεστέρας φυλακῆς δεομένων τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν
περὶ τὸν γάμον, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ Τελμησσεὺς
κύειν ἔφη τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀποσφραγί-
ζεσθαι τῶν κενῶν, καὶ κύειν παῖδα θυμοειδῆ καὶ
4 λεοντώδη τὴν φύσιν. ὥφθη δέ ποτε καὶ δράκων
κοιμωμένης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ
σώματι· καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸν
ἔρωτα καὶ τὰς φιλοφροσύνας ἀμαυρώσαι λέγουσιν,
ὡς μηδὲ φοιτᾶν ἔτι πολλάκις παρ' αὐτὴν ἀνα-
παυσόμενον, εἴτε δείσαντά τινας μαγείας ἐπ'
αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακα τῆς γυναικός, εἴτε τὴν ὄμιλίαν
ώς κρείττονι συνούσης ἀφοσιούμενον.

5 "Ετερος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ λόγος, ὡς πᾶσαι
μὲν αἱ τῇδε γυναῖκες ἔνοχοι τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὖσαι
καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ
πάνυ παλαιοῦ, Κλώδωνές τε καὶ Μιμαλλόνες

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being initiated into the mysteries of Samothrace at the same time with Olympias, he himself being still a youth and she an orphan child, fell in love with her and betrothed himself to her at once with the consent of her brother, Arymbas. Well, then, the night before that on which the marriage was consummated, the bride dreamed that there was a peal of thunder and that a thunder-bolt fell upon her womb, and that thereby much fire was kindled, which broke into flames that travelled all about, and then was extinguished. At a later time, too, after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he was putting a seal upon his wife's womb; and the device of the seal, as he thought, was the figure of a lion. The other seers, now, were led by the vision to suspect that Philip needed to put a closer watch upon his marriage relations; but Aristander of Telmessus said that the woman was pregnant, since no seal was put upon what was empty, and pregnant of a son whose nature would be bold and lion-like. Moreover, a serpent was once seen lying stretched out by the side of Olympias as she slept, and we are told that this, more than anything else, dulled the ardour of Philip's attentions to his wife, so that he no longer came often to sleep by her side, either because he feared that some spells and enchantments might be practised upon him by her, or because he shrank from her embraces in the conviction that she was the partner of a superior being.

But concerning these matters there is another story to this effect: all the women of these parts were addicted to the Orphic rites and the orgies of Dionysus from very ancient times (being called Klonones and Mimalloines¹), and imitated in many

¹ Macedonian names for Bacchantes.

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ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσαι, πολλὰ ταῖς Ἡδωνίσι καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν Αἴμον Θρῆσσαις ὅμοια δρῶσιν, ἀφ' ὧν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ θρησκεύειν δόνομα ταῖς κατακόροις 6 γενέσθαι καὶ περιέργους ἴερουργίαις, ἡ δὲ Ὁλυμπιάς μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἔξαγονσα βαρβαρικώτερον ὅφεις μεγάλους χειροήθεις ἐφείλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις, οὐ πολλάκις ἔκ τοῦ κιττοῦ καὶ τῶν μυστικῶν λίκνων παραναδύμενοι καὶ περιελιπτόμενοι τοῖς θύρσοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις ἔξεπληγτον τοὺς ἄνδρας.

III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ μέν, μετὰ τὸ φάσμα πέμφαντι Χαίρωνα τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην εἰς Δελφούς, χρησμὸν κομισθῆναι λέγοντι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντος Ἀρμωνι θύειν καὶ σέβεσθαι μάλιστα τοῦτον τὸν θεόν· ἀποβαλεῖν δὲ τῶν ὕψεων αὐτὸν τὴν ἐτέραν, ἥν τῷ τῆς θύρας ἀρμῷ προσβαλὼν κατώπτευσεν ἐν μορφῇ δράκοντος 2 συνευναζόμενον τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν θεόν. ἡ δὲ Ὁλυμπιάς, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησί, προπέμπουσα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὴν τέκνωσιν ἀπόρρητον, ἐκέλευεν ἀξια φρονεῖν τῆς γενέσεως. ἔτεροι δέ φασιν αὐτὴν ἀφοσιοῦσθαι καὶ λέγειν, “Οὐ παύεται με διαβάλλων Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὴν Ἡραν;”
 3 Ἐγεννήθη δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἵσταμένου μηνὸς Ἐκατομβαιώνος, διν Μακεδόνες Λῶν καλοῦσιν,

¹ Plutarch apparently derives this verb from Θρῆσσαι (*Thracian women*)

² Sacred to Dionysus, and carried on the heads of the celebrants.

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ways the practices of the Edonian women and the Thracian women about Mount Haemus, from whom, as it would seem, the word "threskeuein"¹ came to be applied to the celebration of extravagant and superstitious ceremonies. Now Olympias, who affected these divine possessions more zealously than other women, and carried out these divine inspirations in wilder fashion, used to provide the revelling companies with great tame serpents, which would often lift their heads from out the ivy and the mystic winnowing-baskets,² or coil themselves about the wands and garlands of the women, thus terrifying the men.

III. However, after his vision, as we are told, Philip sent Chaeron of Megalopolis to Delphi, by whom an oracle was brought him from Apollo, who bade him sacrifice to Ammon and hold that god in greatest reverence, but told him he was to lose that one of his eyes which he had applied to the chink in the door when he espied the god, in the form of a serpent, sharing the couch of his wife. Moreover, Olympias, as Eratosthenes says, when she sent Alexander forth upon his great expedition, told him, and him alone, the secret of his begetting, and bade him have purposes worthy of his birth. Others, on the contrary, say that she repudiated the idea, and said: "Alexander must cease slandering me to Hera."³

Be that as it may, Alexander was born early in the month Hecatombaeon,⁴ the Macedonian name for

¹ The lawful spouse of Zeus Ammon.

⁴ 356 B.C. The day of birth has probably been moved back two or three months for the sake of the coincidence mentioned below (§ 5). Hecatombaeon corresponds nearly to July.

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έκτη, καθ' ἡν ἡμέραν ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνεπρήσθη νεώς⁴ φ' γ'⁵ Ἡγησίας ὁ Μάγνης ἐπιπεφώνηκεν ἐπιφώνημα κατασβέσαι τὴν πυρκαιὰν ἐκείνην ὑπὸ ψυχρίας δυνάμενον· εἰκότως γὰρ ἔφη καταφλεχθῆναι τὸν νεῶν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀσχολουμένης περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μαίωσιν.
4 δσοι δὲ τῶν μάγων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβοντες ἔτυχον, τὸ περὶ τὸν νεῶν πάθος ἥγονύμενοι πάθους ἐτέρου σημείον εἶναι, διέθεον τὰ πρόσωπα τυπτόμενοι καὶ βοῶντες ἄτην ἄμα καὶ συμφορὰν μεγάλην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τετοκέναι. Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἅρτι Ποτίδαιαν ἥρηκότι τρεῖς ἥκουν
5 ἀγγελίαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον· ἡ μὲν Ἰλλυριοὺς ἡττᾶσθαι μάχῃ μεγάλῃ διὰ Παρμενίωνος, ἡ δὲ Ὁλυμπίασιν ἵππῳ κέλητι νευκηκέναι, τρίτη δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γενέσεως. ἐφ' οἷς ἥδομενον, ὡς εἰκός, ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μάντεις ἐπῆραν ἀποφανόμενοι τὸν παῖδα τρισὶ νίκαις συγγεγενημένον ἀνίκητον ἔσεσθαι.

IV. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἴδεαν τοῦ σώματος οἱ Λυσίππειοι μάλιστα τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐμφαίνουσιν, ὑφ' οὐδὲ μόνον καὶ αὐτὸς ἥξιον πλάττεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ μάλισθ' ἂ πολλοὶ τῶν διαδόχων ὕστερον καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπεμιμοῦντο, τὴν τε ἀνάτασιν τοῦ αὐχένος εἰς εὐώνυμον ἥσυχην κεκλιμένου καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα τῶν ὀμμάτων, διατετήρηκεν ἀκριβῶς ὁ τεχνίτης.
2 Ἀπελλῆς δὲ γράφων τὸν κεραυνοφόρον οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τὴν χρόαν, ἀλλὰ φαιότερον καὶ πεπινωμένον ἐποίησεν. ἦν δὲ λευκός, ὡς φασιν· ἡ δὲ

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which is Lous, on the sixth day of the month, and on this day the temple of Ephesian Artemis was burnt. It was apropos of this that Hegesias the Magnesian made an utterance frigid enough to have extinguished that great conflagration. He said, namely, it was no wonder that the temple of Artemis was burned down, since the goddess was busy bringing Alexander into the world. But all the Magi who were then at Ephesus, looking upon the temple's disaster as a sign of further disaster, ran about beating their faces and crying aloud that woe and great calamity for Asia had that day been born. To Philip, however, who had just taken Potidaea, there came three messages at the same time: the first that Parmenio had conquered the Illyrians in a great battle, the second that his race-horse had won a victory at the Olympic games, while a third announced the birth of Alexander. These things delighted him, of course, and the seers raised his spirits still higher by declaring that the son whose birth coincided with three victories would be always victorious.

IV. The outward appearance of Alexander is best represented by the statues of him which Lysippus made, and it was by this artist alone that Alexander himself thought it fit that he should be modelled. For those peculiarities which many of his successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of the neck, which was bent slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, this artist has accurately observed. Apelles, however, in painting him as wielder of the thunder-bolt, did not reproduce his complexion, but made it too dark and swarthy. Whereas he was of a fair colour, as they say, and his

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λευκότης ἐπεφοίνισσεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ στῆθος μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. ὅτι δὲ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἥδιστον ἀπέπνει καὶ τὸ στόμα κατεῖχεν εὐωδία καὶ τὴν σάρκα πᾶσαν, ὡστε πληροῦσθαι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους, ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστο-ξενείους.

- 3 Αἰτία δὲ ἵσως ἡ τοῦ σώματος κράσις πολύ-θερμος οὖσα καὶ πυρώδης· ἡ γὰρ εὐωδία γίνεται πέψει τῶν ὑγρῶν ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ὡς οἴεται Θεόφραστος. ὅθεν οἱ ἔντονες καὶ διάπυροι τόποι τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν ἀρωμάτων φέρουσιν ἐξαιρεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος τὸ ὑγρὸν ὥσπερ ὑλην τηπεδόνος ἐπιπολάζον τοῖς σώμασιν.
- 4 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἡ θερμότης τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ποτικὸν καὶ θυμοειδῆ παρεῖχεν.

- 5 "Ετι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ παιδὸς ἡ τε σωφροσύνη διεφαίνετο τῷ πρὸς τάλλα ῥαγδαῖον ὄντα καὶ φερόμενον σφοδρῶς ἐν ταῖς ἥδοναις ταῖς περὶ τὸ σώμα δυσκύνητον εἶναι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς πραότη-
6 τος ἄπτεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων, ἡ τε φιλοτιμία παρ' ἡλικίαν ἐμβριθὲς εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ μεγαλόψυ-χον. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὔτε πᾶσαν ἡγάπα δόξαν, ὡς Φίλιππος λόγου τε δεινότητι σοφι-στικῶς καλλωπιζόμενος καὶ τὰς ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ νίκας τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐγχαράττων τοῖς νομίσμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποπειρωμένων εἰ βούλοιτ' ἀν Ὁλυμπίασιν ἀγωνίσασθαι στάδιον, ἥν γὰρ ποδώκης, "Εἴ γε," ἔφη, "βασιλεῦς ἐμελλον ἔξειν ἀνταγωνιστάς." φαίνεται δὲ καὶ καθόλου πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν γένος ἀλλοτρίως ἔχων πλειστους γέ τοι θεὶς ἀγῶνας οὐ μόνον

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fairness passed into ruddiness on his breast particularly, and in his face. Moreover, that a very pleasant odour exhaled from his skin and that there was a fragrance about his mouth and all his flesh, so that his garments were filled with it, this we have read in the Memoirs of Aristoxenus

Now, the cause of this, perhaps, was the temperament of his body, which was a very warm and fiery one; for fragrance is generated, as Theophrastus thinks, where moist humours are acted upon by heat. Wherefore the dry and parched regions of the world produce the most and best spices; for the sun draws away the moisture which, like material of corruption, abounds in vegetable bodies. And in Alexander's case, it was the heat of his body, as it would seem, which made him prone to drink, and choleric.

But while he was still a boy his self-restraint showed itself in the fact that, although he was impetuous and violent in other matters, the pleasures of the body had little hold upon him, and he indulged in them with great moderation, while his ambition kept his spirit serious and lofty in advance of his years. For it was neither every kind of fame nor fame from every source that he courted, as Philip did, who plumed himself like a sophist on the power of his oratory, and took care to have the victories of his chariots at Olympia engraved upon his coins; nay, when those about him inquired whether he would be willing to contend in the foot-race at the Olympic games, since he was swift of foot, "Yes," said he, "if I could have kings as my contestants." And in general, too, Alexander appears to have been averse to the whole race of athletes; at any rate, though he instituted very many contests, not only

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τραγῳδῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ῥαψῳδῶν, θήρας τε παντοδαπῆς καὶ ράβδο-
μαχίας, οὕτε πυγμῆς οὕτε παγκρατίου μετά τινος
σπουδῆς ἔθηκεν ἀθλον.

V. Τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως πρέ-
σβεις ἥκουντας ἀποδημοῦντος Φιλίππου ἔνιζων
καὶ γενόμενος συνήθης οὕτως ἔχειρώσατο τῇ φιλο-
φροσύνῃ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἐρώτημα παιδικὸν ἐρωτῆ-
σαι μηδὲ μικρόν, ἀλλ' ὅδων τε μῆκη καὶ πορέας
τῆς ἄνω τρόπου ἐκπυνθάνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃποῖος εἴη πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους,
καὶ τίς ἡ Περσῶν ἀλκὴ καὶ δύναμις, ὥστε θαυμά-
ζειν ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινό-
τητα μηδὲν ἡγείσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ὄρμὴν
2 καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην. ὅσάκις γοῦν ἀπαγγελ-
θείη Φίλιππος ἡ πόλιν ἔνδοξον ἥρηκὼς ἡ μάχην
τινὰ περιβόητον νευκηκώς, οὐ πάνυ φαιδρὸς ἦν
ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἔλεγεν· “Ω
παῖδες, πάντα προλήψεται ὁ πατήρ· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν
ἀπολείψει μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔργον ἀποδεῖξασθαι μέγα
3 καὶ λαμπρόν.” οὐ γάρ ἡδονὴν ζηλῶν οὐδὲ πλοῦ-
τον, ἀλλ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν, ἐνόμιζεν, ὅσφ πλείονα
λήψεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐλάττονα κατορθώσειν
δι' ἕαυτοῦ. διὸ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐξομένοις κατ-
αναλίσκεσθαι τὰς πράξεις εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἡγούμενος,
ἐβούλετο μὴ χρήματα μηδὲ τρυφὰς καὶ ἀπολαύ-
σεις, ἀλλ' ἀγῶνας καὶ πολέμους καὶ φιλοτιμίας
ἔχουσαν ἀρχῆν παραλαβεῖν.

4 Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς εἰκός,

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for tragic poets and players on the flute and players on the lyre, but also for rhapsodists, as well as for hunting of every sort and for fighting with staves, he took no interest in offering prizes either for boxing or for the pancratium.

V. He once entertained the envoys from the Persian king who came during Philip's absence, and associated with them freely. He won upon them by his friendliness, and by asking no childish or trivial questions, but by enquiring about the length of the roads and the character of the journey into the interior, about the king himself, what sort of a warrior he was, and what the prowess and might of the Persians. The envoys were therefore astonished and regarded the much-talked-of ability of Philip as nothing compared with his son's eager disposition to do great things. At all events, as often as tidings were brought that Philip had either taken a famous city or been victorious in some celebrated battle, Alexander was not very glad to hear them, but would say to his comrades : "Boys, my father will anticipate everything; and for me he will leave no great or brilliant achievement to be displayed to the world with your aid." For since he did not covet pleasure, nor even wealth, but excellence and fame, he considered that the more he should receive from his father the fewer would be the successes won by himself. Therefore, considering that increase in prosperity meant the squandering upon his father of opportunities for achievement, he preferred to receive from him a realm which afforded, not wealth nor luxury and enjoyment, but struggles and wars and ambitions.

In the work of caring for him, then, many persons,

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ἥσαν αὐτοῦ τροφεῖς καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι λεγόμενοι, πᾶσι δὲ ἐφειστήκει Λεωνίδας, ἀνὴρ τό τε ἥθος αὐστηρὸς καὶ συγγενῆς Ὄλυμπιαδος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ φεύγων τὸ τῆς παιδαγωγίας ὄνομα καλὸν ἔργον ἔχοντος καὶ λαμπρόν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀλλων διὰ τὸ ἀξέιδωμα καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τροφεὺς 5 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ καθηγητὴς καλούμενος. ὁ δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ὑποποιούμενος ἦν Δυσίμαχος, τῷ γένει Ἀκαρνάν, ἀλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἀστεῖον, ὅτι δὲ ἕαυτὸν μὲν ὠνόμαζε Φοίνικα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλεξανδρον Ἀχιλλέα, Πηλέα δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἡγαπάτο καὶ δευτέραν εἶχε χώραν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλονείκου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ τὸν Βουκεφάλαν ἀγαγόντος ὕνιον τῷ Φίλιππῳ τρισκαΐδεκα ταλάντων κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον δοκιμάσοντες τὸν ἵππον, ἐδόκει τε χαλεπός εἶναι καὶ κομιδὴ δύσχρηστος, οὔτε ἀναβάτην προσιέμενος οὔτε φωνὴν ὑπομένων τινὸς τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἀλλ' ἀπάντων κατεξανιστάμενος, δυσχεραίνοντος δὲ τοῦ Φίλιππου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπάγειν ὡς παντάπασιν ἄγριον καὶ ἀκόλαστον, παρὼν Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπεν “Οἴον ἵππον ἀπολλύονται δι’ ἀπειρίαν καὶ μαλακίαν χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι,” τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ Φίλιππος ἐσιώπησε· πολλάκις δὲ αὐτοῦ παραφθεγγομένου καὶ περιπαθοῦντος, “Ἐπιτιμᾶς σύ,” ἔφη, “πρεσβυτέροις ὡς τι πλέον αὐτὸς εἰδὼς ἢ μᾶλλον ἵππῳ χρήσασθαι

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as was natural, were appointed to be his nurturers, tutors, and teachers, but over them all stood Leonidas, a man of stern temperament and a kinsman of Olympias. Although he did not himself shun the title of tutor, since the office afforded an honourable and brilliant occupation, yet by other people, owing to his dignity and his relationship, he was called Alexander's foster-father and preceptor. The man, however, who assumed the character and the title of tutor was Lysimachus, a native of Acarnania, who had no general refinement, but because he called himself Phoenix,¹ Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus, was highly regarded and held a second place.

VI. Once upon a time Philoneicus the Thessalian brought Bucephalus, offering to sell him to Philip for thirteen talents,² and they went down into the plain to try the horse, who appeared to be savage and altogether intractable, neither allowing any one to mount him, nor heeding the voice of any of Philip's attendants, but rearing up against all of them. Then Philip was vexed and ordered the horse to be led away, believing him to be altogether wild and unbroken; but Alexander, who was near by, said: "What a horse they are losing, because, for lack of skill and courage, they cannot manage him!" At first, then, Philip held his peace; but as Alexander many times let fall such words and showed great distress, he said: "Dost thou find fault with thine elders in the belief that thou knowest more than they do or art better able to manage a horse?"

¹ The preceptor of Achilles

² The talent was worth about £235, or \$1,200, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.

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3 δυνάμενος;” “Τούτῳ γοῦν,” ἔφη, “χρησαίμην ἀν
έπέρου βέλτιον.” “Αν δὲ μὴ χρήσῃ, τίνα δίκην
τῆς προπετείας ὑφέξεις;” “Ἐγώ, νὴ Δλ̄,” εἶπεν,
“ἀποτίσω τοῦ ἵππου τὴν τιμήν.” γενομένου δὲ
γέλωτος, εἴτα ὁρισμοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸ
ἀργύριον, εὐθὺς προσδραμών τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ παρα-
λαβὼν τὴν ἡμίναν ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὴν σκιὰν προπίπτουσαν
καὶ σαλευομένην ὁρῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ διαταράπτοιτο.

4 μικρὰ δὲ οὕτω παρακαλπάσας καὶ καταψήσας,
ώς ἐώρα πληρούμενον θυμοῦ καὶ πνεύματος, ἀπορ-
ρίψας ἡσυχὴ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ μετεωρίσας αὐτὸν
ἀσφαλῶς περιέβη. καὶ μικρὰ μὲν περιλαβὼν ταῖς
ἡμίαις τὸν χαλινὸν ἄνευ πληγῆς καὶ σπαραγμοῦ
προσανέστειλεν.¹ ὡς δὲ ἐώρα τὸν ἵππον ὑφεικότα
τὴν ἀπειλὴν, ὀργῶντα δὲ πρὸς τὸν δρόμον, ἐφεὶς
ἔδιωκεν ἡδη φωνῇ θρασυτέρᾳ καὶ ποδὸς κρούσει
5 χρώμενος. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἦν ἀγωνία
καὶ σιγὴ τὸ πρῶτον· ὡς δὲ κάμψας ἐπέστρεψεν
ὅρθως σοβαρὸς καὶ γεγηθώς, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες
ἢ λάλαξαν, ὁ δὲ πατήρ καὶ δακρύσαί τι λέγεται
πρὸς τὴν χαράν, καὶ καταβάντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κε-
φαλὴν φίλήσας, “Ω παῖ,” φάναι, “ξήτει σεαυτῷ
βασιλείαν ἵσην· Μακεδονία γάρ σε οὐ χωρεῖ.”

VII Καθορῶν δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ δυσκίνητον
μὲν οὖσαν ἐρίσαντος μὴ βιασθῆναι, ῥᾳδίως δὲ
ἀγομένην ὑπὸ λόγου πρὸς τὸ δέον, αὐτός τε πεί-

¹ προσανέστειλεν Becher has προσέστειλεν, with inferior MSS.

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"This horse, at any rate," said Alexander, "I could manage better than others have." "And if thou shouldst not, what penalty wilt thou undergo for thy rashness?" "Indeed," said Alexander, "I will forfeit the price of the horse." There was laughter at this, and then an agreement between father and son as to the forfeiture, and at once Alexander ran to the horse, took hold of his bridle-rein, and turned him towards the sun; for he had noticed, as it would seem, that the horse was greatly disturbed by the sight of his own shadow falling in front of him and dancing about. And after he had calmed the horse a little in this way, and had stroked him with his hand, when he saw that he was full of spirit and courage, he quietly cast aside his mantle and with a light spring safely bestrode him. Then, with a little pressure of the reins on the bit, and without striking him or tearing his mouth, he held him in hand;¹ but when he saw that the horse was rid of the fear that had beset him, and was impatient for the course, he gave him his head, and at last urged him on with sterner tone and thrust of foot. Philip and his company were speechless with anxiety at first; but when Alexander made the turn in proper fashion and came back towards them proud and exultant, all the rest broke into loud cries, but his father, as we are told, actually shed tears of joy, and when Alexander had dismounted, kissed him, saying: "My son, seek thee out a kingdom equal to thyself; Macedonia has not room for thee."

VII. And since Philip saw that his son's nature was unyielding and that he resisted compulsion, but was easily led by reasoning into the path of duty,

¹ Amyot, "le remeit gentiment"

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θειν ἐπειράτο μᾶλλον ἢ προστάττειν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια παιδευταῖς οὐ πάνυ τι πιστεύων τὴν ἐπιστασίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατάρτισιν, ὡς μείζονος οὖσαν πραγματείας καὶ κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα

πολλῶν χαλινῶν ἔργον οἰάκων θ' ἄμα,

2 μετεπέμψατο τῶν φιλοσόφων τὸν ἐνδοξότατον καὶ λογιώτατον Ἀριστοτέλην, καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα διδασκάλια τελέσας αὐτῷ. τὴν γὰρ Σταγειριτῶν πόλιν, ἐξ ἣς ἦν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀνάστατον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενημένην συνώκισε πάλιν, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἢ δουλεύοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκατέστησε.

3 Σχολὴν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διατριβὴν τὸ περὶ Μίεζαν νυμφαῖον ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπου μέχρι νῦν Ἀριστοτέλους ἔδρας τε λιθίνας καὶ ὑποσκίους περιπάτους δεικνύουσιν. ἕοικε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ μόνον τὸν ἱθικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν παραλαβεῖν λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ βαθυτέρων διδασκαλιῶν, ἂς οἱ ἄνδρες ἰδίως ἀκροαματικὰς καὶ ἐποπτικὰς προσαγορεύοντες οὐκ ἐξέφερον εἰς 4 πολλούς, μετασχέν. ἥδη γὰρ εἰς Ἀσίαν διαβεβηκώς, καὶ πυθόμενος λόγους τινὰς ἐν Βιβλίοις περὶ τούτων ὑπὸ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐκδεδόσθαι, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας παρησταζόμενος ἐπιστολήν, ἥς ἀντίγραφόν ἐστιν. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστοτέλει εὐ πράττειν. οὐκ ὄρθως ἐποίησας ἐκδοὺς τοὺς ἀκροαματικοὺς τῶν λόγων· τίνι γὰρ

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he himself tried to persuade rather than to command him ; and because he would not wholly entrust the direction and training of the boy to the ordinary teachers of poetry and the formal studies, feeling that it was a matter of too great importance, and, in the words of Sophocles,¹

“A task for many bits and rudder-sweeps as well,”

he sent for the most famous and learned of philosophers, Aristotle, and paid him a noble and appropriate tuition-fee. The city of Stageira, that is, of which Aristotle was a native, and which he had himself destroyed, he peopled again, and restored to it those of its citizens who were in exile or slavery.

Well, then, as a place where master and pupil could labour and study, he assigned them the precinct of the nymphs near Mieza, where to this day the visitor is shown the stone seats and shady walks of Aristotle. It would appear, moreover, that Alexander not only received from his master his ethical and political doctrines, but also participated in those secret and more profound teachings which philosophers designate by the special terms “acroamatic” and “epoptic,”² and do not impart to many. For after he had already crossed into Asia, and when he learned that certain treatises on these recondite matters had been published in books by Aristotle, he wrote him a letter on behalf of philosophy, and put it in plain language. And this is a copy of the letter. “Alexander, to Aristotle, greeting. Thou hast not done well to publish thy acroamatic

¹ Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 315.

² i.e., fit for oral teaching only, and for the initiated; “esoteric,” as opposed to “exoteric” doctrines.

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δὴ διοίστομεν ἡμεῖς τῶν ἀλλων, εἰ καθ' οὖς ἐπαι-
δεύθημεν λόγους, οὗτοι πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί;
ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἀν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπει-
5 ρίαις ἥ ταῖς δυνάμεσι διαφέρειν. ἔρρωσο.” ταύ-
την μὲν οὖν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ παραμυθού-
μενος Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπολογεῖται περὶ τῶν λόγων
ἐκείνων, ὡς καὶ ἐκδεδομένων καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένων·
ἀληθῶς γάρ ἡ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ πραγματεία πρὸς
διδασκαλίαν καὶ μάθησιν οὐδὲν ἔχουσα χρήσιμον
ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γέ-
γραπται.

VIII Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ φιλιατρεῖν Ἀλεξάν-
δρῳ προστρίψασθαι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων Ἀριστοτέλης·
οὐ γάρ μόνον τὴν θεωρίαν ἡγάπησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
νοσούσιν ἔβοήθει τοῖς φίλοις καὶ συνέταπτε θερα-
πείας τινὰς καὶ διαίτας, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
λαβεῖν ἔστιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ φύσει φιλολόγος καὶ
2 φιλαναγνώστης, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰλιάδα τῆς πολε-
μικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὀνομάζων,
ἔλαβε μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους διορθώσαντος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ
νάρθηκος καλούσιν, εἰχε δὲ ἀεὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐγχειρι-
δίου κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, ὡς Ὁντρί-
κριτος ἴστόρητε, τῶν δὲ ἀλλων βιβλίων οὐκ εὐ-
πορῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις “Ἄρταλον ἐκέλευσε
3 πέμψαι. κάκεύνος ἔπειμψεν αὐτῷ τάς τε Φιλί-
στουν βίβλους καὶ τῶν Εὐριπίδουν καὶ Σοφοκλέους
καὶ Αἰσχύλουν τραγῳδιῶν συχνάς, καὶ Τελέστουν
καὶ Φιλοξένου διθυράμβους. Ἀριστοτέλην δὲ
θαυμάζων ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἀγαπῶν οὐχ ἥττον, ὡς
αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, τοῦ πατρός, ὡς δι' ἐκείνον μὲν ζῶν,
διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν, ὑστερον ὑποπτότερον

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doctrines ; for in what shall I surpass other men if those doctrines wherein I have been trained are to be all men's common property ? But I had rather excel in my acquaintance with the best things than in my power. Farewell." Accordingly, in defending himself, Aristotle encourages this ambition of Alexander by saying that the doctrines of which he spoke were both published and not published ; for in truth his treatise on metaphysics is of no use for those who would either teach or learn the science, but is written as a memorandum for those already trained therem.

VIII. Moreover, in my opinion Alexander's love of the art of healing was inculcated in him by Aristotle preeminently. For he was not only fond of the theory of medicine, but actually came to the aid of his friends when they were sick, and prescribed for them certain treatments and regimens, as one can gather from his letters. He was also by nature a lover of learning and a lover of reading. And since he thought and called the Iliad a viaticum of the military art, he took with him Aristotle's recension of the poem, called the Iliad of the Casket,¹ and always kept it lying with his dagger under his pillow, as Onesicritus informs us ; and when he could find no other books in the interior of Asia, he ordered Harpalus to send him some. So Harpalus sent him the books of Philistus, a great many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, and the dithyrambic poems of Telestus and Philoxenus. Aristotle he admired at the first, and loved him, as he himself used to say, more than he did his father, for that the one had given him life, but the other had taught him a noble life ; later, however,

¹ Cf. chapter xxvi. 1.

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έσχεν, οὐχ ὥστε ποιῆσαι τι κακόν, ἀλλ' αἱ φιλοφροσύναι τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐκένο καὶ στερκτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριότητος ἐγένοντο τεκ-
4 μήριον. ὁ μέντοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπεφυκὼς καὶ συντεθραμμένος ἀπ' ἄρχῆς αὐτῷ ξῆλος καὶ πόθος οὐκ ἔξερρύ τῆς ψυχῆς, ως ἡ περὶ Ἀνάξ-
αρχόν τε τιμὴ καὶ τὰ πεμφθέντα Ξενοκράτει
πεντήκοντα τάλαντα καὶ Δάνδαμις καὶ Καλανὸς
οὕτω σπουδασθέντες μαρτυροῦστι.

IX. Φίλιππον δὲ στρατεύοντος ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους, ἦν μὲν ἑκκαιδεκέτης Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπολειφθεὶς δὲ κύριος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς σφραγίδος, Μαΐδων τε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας κατεστρέψατο, καὶ πόλιν ἐλών αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἐξήλασε, συμμίκτους δὲ κατοικίσας Ἀλεξ-
2 ανδρόπολιν προσηγόρευσεν. ἐν δὲ Χαιρωνείᾳ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλληνας μάχης παρὼν μετέσχε, καὶ λέγεται πρῶτος ἐνσένσαι τῷ ἱερῷ λόχῳ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυτο παλαιὰ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλουμένη δρῦς, πρὸς ἣν τότε κατεσκήνωσε, καὶ τὸ πολυάνδριον οὐ πόρω τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔστιν.

3 Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων, ὡς εἰκός, Φίλιππος ὑπερηγάπτα τὸν νιόν, ὥστε καὶ χαίρειν τῶν Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν βασιλέα, Φίλιππον δὲ στρατηγὸν καλουόντων. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταραχαί, διὰ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας αὐτοῦ τρόπου τινὰ τῆς βασιλείας τῇ γυναικωνίτιδι συννοσούσης,

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he held him in more or less of suspicion, not to the extent of doing him any harm, but his kindly attentions lacked their former ardour and affection towards him, and this was proof of estrangement. However, that eager yearning for philosophy which was imbedded in his nature and which ever grew with his growth, did not subside from his soul, as is testified by the honour in which he held Anaxarchus, by his gift of fifty talents to Xenocrates, and by the attentions which he so lavishly bestowed upon Damasus and Calanus.¹

IX. While Philip was making an expedition against Byzantium,² Alexander, though only sixteen years of age, was left behind as regent in Macedonia and keeper of the royal seal, and during this time he subdued the rebellious Maedi, and after taking their city, drove out the Barbarians, settled there a mixed population, and named the city Alexandropolis. He was also present at Chaeroneia and took part in the battle against the Greeks,³ and he is said to have been the first to break the ranks of the Sacred Band of the Thebans. And even down to our day there was shown an ancient oak by the Cephisus, called Alexander's oak, near which at that time he pitched his tent; and the general sepulchre of the Macedonians is not far away.

In consequence of these exploits, then, as was natural, Philip was excessively fond of his son, so that he even rejoiced to hear the Macedonians call Alexander their king, but Philip their general. However, the disorders in his household, due to the fact that his marriages and amours carried into the kingdom the infection, as it were, which reigned in the

¹ See chapter lxv. ² In 340 B.C. ³ In 338 B.C.

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πολλὰς αἰτίας καὶ μεγάλας διαφορὰς παρεῖχον,
ἄς ἡ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος χαλεπότης, δυσκήλου καὶ
βαρυθύμου γυναικός, ἔτι μείζονας ἐποίει, παροξυ-
+ νούσης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐκφανεστάτην δὲ
"Ἀτταλος παρέσχειν ἐν τοῖς Κλεοπάτρας γάμοις,
ἢν ὁ Φίλιππος ἥγανχετο παρθένον, ἐρασθεὶς παρ'
ἱλικίαν τῆς κόρης. θεῖος γὰρ ὧν αὐτῆς ὁ "Ἀττα-
λος ἐν τῷ πότῳ μεθύων παρεκάλει τοὺς Μακε-
δόνας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ θεῶν γνήσιον ἐκ Φιλίππου
καὶ Κλεοπάτρας γενέσθαι διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας.
ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἰπών,
“Ἡμεῖς δέ σοι, κακὴ κεφαλή, νόθοι δοκοῦμεν;”
δ ἔβαλε σκύφον ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπ'
ἔκεινον ἔξανέστη σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος, εὐτυχίᾳ
δὲ ἔκατέρου διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐπεσε
σφαλείς. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφυβρίζων, “Οὗτος
μέντοι,” εἶπεν, “ἀνδρες, εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξ Εὐρώπης
παρεσκευάζετο διαβαίνειν, δις ἐπὶ κλίνην ἀπὸ
κλίνης διαβαίνων ἀνατέτραπται.” μετὰ ταύτην
τὴν παροινίαν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ
καταστήσας εἰς "Ηπειρον αὐτὸς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς
διέτριβεν.

6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ξένος ὧν
τῆς οἰκίας καὶ παρρησίας μετέχων, ἀφίκετο πρὸς
Φίλιππον. μετὰ δὲ τὰς πρωτας δεξιώσεις καὶ
φιλοφροσύνας ἐπερωτῶντος τοῦ Φιλίππου πῶς
ἔχουσιν ὄμονοίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ "Ἐλληνες,
“Πάνυ γοῦν,” ἔφη, “σοι προσήκει, Φίλιππε,
κήδεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, δις τὸν οἶκον τὸν σεαυτοῦ

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women's apartments, produced many grounds of offence and great quarrels between father and son, and these the bad temper of Olympias, who was a jealous and sullen woman, made still greater, since she spurred Alexander on. The most open quarrel was brought on by Attalus at the marriage of Cleopatra, a maiden whom Philip was taking to wife, having fallen in love with the girl when he was past the age for it¹. Attalus, now, was the girl's uncle, and being in his cups, he called upon the Macedonians to ask of the gods that from Philip and Cleopatra there might be born a legitimate successor to the kingdom. At this Alexander was exasperated, and with the words, "But what of me, base wretch?" Dost thou take me for a bastard?" threw a cup at him. Then Philip rose up against him with drawn sword, but, fortunately for both, his anger and his wine made him trip and fall. Then Alexander, mocking over him, said: "Look now, men! here is one who was preparing to cross from Europe into Asia; and he is upset in trying to cross from couch to couch." After this drunken broil Alexander took Olympias and established her in Epirus, while he himself tarried in Illyria.

Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was a guest-friend of the house and a man of frank speech, came to see Philip. After the first greetings and welcomes were over, Philip asked him how the Greeks were agreeing with one another, and Demaratus replied: "It is surely very fitting, Philip, that thou shouldst be concerned about Greece, when thou hast filled thine own house with such great

¹ Amyot, "hors d'âge et de saison." In consequence of this passion Philip had divorced Olympias.

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στάσεως τοσαύτης καὶ κακῶν ἐμπέπληκας.” οὕτω δὴ συμφρονίσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἔπειμψε καὶ κατήγαγε πείσας διὰ τοῦ Δημαράτου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

Χ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πιξόδαρος, ὁ Καρίας σατράπης, ὑποδυόμενος δὲ οἰκειότητος εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου συμμαχίαν, ἔβούλετο τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν θυγατέρων Ἀρριδαίων τῷ Φιλίππου γυναικα δοῦναι καὶ περὶ τούτων Ἀριστόκριτον εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐθις ἐγίνουντο λόγοι καὶ διαβολαὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῆς μητρὸς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς Ἀρριδαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Φιλίππου γάμοις λαμπτροῦς καὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις εἰσοι-
2 κειοῦντος. ὑφ' ὧν διαταραχθεὶς πέμπει Θεσσαλὸν εἰς Καρίαν, τὸν τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ὑποκριτήν, Πιξόδάρῳ διαλεξόμενον ὡς χρῆ τὸν νόθον ἔάσαντα, καὶ οὐ φρενήρη, μεθαρμόσασθαι τὸ κῆδος εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Πιξόδάρῳ μὲν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἥρεσκε ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων μᾶλλον. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος αἰσθόμενος, ἵλων εἰς τὸ Ἀλέξανδρον δωμάτιον,¹ παραλαβὼν τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων
3 ἔνα, Φιλώταν τὸν Παρμενίωνος, ἐπειμησεν ἴσχυρῶς, καὶ πικρῶς ἐλοιδόρησεν ὡς ἀγεννῆ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαθῶν ἀνάξιον, εἰ Καρὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ βαρβάρῳ βασιλεῖ δουλεύοντος ἀγαπᾶ γαμβρὸς γενέσθαι. τὸν δὲ Θεσσαλὸν ἔγραψε Κορινθίοις ὅπως ἀναπέμψωσιν ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένον. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἔταιρων “Αρπαλον καὶ

¹ ἵλων . . . δωμάτιον an anopymous correction of the MSS.
ὅντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, after Amyot; Sintenis and Bekker adopt ἵντα, the correction of Stephanus (*learning that Alexander was coming*).

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dissension and calamities." Thus brought to his senses, Philip sent and fetched Alexander home, having persuaded him to come through the agency of Demaratus.

X. But when Pixodarus, the satrap of Caria, trying by means of a tie of relationship to steal into a military alliance with Philip, wished to give his eldest daughter in marriage to Arrhidaeus the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus to Macedonia on this errand, once more slanderous stories kept coming to Alexander from his friends and his mother, who said that Philip, by means of a brilliant marriage and a great connexion, was trying to settle the kingdom upon Arrhidaeus. Greatly disturbed by these stories, Alexander sent Thessalus, the tragic actor, to Caria, to argue with Pixodarus that he ought to ignore the bastard brother, who was also a fool, and make Alexander his connexion by marriage. And this plan was vastly more pleasing to Pixodarus than the former. But Philip, becoming aware of this, went to Alexander's chamber, taking with him one of Alexander's friends and companions, Philotas the son of Parmenio, and upbraided his son severely, and bitterly reviled him as ignoble and unworthy of his high estate, in that he desired to become the son-in-law of a man who was a Carian and a slave to a barbarian king. And as for Thessalus, Philip wrote to the Corinthians that they should send him back to Macedonia in chains. Moreover, of the other companions of Alexander, he banished from Mace-

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Νέαρχοι, ἔτι δὲ Ἐρυγύιον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετέστησεν, οὐδὲ ὕστερον Ἀλέξανδρος καταγαγὼν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἔσχε τιμαῖς.

⁴ Ἐπεὶ δὲ Παυσανίας Ἀττάλου γνώμῃ καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ὑβρισθεὶς καὶ μὴ τυχὸν δίκης ἀνεῖλε Φίλιπποι, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον εἰς Ὀλυμπιάδα τῆς αἰτίας περιῆλθεν, ὡς θυμουμένῳ τῷ οἰκανίσκῳ προσεγκελευσαμένην καὶ παροξύνασσαν, ἔθιγε δέ τις καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβολή. λέγεται γὰρ ἐντυχόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Παυσανίου μετὰ τὴν ὑβριν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀποδυρομένου προενέγκασθαι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας ἰαμβεῖον·

τὸν δόντα καὶ γήμαντα καὶ γαμουμένην.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συναιτίους τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναζητήσας ἐκόλασε, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀποδημοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ὡμῶς μεταχειρίσαμένης ἥγανακτησε.

ΧΙ. Παρέλαβε μὲν οὖν ἔτη γεγονώς εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν, φθόνους μεγάλους καὶ δεινὰ μίση καὶ κινδύνους πανταχόθεν ἔχουσαν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ βάρβαρα καὶ πρόσοικα γένη τὴν δούλωσιν ἔφερε, ποθοῦντα τὰς πατρίους βασιλείας, οὔτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα κρατήσας τοὺς ὅπλους ὁ Φίλιππος οἶον καταζεῦξαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι χρόνον ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον

¹ The *Medea* of Euripides, v. 289 (Kirchhoff). The context makes the verse suggest the murder of Attalus, Philip, and Cleopatra.

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dona Harpalus and Nearchus, as well as Erygius and Ptolemy, men whom Alexander afterwards recalled and had in the highest honours.

And so when Pausanias, who had been outrageously dealt with at the instance of Attalus and Cleopatra and could get no justice at Philip's hands, slew Philip, most of the blame devolved upon Olympias, on the ground that she had added her exhortations to the young man's anger and incited him to the deed; but a certain amount of accusation attached itself to Alexander also. For it is said that when Pausanias, after the outrage that he had suffered, met Alexander, and bewailed his fate, Alexander recited to him the iambic verse of the "Medea"¹ :—

"The giver of the bride, the bridegroom, and the bride."

However, he did seek out the participants in the plot and punished them, and was angry with Olympias for her savage treatment of Cleopatra during his absence.²

XI. Thus it was that at the age of twenty years Alexander received the kingdom, which was exposed to great jealousies, dire hatreds, and dangers on every hand. For the neighbouring tribes of Barbarians would not tolerate their servitude, and longed for their hereditary kingdoms; and as for Greece, although Philip had conquered her in the field, he had not had time enough to make her tame under his yoke, but had merely disturbed and changed the

² "After his death Olympias killed Philip's infant son, together with his mother Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, by dragging them over a bronze vessel filled with fire" (Pausanias, viii. 7, 5).

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- μεταβαλῶν καὶ ταράξας τὰ πράγματα πολὺν σάλον ἔχοντα καὶ κίνησιν ὑπὸ ἀηθέιας ἀπέλιπε.
- 2 φοβουμένων δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸν καιρόν, καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πάντας ἀφεῖνας καὶ μὴ προσβιάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἰομένων δεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀφισταμένους τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνακαλεῖσθαι πράσις καὶ θεραπεύειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν, αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἐναντίων λογισμῶν ὅρμησε τόλμη καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνη κτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς, κανὸν ὄτιον ὑφίεμενος ὄφθῆ τοῦ φρονιγμάτος, ἐπιβησομένων 3 ἀπάντων. τὰ μὲν οὖν βαρβαρικὰ κινήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολέμους κατέπαυσεν δξέως ἐπιδραμῶν στρατῷ μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρον, ἥ καὶ Σύρμον ἐνίκησε μάχῃ μεγάλῃ, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Τριβαλλῶν· Θηβαίους δὲ ἀφεστάναι πυθόμενος καὶ συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους, εὐθὺς ἦγε διὰ Πυλῶν τὴν δύναμιν, εἰπὼν ὅτι Δημοσθένει παῖδα μὲν αὐτὸν, ἔως ἦν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς, ἀποκαλούντι, μειράκιον δὲ περὶ Θετταλίαν γενόμενον, βούλεται πρὸς τοῖς Ἀθηναίων τείχεσιν ἀνήρ φανῆμαι.
- 4 Προσμίξας δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις καὶ διδοὺς ἔτι τῶν πεπραγμένων μετάνοιαν ἔξήτει Φοίνικα καὶ Προθύτην, καὶ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀδειαν ἐκήρυττε. τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ἀντεξαιτούν-

¹ In September, 335 B.C. Plutarch makes no mention of a previous expedition of Alexander into Southern Greece, immediately after Philip's death, when he received the submis-

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condition of affairs there, and then left them in a great surge and commotion, owing to the strangeness of the situation. The Macedonian counsellors of Alexander had fears of the crisis, and thought he should give up the Greek states altogether and use no more compulsion there, and that he should call the revolting Barbarians back to their allegiance by mild measures and try to arrest the first symptoms of their revolutions; but he himself set out from opposite principles to win security and safety for his realm by boldness and a lofty spirit, assured that, were he seen to abate his dignity even but a little, all his enemies would set upon him. Accordingly, he put a speedy stop to the disturbances and wars among the Barbarians by overrunning their territories with an army as far as to the river Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, the king of the Triballi, and defeated him; and on learning that the Thebans had revolted and that the Athenians were in sympathy with them, he immediately led his forces through the pass of Thermopylae, declaring that since Demosthenes had called him a boy while he was among the Illyrians and Triballians, and a stripling when he had reached Thessaly, he wished to show him that before the walls of Athens he was a man.

Arrived before Thebes,¹ and wishing to give her still a chance to repent of what she had done, he merely demanded the surrender of Phoenix and Prothytes, and proclaimed an amnesty for those who came over to his side. But the Thebans made

sion of all the Greek states except Sparta, and was made commander-in-chief of the expedition against Persia, in Philip's place. See Arrian, *Anab.* i. 1.

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των μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ Φιλώταν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον,
κηρυττόντων δὲ τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα βουλομένους
συνελευθεροῦν τάττεσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν, οὗτως
5 ἔτρεψε τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς πόλεμον. ἡγω-
νίσθη μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ δύναμις ἀρετῆ καὶ προθυμία
παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων¹ πολλαπλασίους οὖσι τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἀντιταχθέντων ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Καδ-
μείαν ἀφέντες οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπέ-
πιπτον αὐτοῖς ἔξόπισθεν, κυκλωθέντες οἱ πλεῖστοι
κατὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτὴν ἐπεσού, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἥλω
καὶ διαρπασθέσα κατεσκάφη, τὸ μὲν ὅλον προσ-
δοκήσαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐκπλαγέντας
πάθει τηλικούτῳ καὶ πτήξαντας ἀτρεμήσειν,
ἄλλως δὲ καὶ καλλωπισαμένου χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς
τῶν συμμάχων ἐγκλήμασι· καὶ γὰρ Φωκεῖς καὶ
6 Πλαταιεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγόρησαν. ὑπεξε-
λόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἔνεους τῶν Μακε-
δόνων ἀπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πινδάρου γεγονότας
καὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντιωθέντας τοὺς ψηφισαμένους τὴν
ἀπόστασιν, ἀπέδοτο τοὺς ἄλλους περὶ τρισμυρίους
γενομένους· οἱ δὲ ἀποθανόντες ὑπὲρ ἔξακισχι-
λίους ἦσαν.

XII. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς πάθεσι καὶ χαλεποῖς
ἐκείνοις ἢ τὴν πόλιν κατεῖχε, Θρᾶκες τινες ἐκκό-
ψαντες οἰκίαν Τιμοκλείας, γυναικὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ
σώφρονος, αὐτοὶ μὲν τὰ χρήματα διήρπαξον, ὃ δὲ
ἡγεμὸν τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς βίᾳν συγγενόμενος καὶ
καταισχύνας, ἀνέκρινεν εἴ του χρυσίον ἔχοι κε-
2 κρυμμένον ἢ ἀργύριον. ἡ δὲ ἔχειν ὀμολόγησε,

¹ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων Coraes and Bekker, following Reiske :
τὰ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων.

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a counter-demand that he should surrender to them Philotas and Antipater, and made a counter-proclamation that all who wished to help in setting Greece free should range themselves with them ; and so Alexander set his Macedonians to the work of war. On the part of the Thebans, then, the struggle was carried on with a spirit and valour beyond their powers, since they were arrayed against an enemy who was many times more numerous than they ; but when the Macedonian garrison also, leaving the citadel of the Cadmeia, fell upon them in the rear, most of them were surrounded, and fell in the battle itself, and their city was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. This was done, in the main, because Alexander expected that the Greeks would be terrified by so great a disaster and cower down in quiet, but apart from this, he also plumed himself on gratifying the complaints of his allies ; for the Phocians and Plataeans had denounced the Thebans. So after separating out the priests, all who were guest-friends of the Macedonians, the descendants of Pindar,¹ and those who had voted against the revolt, he sold the rest into slavery, and they proved to be more than thirty thousand ; those who had been slain were more than six thousand.

XII. Among the many and grievous calamities which thus possessed the city, some Thracians broke into the house of Timocleia, a woman of high repute and chastity, and while the rest were plundering her property, their leader shamefully violated her, and then asked her if she had gold or silver concealed anywhere. She admitted that she had, and after

¹ “ And we are told that Alexander preserved the house of Pindar the poet, and the descendants of Pindar, out of regard for Pindar ” (Arrian, *Anab.* 1. 9, 10).

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καὶ μόνον εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ δείξασα φρέαρ, ἐνταῦθα ἔφη τῆς πόλεως ἀλισκομένης καταβαλεῖν αὐτὴν τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν χρημάτων. ἐγκύπτοντος δὲ τοῦ Θρακὸς καὶ κατασκεπτομένου τὸν τόπον, ἔωσεν αὐτὸν ἐξόπισθεν γενομένη, καὶ τῶν λίθων ἐπεμβαλοῦσα πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.
3 ὡς δὲ ἀνήχθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν δεδεμένη, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῆς βαδίσεως ἐφάνη τις ἀξιωματικὴ καὶ μεγαλόφρων, ἀνεκπλήκτως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐπομένη τοῖς ἄγουσιν· ἔπειτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτήσαντος ἃτις εἴη γυναικῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο Θεαγένους ἀδελφὴ γεγονέναι, τοῦ παραταξαμένου πρὸς Φύλιππον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ πεσόντος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ στρατιγοῦντος. θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐλευθέραν ἀπιέναι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων.

XIII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ διηλάγη, καίπερ οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκοῦσι τὸ περὶ Θήβας δυστύχημα· καὶ γάρ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων ἑορτὴν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ὑπὸ πένθους ἀφῆκαν, καὶ τοῖς καταφυγοῦσιν ἐπὶ¹ τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων μετεδίδοσαν τῶν φιλανθρώπων. ἀλλ’ εἴτε μεστὸς ὁν ἥδη τὸν θυμόν, ὕσπερ οἱ λέοντες, εἴτε ἐπιεικὲς ἔργον ὡμοτάτῳ καὶ σκυθρωποτάτῳ παραβαλεῖν βουλόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀφῆκεν αἰτίας πάσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέχειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς, εἴ τι συμβαίνῃ περὶ αὐτόν, ἀρξουσαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ὕστερον μέντοι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἡ Θηβαίων ἀνιᾶσαι συμφορὰ λέγεται καὶ πραότερον οὐκ ὀλίγοις 3 παρασχέν. ὅλως δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Κλείτον ἔργον

¹ καταφυγοῦσιν ἐπὶ Bekker corrects to φυγοῦσιν εἰς.

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leading him by himself into the garden and showing him a well, told him that when the city was taken she had with her own hands cast in there her most valuable possessions. Then, as the Thracian was bending over and inspecting the place, she came behind him and pushed him in, cast many stones upon him, and killed him. And when the Thracians led her, with hands bound, to Alexander, she showed by her mien and gait that she was a person of great dignity and lofty spirit, so calmly and fearlessly did she follow her conductors; and when the king asked her who she was, she replied that she was a sister of Theagenes, who drew up the forces which fought Philip in behalf of the liberty of the Greeks, and fell in command at Chaeroneia. Amazed, therefore, at her reply and at what she had done, Alexander bade her depart in freedom with her children.

XIII. Furthermore, he was reconciled with the Athenians, although they showed exceeding sorrow at the misfortunes of Thebes; for although they had begun the festival of the mysteries, they gave it up in consequence of their grief,¹ and upon the Thebans who sought refuge in their city they bestowed every kindness. But notwithstanding this, whether his rage was now sated, as a lion's might be, or whether he wished to offset a deed of the most sullen savagery with one that was merciful, he not only remitted all his charges against the city, but even bade it give good heed to its affairs, since, if anything should happen to him, it would have the rule over Greece. In later times, moreover, as we are told, the calamity of the Thebans often gave him remorse, and made him milder towards many people. And certainly the

¹ According to Arrian (i. 10, 2), it was from panic fright.

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ἐν οῖνῳ γενόμενον καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀποδειλίασιν, ὥσπερ ἀτέλη τὴν στρατείαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ προεμένων, εἰς μῆνυν ἀνήγε Διονύσου καὶ νέμεσιν. ἦν δὲ Θηβαίων οὐδεὶς τῶν περιγενομένων ὃς ἐντυχών τι καὶ δεηθεὶς ὑστερον οὐ διεπράξατο παρ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Θῆβας.

XIV. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλεγέντων καὶ Ψηφισαμένων ἐπὶ Πέρσας μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύειν ἡγεμῶν ἀνηγορεύθη. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀπηντηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ συνηδομένων, ἡλπιζε καὶ Διογένην τὸν Σινωπέα ταῦτα ποιήσειν, διατρίβοντα 2 περὶ Κόρινθου, ὡς δὲ ἔκεινος, ἐλάχιστον Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγον ἔχων ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ σχολὴν ἡγεν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν· ἔτυχε δὲ κατακείμενος ἐν ἡλίῳ. καὶ μικρὸν μὲν ἀνεκάθισεν, ἀνθρώπων τοσούτων ἐπερχομένων, καὶ διέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Ἀλεξανδρού. ὡς δὲ ἔκεινος ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν αὐτὸν ἡρώτησεν εἴ τινος τυγχάνει δεόμενος, “Μικρόν,” εἶπεν, “ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μετά-
3 στηθί.” πρὸς τοῦτο λέγεται τὸν Ἀλεξανδρού οὕτω διατεθῆναι καὶ θαυμάσαι καταφρονηθέντα τὴν ὑπεροφίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥστε τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν, ὡς ἀπήσεσσαν, διαγελώντων καὶ σκωπτόντων, “Αλλὰ μὴν ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ Ἀλεξανδρος ἡμην, Διογένης ἀν ἡμην.”

¹ See chapter li. ² See chapter lxi.

³ This god was said to have been born of Semele, daughter of Cadmus the founder of Thebes.

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murder of Cleitus,¹ which he committed in his cups, and the cowardly refusal of his Macedonians to follow him against the Indians,² whereby they as it were robbed his expedition and his glory of their consummation, he was wont to attribute to the vengeful wrath of Dionysus.³ And there was not a Theban of those that survived who afterwards came to him with any request and did not get what he wanted from him. Thus much concerning Thebes.⁴

XIV. And now a general assembly of the Greeks was held at the Isthmus,⁵ where a vote was passed to make an expedition against Persia with Alexander, and he was proclaimed their leader. Thereupon many statesmen and philosophers came to him with their congratulations, and he expected that Diogenes of Sinope also, who was tarrying in Corinth, would do likewise. But since that philosopher took not the slightest notice of Alexander, and continued to enjoy his leisure in the suburb Craneion, Alexander went in person to see him; and he found him lying in the sun. Diogenes raised himself up a little when he saw so many persons coming towards him, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. And when that monarch addressed him with greetings, and asked if he wanted anything, "Yes," said Diogenes, "stand a little out of my sun." It is said that Alexander was so struck by this, and admired so much the haughtiness and grandeur of the man who had nothing but scorn for him, that he said to his followers, who were laughing and jesting about the philosopher as they went away, "But verily, if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes."

¹ For a full account of Alexander's capture and destruction of Thebes, see Arrian, *Anab.* i. 8 f.

² See the note on xi. 5.

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- 4 Βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ θεῷ χρήσασθαι περὶ τῆς στρατείας ἥλθεν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων οὐσῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐ νευόμισται θεμιστεύειν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπεμπε παρακαλῶν τὴν πρόμαντιν, ὡς δὲ ἀρνουμένης καὶ προισχομένης τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς βίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἴλκεν αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ ὕσπερ ἐξητημένη τῆς σπουδῆς εἶπεν· “Ανίκητος εἰ, ὁ παῖ,” τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκέτι ἔφη χρῆζεν ἑτέρου μαντεύματος, ἀλλ’ ἔχειν ὃν ἐβούλετο παρ’ αὐτῆς χρησμόν.
- 5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἄλλα τε δοκεῖ σημεῖα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ Λείβηθρα τοῦ Ὄρφέως ξόανον (ἥν δὲ κυπαρίστινον) ἴδρωτα πολὺν ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἀφῆκε, φοβουμένων δὲ πάντων τὸ σημεῖον, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν, ὡς ἀσιδίμους καὶ περιβοήτους κατεργασόμενον πράξεις, ἀλλ’ πολὺν ἴδρωτα καὶ πόνον ὑμνοῦσι ποιηταῖς καὶ μουσικοῖς παρέξουσι.
- XV. Τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ μὲν ἐλάχιστον λέγοντες τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἵππεῖς, οἱ δὲ πλειστον πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἵππεας δὲ πεντακισχιλίους ἀναγράφουσιν. ἐφόδιον δὲ τούτοις οὐ πλέον ἐβδομήκοντα ταλάντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος ἴστορεν, Δοῦρις δὲ τριάκοντα μόνον ἡμερῶν διατροφήν, ¹ Οὐησίκριτος δὲ καὶ διακό² σια τάλαντα προσοφείλειν. ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀπὸ μικρῶν καὶ στενῶν οὐτως ὄρμώμενος, οὐ πρότερον

¹ In the early spring of 334 B.C.
² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* i. 11, 2.

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And now, wishing to consult the god concerning the expedition against Asia, he went to Delphi; and since he chanced to come on one of the mauspicious days, when it is not lawful to deliver oracles, in the first place he sent a summons to the prophetess. And when she refused to perform her office and cited the law in her excuse, he went up himself and tried to drag her to the temple, whereupon, as if overcome by his ardour, she said: "Thou art invincible, my son!" On hearing this, Alexander said he desired no further prophecy, but had from her the oracle which he wanted.

Moreover, when he set out upon his expedition,¹ it appears that there were many signs from heaven, and, among them, the image of Orpheus at Leibethra (it was made of cypress-wood) sweated profusely at about that time. Most people feared the sign, but Aristander bade Alexander be of good cheer, assured that he was to perform deeds worthy of song and story, which would cost poets and musicians much toil and sweat to celebrate.²

XV. As to the number of his forces, those who put it at the smallest figure mention thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse; those who put it at the highest, forty-three thousand foot and five thousand horse.³ To provision these forces, Aristobulus says he had not more than seventy talents; Duris speaks of maintenance for only thirty days; and Onesicritus says he owed two hundred talents besides. But although he set out with such meagre and narrow resources, he would not set foot upon his ship until

¹ "Not much more than thirty thousand foot, including light-armed troops and archers, and over five thousand horse" (Arrian, *Anab.* i. 11, 3).

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ἐπέβη τῆς νεώς ἢ τὰ τῶν ἔταιρων πράγματα σκεψάμενος ἀπονείμαι τῷ μὲν ἀγρόν, τῷ δὲ κώμην, τῷ δὲ συνοικίας πρόσοδον ἢ λιμένος. ἦδη δὲ κατανηλωμένων καὶ διαγεγραμμένων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν βασιλικῶν ὁ Περδίκκας “Σεαυτῷ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τί καταλείπεις;” τοῦ δὲ φίσαντος ὅτι τὰς ἐλπίδας, “Οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἡμεῖς τούτων κοινωνήσομεν οἱ μετὰ σοῦ στρατεύμενοι.” παραιτησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Περδίκκου τὴν διαγεγραμμένην κτῆσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἔνιοι τὸ αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν. τοῖς δὲ λαμβάνοντος καὶ δεομένοις προθύμως ἔχαρίζετο, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ διανέμων οὕτως κατηνάλωσε. τοιαύτη μὲν ὁρμῇ καὶ παρασκευῇ διανοίας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διεπέρασεν.

4 Ἀναβάς δὲ εἰς Ἰλιον ἔθυσε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἔσπεισε. τὴν δὲ Ἀχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἔταιρων συναναδραμῶν γυμνός, ωσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστεφάνωσε, μακαρίσας αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ζῶν φίλου πιστοῦ καὶ 5 τελευτήσας μεγάλου κήρυκος ἔτυχεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιεἴναι καὶ θεᾶσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐρομένου τινὸς αὐτὸν εἰ βούλεται τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου λύραν ἰδεῖν, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζειν ἐκεύνης ἔφη, τὴν δ' Ἀχιλλέως ζητεῖν, ἢ τὰ κλέα καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὅμνει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνος.

XVI. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Δαρείου στρατηγῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἡθροικότων καὶ παρατεταγμένων ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Γραυικοῦ, μάχεσθαι μὲν

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he had enquired into the circumstances of his companions and allotted to one a farm, to another a village, and to another the revenue from some hamlet or harbour. And when at last nearly all of the crown property had been expended or allotted, Perdiccas said to him : “ But for thyself, O king, what art thou leaving ? ” And when the king answered, “ My hopes,” “ In these, then,” said Perdiccas, “ we also will share who make the expedition with thee.” Then he declined the possessions which had been allotted to him, and some of the other friends of Alexander did likewise. But upon those who wanted and would accept his favours Alexander bestowed them readily, and most of what he possessed in Macedonia was used up in these distributions. Such was the ardour and such the equipment with which he crossed the Hellespont.

Then, going up to Ilum, he sacrificed to Athena and poured libations to the heroes. Furthermore, the gravestone of Achilles he anointed with oil, ran a race by it with his companions, naked, as is the custom, and then crowned it with garlands, pronouncing the hero happy in having, while he lived, a faithful friend, and after death, a great herald of his fame. As he was going about and viewing the sights of the city, someone asked him if he wished to see the lyre of Paris. “ For that lyre,” said Alexander, “ I care very little ; but I would gladly see that of Achilles, to which he used to sing the glorious deeds of brave men.”¹

XVI. Meanwhile the generals of Dareius had assembled a large force and set it in array at the crossing of the river Granicus, so that it was prac-

¹ See the *Iliad*, ix. 185-191.

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ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν πύλαις τῆς Ἀσίας,
περὶ τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ τὸ
βάθος καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν
πέραν ὅχθων, πρὸς οὓς ἔδει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀπό-
βασιν μετὰ μάχης, τῶν πλείστων δεδιότων, ἐνίων
δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν μῆνα νενομισμένον οἰομένων
2 δεῦν φυλάξασθαι (Δαισίου γάρ οὐκ εἰώθεισαν οἱ
Βασιλεὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔξαγειν τὴν στρατιάν),
τοῦτο μὲν ἐπηρωθώσατο κελεύσας δεύτερον
Ἄρτεμίσιον ἄγειν, τοῦ δὲ Παρμενίωνος, ὡς ὁφὲ
τῆς ὥρας οὔσης, οὐκ ἐώντος ἀποκινδυνεύειν, εἰπὼν
αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον εἰ φοβήσεται τὸν
Γρανικὸν διαβεβηκὼς ἐκείνον, ἐμβάλλει τῷ ρεύ-
3 ματι σὺν Ἰλαις ἵππεων τρισκαΐδεκα. καὶ πρὸς
ἐναντίᾳ βέλη καὶ τόπους ἀπορρώγας ὅπλοις
καταπεφραγμένους καὶ ἵπποις ἐλαύνων, καὶ διὰ
ρεύματος παραφέρουστος καὶ περικλύζοντος, ἔδοξε
μανικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ
στρατηγεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐμφὺς τῇ διαβάσει καὶ
κρατήσας τῶν τόπων χαλεπώς καὶ μόλις, ὑγρῶν
καὶ περισφαλῶν γενομένων διὰ τὸν πηλόν, εὐθὺς
ἡναγκάζετο φύρδην μάχεσθαι καὶ κατ’ ἄνδρα
συμπλέκεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιφερομένοις, πρὶν εἰς τάξιν
4 τωὰ καταστῆναι τοὺς διαβαίνοντας. ἐνέκειντο
γάρ κραυγὴν, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραβάλλοντες
τοὺς ἵππους ἐχρῶντο δόρασι, καὶ ξίφεσι τῶν δορά-
των συντριβέντων. ὡσαμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπ’
αὐτὸν (ἥν δὲ τῇ πέλτῃ καὶ τοῦ κράνους τῇ χαίτῃ
διαπρεπής, ἥς ἐκατέρωθεν είστηκει πτερὸν λευκό-

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tically necessary to fight, as it were at the gates of Asia, for entrance and dominion there. But most of the Macedonian officers were afraid of the depth of the river, and of the roughness and unevenness of the farther banks, up which they would have to climb while fighting. Some, too, thought they ought to observe carefully the customary practice in regard to the month (for in the month of Daesius the kings of Macedonia were not wont to take the field with an army). This objection Alexander removed by bidding them call the month a second Artemisius; and when Parmenio, on the ground that it was too late in the day, objected to their risking the passage, he declared that the Hellespont would blush for shame, if, after having crossed that strait, he should be afraid of the Granicus, and plunged into the stream with thirteen troops of horsemen. And since he was charging against hostile missiles and precipitous positions covered with infantry and cavalry, and through a stream that swept men off their feet and surged about them, he seemed to be acting like a frenzied and foolish commander rather than a wise one. However, he persisted in his attempt to cross, gained the opposite banks with difficulty and much ado, though they were moist and slippery with mud, and was at once compelled to fight pell-mell and engage his assailants man by man, before his troops who were crossing could form into any order. For the enemy pressed upon them with loud shouts, and matching horse with horse, plied their lances, and their swords when their lances were shattered. Many rushed upon Alexander, for he was conspicuous by his buckler and by his helmet's crest, on either side of which was fixed a plume of wonderful size and

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τιητι καὶ μεγέθει θαυμαστόν), ἀκοντισθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν ὑποπτυχίδα τοῦ θώρακος οὐκ ἐτρώθη, 'Ροισάκου δὲ καὶ Σπιθριδάτου τῶν στρατηγῶν προσφερομένων ἄμα, τὸν μὲν ἐκκλίνας, 'Ροισάκη δὲ προεμβαλὼν τεθωρακισμένῳ καὶ τὸ δόρυ κατα-
5 κλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ὥρμησε. συμπεπτω-
κότων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης ὑποστήσας ἐκ πλαγίου τὸν ἵππον καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς συνεξανα-
στὰς κοπίδι βαρβαρικῇ κατήνεγκε· καὶ τὸν μὲν λόφον ἀπέρραξε μετὰ θατέρου πτεροῦ, τὸ δὲ κρά-
νος πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν ἀκριβώς καὶ μόλις ἀντέ-
σχεν, ὅστε τῶν πρώτων ψαῦσαι τριχῶν τὴν πτέ-
ρυγα τῆς κοπίδος. ἔτέραν δὲ τὸν Σπιθριδάτην πάλιν ἐπαιρόμενον ἔφθασε Κλεῖτος ὁ μέλας τῷ
ξυστῷ διελάσας μέσον. ὅμοι δὲ καὶ 'Ροισάκης ἐπεσεν ὑπὸ 'Αλεξάνδρου ξίφει πληγείς.

6 'Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κινδύνου καὶ ἀγῶνος οὕσης τῆς ἱππομαχίας ἡ τε φάλαγξ διέβαινε τῶν Μακεδό-
νων καὶ συνῆγον αἱ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις. οὐ μὴν ὑπέ-
στησαν εὐρώστως οὐδὲ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον
τραπόμενοι, πλὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων 'Ελλήνων.
οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς τινι λόφῳ συστάντες ἤτουν τὰ
7 πιστὰ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ θυμῷ μᾶλλον ἦ
λογισμῷ πρώτος ἐμβαλὼν τόν τε ἵππον ἀποβάλ-
λει ξίφει πληγέντα διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν (ἥν δὲ ἔτε-
ρος, οὐχ ὁ Βουκεφάλας), καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν
ἀποθανόντων καὶ τραυματισθέντων ἐκεῖ συνέβη
κινδυνεύσαι καὶ πεσεῖν, πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεγνω-
κότας καὶ μαχίμους συμπλεκομένους.

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whiteness. But although a javelin pierced the joint of his breastplate, he was not wounded, and when Rhoesaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, made at him together, he avoided the one, and smote Rhoesaces, who wore a breastplate, with his spear, and when this weapon snapped in two with the blow, he took to his sword. Then, while he was thus engaged with Rhoesaces, Spithridates rode up from one side, raised himself up on his horse, and with all his might came down with a barbarian battle-axe upon Alexander's head. Alexander's crest was broken off, together with one of its plumes, and his helmet could barely and with difficulty resist the blow, so that the edge of the battle-axe touched the topmost hair of his head. But while Spithridates was raising his arm again for another stroke, Cleitus, "Black Cleitus," got the start of him and ran him through the body with his spear. At the same time Rhoesaces also fell, smitten by Alexander's sword.

While Alexander's cavalry were making such a dangerous and furious fight, the Macedonian phalanx crossed the river and the infantry forces on both sides engaged. The enemy, however, did not resist vigorously, nor for a long time, but fled in a rout, all except the Greek mercenaries. These made a stand at a certain eminence, and asked that Alexander should promise them quarter. But he, influenced by anger more than by reason, charged foremost upon them and lost his horse, which was smitten through the ribs with a sword (it was not Bucephalus, but another); and most of the Macedonians who were slain or wounded fought or fell there, since they came to close quarters with men who knew how to fight and were desperate.

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Λέγονται δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι τῶν βαρβάρων,
ἴππεῖς δὲ δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι πεσεῖν. τῶν δὲ
περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀριστόβουλός φησι τέσ-
σαρας καὶ τριάκοντα νεκροὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς
8 πάντας, ὃν ἐννέα πεζοὺς εἶναι. τούτων μὲν οὖν
ἔκελευσεν εἰκόνας ἀνασταθῆναι χαλκᾶς, ἀς Λύ-
σιππος εἰργάσατο. κοινούμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην
τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἴδιᾳ μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπεμψε
τῶν ἀλχμαλώτων τριακοσίας ἀσπίδας, κοινῇ δὲ
τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις ἔκελευσεν ἐπιγράψαι φιλο-
τιμοτάτην ἐπιγραφήν· "Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου
καὶ οἱ "Ελληνες πλὴν Δακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν
βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων." ἐκ-
πωμάτα δὲ καὶ πορφύρας, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τῶν
Περσικῶν ἔλαβε, πάντα τῇ μητρὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων
ἐπεμψεν.

XVII. Οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν μεγάλην εὐθὺς ἐποίησε
τῷν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον,
ὅστε καὶ Σάρδεις, τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσ-
ση τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγεμονίας, παραλαβεῖν καὶ
τὰλλα προστίθεσθαι. μόνη δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσὸς
ἀντέστη καὶ Μίλητος, ἀς ἐλών κατὰ κράτος καὶ
τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς πάντα χειρωσάμενος ἀμφίβολος
2 ἥν πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ γυνώμῃ. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν
ἔσπευδε Δαρείῳ συμπεισών ἀποκινδυνεύσαι περὶ
τῶν ὄλων, πολλάκις δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πρά-
γμασι καὶ χρήμασι διενοεῖτο πρώτον οἷον ἑνα-
σκήσας καὶ ρώσας αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ'

¹ Diodorus (xvi. 21, 6) says that more than ten thousand Persian footmen fell, and not less than two thousand horsemen; while over twenty thousand were taken prisoners.

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Of the Barbarians, we are told, twenty thousand footmen fell, and twenty-five hundred horsemen.¹ But on Alexander's side, Aristobulus says there were thirty-four dead in all, of whom nine were footmen. Of these, then, Alexander ordered statues to be set up in bronze, and Lysippus wrought them.² Moreover, desiring to make the Greeks partners in his victory, he sent to the Athenians in particular three hundred of the captured shields, and upon the rest of the spoils in general he ordered a most ambitious inscription to be wrought: "Alexander the son of Philip and all the Greeks except the Lacedaemonians from the Barbarians who dwell in Asia." But the drinking vessels and the purple robes and whatever things of this nature he took from the Persians, all these, except a few, he sent to his mother.

XVII. This contest at once made a great change in the situation to Alexander's advantage, so that he received the submission even of Sardis, the bulwark of the barbarian dominion on the sea-coast, and added the rest of the country to his conquests. Halicarnassus alone withstood him, and Miletus, which cities he took by storm³ and subdued all the territories about them. Then he was in doubt as to his future course. Many times he was eager to encounter Dareius and put the whole issue to hazard, and many times he would make up his mind to practice himself first, as it were, and strengthen himself by acquiring the regions along the sea with their resources, and

² According to Arrian (*Anab.* i. 16, 4), about twenty-five of Alexander's companions, a select corps, fell at the first onset, and it was of these that Alexander ordered statues to be made by Lysippus.

³ The siege and capture of these cities occupied Alexander till the late autumn of 334 B.C.

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έκεινον. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Λυκίας κριήνη περὶ τὴν Ξανθίων πόλιν, ἡς τότε λέγουσιν αὐτομάτως περιτραπέσιης καὶ ὑπερβαλούσης ἐκ βυθοῦ δέλτοι ἐκπεσεῖν χαλκῆν τύπους ἔχουσαν ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἐδηλούτο παύσεσθαι¹ τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχῆν ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων καταλυθεῖσαν.
3 τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς ἡπείγετο τὴν παραλίαν ἀνακαθίρασθαι μέχρι τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας. ἡ δὲ τῆς Παμφυλίας παραδρομὴ πολλοῖς γέγονε τῶν ἴστορικῶν ὑπύθεσις γραφικὴ πρὸς ἔκπληξιν καὶ ὄγκον, ὡς θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ παραχωρήσασαν Ἀλεξανδρῷ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἄλλως ἀεὶ τραχεῖαν ἐκ πελάγους προσφερομένην, σπανίως δέ ποτε λεπτοὺς καὶ προσεχεῖς ὑπὸ τὰ κρημνώδη καὶ παρερρωγότα τῆς ὁρεινῆς πάγους διακαλύπτουν
4 σαν. δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ παίζων πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον·

ώς Ἀλεξανδρῶδες ἥδη τοῦτο· κὰν ζητῶ τινα,
αὐτόματος οὗτος παρέσται· κὰν διελθεῖν δηλαδὴ
διὰ θαλάσσης δέη τόπον τιν', οὗτος ἔσται μοι
βατός.

αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐδὲν τοιούτον τερατευσάμενος ὁδοποιῆσαι φησι τὴν

¹ παύσεσθαι Sintenis², with C and Stephanus; παύσασθαι Sintenis² and Bekker.

¹ According to Aelian (*Anab.* i. 26, 1 f.), there is no route along this beach except when the north wind blows. "But at that time, after strong south winds, the north winds

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then to go up against that monarch. Now, there is in Lycia, near the city of Xanthus, a spring, which at this time, as we are told, was of its own motion upheaved from its depths, and overflowed, and cast forth a bronze tablet bearing the prints of ancient letters, in which it was made known that the empire of the Persians would one day be destroyed by the Greeks and come to an end. Encouraged by this prophecy, Alexander hastened to clear up the sea-coast as far as Cilicia and Phoenicia. His rapid passage along the coasts of Pamphylyha has afforded many historians material for bombastic and terrifying description. They imply that by some great and heaven-sent good fortune the sea retired to make way for Alexander, although at other times it always came rolling in with violence from the main, and scarcely ever revealed to sight the small rocks which lie close up under the precipitous and riven sides of the mountain.¹ And Menander, in one of his comedies,² evidently refers jestingly to this marvel :—

“ How Alexander-like, indeed, this is ; and if I seek
some one,
Spontaneous he'll present himself, and if I clearly
must
Pass through some place by sea, this will lie open
to my steps.”

Alexander himself, however, made no such prodigy out of it in his letters, but says that he marched by

blew, and rendered his passage easy and quick, not without the divine intervention, as both he and his followers interpreted.”

² Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii p. 240.

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λεγομένην Κλίμακα καὶ διελθεῖν ὄρμησας ἐκ
3 Φασηλίδος. διὸ καὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ πό-
λει διέτριψεν ἐν αἷς καὶ Θεοδέκτου τεθνηκότος
(ἥν δὲ Φασηλίτης) ιδὼν εἰκόνα ἀνακειμένην ἐν
ἀγορᾷ, μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐπεκώμασε μεθύων καὶ τῶν
στεφάνων ἐπέρριψε πολλούς, οὐκ ἄχαριν ἐν
παιδιῷ ἀποδίδοντι τιμῆν τῇ γενομένῃ δὶ' Ἀρι-
στοτέλην καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὅμιλίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα.

XVIII. Μετὰ ταῦτα Πισιδῶν τε τοὺς ἀντι-
στάντας ἥρει καὶ Φρυγίαν ἔχειροῦτο· καὶ Γόρδιον
πόλιν, ἐστίαν Μίδου τοῦ παλαιοῦ γενέσθαι λεγο-
μένην, παραλαβών, τὴν θρυλουμένην ἄμαξαν εἶδε
φλοιῷ κρανίας ἐνδεδεμένην, καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῇ
πιστευόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἤκουσεν, ὡς τῷ
λύσαντι τὸν δεσμὸν εἴμαρται βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι
2 τῆς οἰκουμένης. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοί φασι, τῶν
δεσμῶν τυφλᾶς ἔχόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ δὶ' ἀλλή-
λων πολλάκις σκολιοῦς ἐλιγμοῖς ὑποφερομένων,
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀμηχανοῦντα λῆσαι διατεμένην
τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸ σύναμμα, καὶ πολλᾶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ
κοπέντος ἀρχὰς φανῆναι. Ἀριστάβουλος δὲ καὶ
πάνυ λέγει ράδιαν αὐτῷ τὴν λύσιν γενέσθαι,
ἐξελόντι τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸν ἔστορα καλούμενον, ὃ
συνείχετο τὸ ξυγόδεσμον, εἰθ' οὕτως ὑφελκύσαντι
τὸν ζυγόν.

3 Ἐντεῦθεν Παφλαγόνας τε καὶ Καππαδόκας
προσαγαγόμενος, καὶ τὴν Μέμνονος ἀκούσας
τελευτήν, ὃς τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Δαρείου στρατη-

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way of the so-called Ladder, and passed through it, setting out from Phaselis. This was the reason for his spending several days in that city, during which he noticed that a statue of Theodectas, a deceased citizen of Phaselis, had been erected in the market-place. Once, therefore, after supper and in his cups, he led a band of revellers to the statue and crowned it with many of their garlands, thus in pleasantry returning no ungraceful honour for the past association with the man which he owed to Aristotle and philosophy.

XVIII. After this, he overpowered such of the Pisidians as had offered him resistance, and subdued Phrygia; and after he had taken the city of Gordium,¹ reputed to have been the home of the ancient Midas, he saw the much-talked-of waggon bound fast to its yoke with bark of the cornel-tree, and heard a story confidently told about it by the Barbarians, to the effect that whosoever loosed the fastening was destined to become king of the whole world. Well, then, most writers say that since the fastenings had their ends concealed, and were intertwined many times in crooked coils, Alexander was at a loss how to proceed, and finally loosened the knot by cutting it through with his sword, and that when it was thus smitten many ends were to be seen. But Aristobulus says that he undid it very easily, by simply taking out the so-called "hestor," or *pin*, of the waggon-pole, by which the yoke-fastening was held together, and then drawing away the yoke.²

Setting out from there, he subdued Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and on hearing of the death of Memnon, one of the commanders of Dareius on the

¹ Early in 333 B.C. ² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 3

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γῶν ἐπίδοξος ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ πράγματα καὶ μυρίας ἀντιλήψεις καὶ ἀσχολίας παρέξειν, + ἐπερρώσθη πρὸς τὴν ἄνω στρατείαν μᾶλλον. ἦδη δὲ καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐκ Σουσων κατέβαινεν, ἐπαιρόμενός τε τῷ πλήθει τῆς δυνάμεως (έξηκοντα γὰρ ἥγε μυριάδας στρατοῦ), καί τινος ὀνείρου θαρρύνοντος αὐτόν, ὃν οἱ μάγοι πρὸς χάριν ἔξηγοῦντο μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός. ἔδοξε γὰρ πυρὶ νέμεσθαι πολλῷ τὴν Μακεδόνιων φάλαγγα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα στολὴν ἦν αὐτὸς ἐφόρει πρότερον ἀστάνδης ὃν βασιλέως, ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ παρελθόντα δὲ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Βήλου τέμενος ἀφανῆ⁵ γενέσθαι. διὰ τούτων, ὡς ἕοικεν, ὑπεδηλοῦντο παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπρὰ μὲν γενήσεσθαι καὶ περιφανῆ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας κρατήσειν, ὅσπερ ἐκράτησε Δαρεῖος ἐξ ἀστάνδου βασιλεὺς γενόμενος, ταχὺ δὲ σὺν δόξῃ τὸν βίον ἀπολείψειν.

XIX. Ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθάρρησε καταγνοὺς δειλίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου πολὺν χρόνον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ διατρίψαντος. ἦν δὲ ἡ διατριβὴ διὰ νόσου, ἦν οἱ μὲν ἐκ κόπων, οἱ δὲ λουσαμένῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύδνου ² ρεύματι καταπαγέντι ¹ προσπεσεῖν λέγουσι. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἵατρῶν οὐδεὶς ἐθάρρει βοηθήσειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἴομενοι πάσης ἴσχυρότερον εἶναι βοηθείας ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι διαβολὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας· Φίλιππος δ' ὁ

¹ καταπαγέντι Bekker reads καὶ καταπαγέντι (and got chilled).

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sea-board, who was thought likely to give Alexander abundant trouble and infinite annoyance, he was all the more encouraged for his expedition into the interior. Moreover, Dareius was already coming down to the coast from Susa, exalted in spirit by the magnitude of his forces (for he was leading an army of six hundred thousand men), and also encouraged by a certain dream, which the Magi interpreted in a way to please him rather than as the probabilities demanded. For he dreamed that the Macedonian phalanx was all on fire, and that Alexander, attired in a robe which he himself formerly used to wear when he was a royal courier, was waiting upon him, after which service he passed into the temple of Belus and disappeared. By this means, as it would seem, it was suggested to Dareius from Heaven that the exploits of the Macedonians would be conspicuous and brilliant, that Alexander would be master of Asia, just as Dareius became its master when he was made king instead of royal courier, and would speedily end his life with glory.

XIX. Dareius was still more encouraged by Alexander's long delay in Cilicia, which he attributed to cowardice. The delay was due, however, to a sickness, which assailed him in consequence of fatigues, according to some,¹ but according to others, because he took a bath in the river Cydnus, whose waters were icy cold. Be that as it may, none of the other physicians had the courage to administer remedies, but thinking that the danger was too great to be overcome by any remedy whatever, they were afraid of the charges which would be made against them by the Macedonians in consequence of their failure;

¹ So Aristobulus (*Arrian, Anab.* n. 4, 7)

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- Ακαρνάν μοχθηρὰ μὲν ἔώρα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ὅντα, τῇ δὲ φιλίᾳ πιστεύων, καὶ δεινὸν ἡγούμενος εἰς κινδυνεύοντι μὴ συγκινδυνεύσει μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης πείρας Βοηθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ἐπεχείρησε φάρμακεία καὶ συνέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπομεῖναι καὶ πιεῖν, σπεύδοντα ρωσθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.
- 3 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Παρμενίων ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, διακελευόμενος αὐτῷ φυλάξασθαι τὸν Φίλιππον ὡς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπεισμένον ἐπὶ δωρεᾶς μεγάλαις καὶ γάμῳ θυγατρὸς ἀνελεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὃ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνοὺς καὶ μηδενὶ δείξας τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκεν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ παρόντος εἰσῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὁ Φίλιππος τὸ φάρμακον ἐν κύλικι κομίζων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπέδωκε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ἐδέξατο προθύμως καὶ 4 ἀνυπόπτως, ὡστε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεατρικὴν τὴν δψιν εἶναι, τοῦ μὲν ἀναγνωσκοντος, τοῦ δὲ πίνοντος, εἴτα ἄμα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλεπόντων οὐχ ὄμοιώς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ διακεχυμένῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον εὑμένειαν καὶ πίστιν ἀποφαίνοντος, ἐκείνου δὲ πρὸς τὴν διαβολὴν ἔξισταμένου καὶ ποτὲ μὲν θεοκλυτοῦντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνοντος τὰς χεῖρας, ποτὲ δὲ τῇ κλίνῃ περιπίπτοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον 5 εὐθυμεῖν καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ. τὸ γὰρ φάρμακον ἐν ἀρχῇ κρατῆσαν τοῦ σώματος οἷον ἀπέωσε καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς βάθος τὴν δύναμιν, ὡστε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπιλυπεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀσαφῆ καὶ μικρὰ κομιδῆ γενέσθαι, λιποθυμίας ἐπιπεσούσης.

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but Philip the Acarnanian, who saw that the king was in an evil plight, put confidence in his friendship, and thinking it a shameful thing not to share his peril by exhausting the resources of art in trying to help him even at great risk, prepared a medicine and persuaded him to drink it boldly, if he was anxious to regain his strength for the war. Meanwhile, however, Parmenio sent a letter to Alexander from the camp, urging him to be on his guard against Philip, for the reason that he had been persuaded by Dareius, with the promise of large gifts and a marriage with his daughter, to kill Alexander. Alexander read the letter and placed it under his pillow, without showing it to any one of his friends. When the time appointed was at hand, and Philip came in with the king's companions, carrying the medicine in a cup, Alexander handed him the letter, while he himself took the medicine from him with readiness and no sign of suspicion. It was an amazing sight, then, and one well worthy of the stage,—the one reading the letter, the other drinking the medicine, and then both together turning their eyes upon one another, but not with the same expression; for Alexander, by his glad and open countenance, showed his good will towards Philip and his trust in him, while Philip was beside himself at the calumny, now lifting up his hands towards heaven and calling upon the gods to witness his innocence, and now falling upon the couch on which Alexander lay and beseeching him to be of good courage and obey his physician. For at first the medicine mastered the patient, and as it were drove back and buried deep his bodily powers, so that his voice failed, he fell into a swoon, and became almost wholly unconscious. However, he

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οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀναληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ῥάισας αὐτὸν ἐπέδειξε τοὺς Μακεδόστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο πρὶν ἵδεν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀθυμοῦντες.

XX. Ἡν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Δαρείου στρατῷ πεφευγὼς ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀνὴρ Μακεδών, Ἄμυντας, οὐκ ἄπειρος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως. οὗτος ὡρμημένοι ἴδων Δαρεῖον εἶσα τῶν στενῶν βαδίζειν ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐδεῦτο κατὰ χώραν ὑπομένειν, ἐν πλάτος ἔχουσι πεδίοις καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις πρὸς ἐλάττους πλήθει τοσούτῳ διαμαχού² μενον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ Δαρείου δεδιέναι μὴ φθάσωσιν αὐτὸν ἀποδράντες οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ διαφυγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, “Ἄλλὰ τούτου γε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, χάριν θάρρει· βαδιεῖται γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ σχεδὸν ἥδη βαδίζει.” ταῦτα λέγων Ἄμυντας οὐκ ἐπειθεὶν, ἀλλ’ ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύετο Δαρεῖος εἰς Κιλικίαν, ἀμα δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς³ Συρίαν ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνον. ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ διαμαρτόντες ἀλλήλων αὐθὶς ἀνέστρεφον, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἥδομενός τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ καὶ σπεύδων ἀπαντῆσαι περὶ τὰ στενά, Δαρεῖος δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀναλαβεῖν στρατοπεδείαν καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἔξελίξαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἥδη γὰρ ἐγνώκει παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἐμβεβληκὼς ἕαυτὸν εἰς χωρία θαλάττη καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ ποταμῷ διὰ μέσου ρέοντι τῷ Πινάρῳ δύσιππα, καὶ διεσπασμένα πολλαχοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τῆς ὀλιγότητος τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοντα τὴν θέσιν.⁴ Ἀλέξανδρῳ δὲ τὸν μὲν τόπον ἡ τύχη παρέσχεν,

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was speedily restored to his senses by Philip, and when he had recovered strength he showed himself to the Macedonians, who refused to be comforted until they had seen Alexander.

XX. Now, there was in the army of Dareius a certain Macedonian who had fled from his country, Amyntas by name, and he was well acquainted with the nature of Alexander. This man, when he saw that Dareius was eager to attack Alexander within the narrow passes of the mountains, begged him to remain where he was, that he might fight a decisive battle with his vast forces against inferior numbers in plains that were broad and spacious. And when Dareius replied that he was afraid the enemy would run away before he could get at them, and Alexander thus escape him, "Indeed," said Amyntas, "on this point, O king, thou mayest be without fear; for he will march against thee, nay, at this very moment, probably, he is on the march." Dareius would not listen to these words of Amyntas, but broke camp and marched into Cilicia, and at the same time Alexander marched into Syria against him. But having missed one another in the night, they both turned back again, Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and eager to meet his enemy in the passes, while Dareius was as eager to extricate his forces from the passes and regain his former camping-ground. For he already saw that he had done wrong to throw himself into places which were rendered unfit for cavalry by sea and mountains and a river running through the middle (the Pinarus), which were broken up in many parts, and favoured the small numbers of his enemy. And not only was the place for the battle a gift of Fortune to Alexander, but

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έστρατήγησε δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ὑπαρχόντων πρὸς τὸ νικῆσαι βέλτιον, ὃς γε τοσούτῳ πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων λειπόμενος ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ παρέσχε κύκλωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμου ὑπερβαλλὼν καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ κέρας φυγὴν ἐποίησε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βαρβάρων, ἐν πρώτοις ἀγωνιζόμενος, ὃστε τρωθῆναι ξίφει τὸν μηρόν, ὡς μὲν Χάρης φησίν, ὑπὸ Δαρείου (συμπεσέν γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας), Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπιστέλλων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ εἴρηκεν ὅστις ἦν ὁ τρώσας, ὅτι δὲ τρωθείη τὸν μηρὸν ἐγχειριδίῳ, δυσχερὲς δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος συμβαίη γέγραφε.

Νικήσας δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ καταβαλλὼν ὑπὲρ ἔνδεκα μυριάδας τῶν πολεμίων, Δαρείον μὲν οὐχ εἶλε τέτταρας σταδίους ἢ πέντε προλαβόντα τῇ φυγῇ, τὸ δὲ ἄρμα καὶ τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ λαβὼν 6 ἐπανῆλθε· καὶ κατέλαβε τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὸν μὲν ἄλλον πλοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοπέδου φέροντας καὶ ἄγοντας ὑπερβάλλοντα πλήθει, καίπερ εὐζώνων πρὸς τὴν μάχην παραγενομένων καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἐν Δαμασκῷ καταλιπόντων, τὴν δὲ Δαρείου σκηνὴν ἐξηρηκότας ἐκείνῳ, θεραπείας τε λαμπρᾶς καὶ παρασκευῆς 7 καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν γέμουσαν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀποδυσάμενος τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ λουτρὸν ἐβάδιζεν, εἰπών “Ιωμεν ἀπολονσόμενοι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἴδρωτα τῷ Δαρείου λουτρῷ.” καὶ τις τῶν ἔταίρων “Μὰ τὸν Δία” εἶπεν, “ἄλλὰ τῷ 8 Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ γάρ τῶν ἡττωμένων εἶναι τε δεῖ καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι τοῦ κρατοῦντος.” ὡς δὲ

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his generalship was better than the provisions of Fortune for his victory. For since he was so vastly inferior in numbers to the Barbarians, he gave them no opportunity to encircle him, but, leading his right wing in person, extended it past the enemy's left, got on their flank, and routed the Barbarians who were opposed to him, fighting among the foremost, so that he got a sword-wound in the thigh. Chares says this wound was given him by Dareius, with whom he had a hand-to-hand combat, but Alexander, in a letter to Antipater about the battle, did not say who it was that gave him the wound; he wrote that he had been wounded in the thigh with a dagger, but that no serious harm resulted from the wound.

Although he won a brilliant victory and destroyed more than a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he did not capture Dareius, who got a start of four or five furlongs in his flight; but he did take the king's chariot, and his bow, before he came back from the pursuit. He found his Macedonians carrying off the wealth from the camp of the Barbarians, and the wealth was of surpassing abundance, although its owners had come to the battle in light marching order and had left most of their baggage in Damascus; he found, too, that his men had picked out for him the tent of Dareius, which was full to overflowing with gorgeous servitors and furniture, and many treasures. Straightway, then, Alexander put off his armour and went to the bath, saying: "Let us go and wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Dareius." "No, indeed," said one of his companions, "but rather in that of Alexander; for the property of the conquered must belong to the conqueror, and be called his." And when he

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εῖδε μὲν ὅλκια καὶ κρωσσοὺς καὶ πυέλους καὶ ἀλαβάστρους, πάντα χρυσοῦ, ἡσκημένα περιττῶς, ὡδῶδει δὲ θεσπέσιον οἶον ὑπὸ ἀρωμάτων καὶ μύρων ὁ οἰκος, ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρῆλθεν εἰς σκηνὴν ὕψει τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ περὶ τὴν στρωμὴν καὶ τραπέζας καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοῦ κόσμῳ θαύματος ἀξίαν, διαβλέψας πρὸς τοὺς ἔταίρους, “Τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν,” ἔφη, “τὸ βασιλεύειν.”

XXI Τρεπομένῳ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ φρύξει τις ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀγομένας μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα Δαρείου καὶ θυγατέρας δύο παρθένους ἰδούσας τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ τόξα κόπτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν, ὡς ἀπολωλότος ἐκείνου. συχνὸν οὖν ἐπισχών χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων τύχαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐμπαθής γενόμενος, πέμπει Λεοννάτου, ἀπαγγεῖλαι κελεύσας ὡς οὕτε Δαρείος τέθνηκεν οὔτε Ἀλέξανδρον δεδιέναι χρή.

- 2 Δαρείῳ γάρ ὑπὲρ ἱγεμονίας πολεμεῖν, ἐκείναις δὲ πάντα ὑπάρξειν ὡν καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεύοντος ἥξιοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ λόγου ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἡμέρους καὶ χρηστοῦ φανέντος ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀπήντα φιλάνθρωπα. Θάψαι γάρ ὅσους ἐβούλουντο Περσῶν ἔδωκεν, ἐσθῆτη καὶ κόσμῳ χρησαμέναις ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἦν εἶχον οὐδ' ὅτιον ἀφεῖλε, συντάξεις δὲ καὶ μείζονας ἔκαρποῦντο τῶν προτέρων. ἡ δὲ καλλίστη καὶ βασιλικωτάτη χάρις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῦ γυναιξὶ γενναίαις γενομέναις αἰχμαλώτοις καὶ σώφροσι μήτε ἀκοῦσαι τι μήτε ὑπονοῆσαι μήτε προσδοκῆ-
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saw the basins and pitchers and tubs, and caskets, all of gold, and curiously wrought, while the apartment was marvellously fragrant with spices and unguents, and when he passed from this into a tent which was worthy of admiration for its size and height, and for the adornment of the couch and tables and banquet prepared for him, he turned his eyes upon his companions and said : "This, as it would seem, is to be a king."

XXI As he was betaking himself to supper, someone told him that among the prisoners were the mother, wife, and two unmarried daughters of Dareius, and that at sight of his chariot and bow they beat their breasts and lamented, believing that he was dead. Accordingly, after a considerable pause, more affected by their affliction than by his own success, he sent Leonutatus, with orders to tell them that Dareius was not dead, and that they need have no fear of Alexander; for it was Dareius upon whom he was waging war for supremacy, but they should have everything which they used to think their due when Dareius was undisputed king. If this message was thought by the women to be mild and kindly, still more did the actions of Alexander prove to be humane. For he gave them permission to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to use for this purpose raiment and adornment from the spoils, and he abated not one jot of their honourable maintenance, nay, they enjoyed even larger allowances than before. But the most honourable and most princely favour which these noble and chaste women received from him in their captivity was that they neither heard, nor suspected, nor

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σαι τῶν αἰσχρῶν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ἐν ιεροῖς καὶ ἀγίοις φυλαττομένας παρθενῶσιν ἀπόρρητον ἔχειν καὶ ἀορατὸν ἑτέροις δίαιταν. καίτοι λέγεται γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναικα πολὺ πασῶν τῶν βασιλίδων εὐπρεπεστάτην γενέσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἀνδρῶν κάλλιστος καὶ μέγιστος, τὰς δὲ παιδας ἔοικέναι τοὺς γονεῦσιν.

4 Ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ κρατεῦν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλικώτερον ἥγονύμενος, οὔτε τούτων ἔθιγεν οὔτε ἄλλην ἔγνω γυναικα πρὸ γάμου, πλὴν Βαρσίνης. αὗτη δέ, μετὰ τὴν Μέμυνον τελευτὴν χήρα γενομένη, περὶ Δαμασκὸν ἐλήφθη. πεπαιδευμένη δὲ παιδείαν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικῆς οὖσα καὶ πατρὸς Ἀρταβάζου γεγονότος ἐκ βασιλέως θυγατρός, ἐγνώσθη, Παρμενίωνος προτρεψαμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστόβουλος, κα-
5 λῆς καὶ γενιαίας ἄψασθαι γυναικός. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αἰχμαλώτους ὄρῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διαφερούσας ἔλεγε παιζων ὡς εἰσὶν ἀλγηδόνες ὄμματαν αἱ Περσίδες. ἀντεπιδεικνύ-
μενος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδέαν τὴν ἐκείνων τὸ τῆς ἴδιας ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης κάλλος, ὥσπερ ἀψύ-
χους εἰκόνας ἀγαλμάτων παρέπεμψεν.

XXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλόξενος ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ στρατηγὸς ἔγραψεν εἶναι παρ' αὐτῷ Θεόδωρὸν τινα Ταραντῖνον ἔχοντα παιδας ὧνίους δύο τὴν δψιν ὑπερφυεῖς, καὶ πυνθανόμενος εἰ πρίγται, χαλεπός ἐνεγκὼν ἐβόα πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἐρωτῶν τί πώποτε Φιλόξενος αἰσχρὸν αὐτῷ

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awaited anything that could disgrace them, but lived, as though guarded in sacred and inviolable virgins' chambers instead of in an enemy's camp, apart from the speech and sight of men. And yet it is said that the wife of Dareius was far the most comely of all royal women, just as Dareius himself also was handsomest and tallest of men, and the daughters resembled their parents.

But Alexander, as it would seem, considering the mastery of himself a more kingly thing than the conquest of his enemies, neither laid hands upon these women, nor did he know any other before marriage, except Barsiné. This woman, Memnon's widow, was taken prisoner at Damascus. And since she had received a Greek education, and was of an agreeable disposition, and since her father, Artabanus, was son of a king's daughter, Alexander determined (at Parmenio's instigation, as Aristobulus says) to attach himself to a woman of such high birth and beauty. But as for the other captive women, seeing that they were surpassingly stately and beautiful, he merely said jestingly that Persian women were torments to the eyes.¹ And displaying in rivalry with their fair looks the beauty of his own sobriety and self-control, he passed them by as though they were lifeless images for display.

XXII. Moreover, when Philoxenus, the commander of his forces on the sea-board, wrote that there was with him a certain Theodorus, of Tarentum, who had two boys of surpassing beauty to sell, and enquired whether Alexander would buy them, Alexander was incensed, and cried out many times to his friends, asking them what shameful thing Philoxenus had ever

¹ Cf. Herod v 18

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συνεγνωκώς τοιαῦτα ὄντειδη προξενῶν κάθηται.
τὸν δὲ Φιλόξενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πολλὰ λοι-
δορήσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις τὸν Θεόδωρον
2 εἰς τὸν ὅλεθρον ἀποστέλλειν. ἐπέπληξε δὲ καὶ
"Αγνωνι γράψαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι Κρωβύλουν
εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ βούλεται πριάμενος
ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. πυνθανόμενος δὲ μισθοφό-
ρων τινῶν γύναια διεφθαρκέναι Δάμωνα καὶ Τιμό-
θεον Μακεδόνας τῶν ὑπὸ Παρμενίων στρατευο-
μένων, ἔγραψε Παρμενίωνι κελεύων, ἐὰν ἐλεγ-
χθῶσιν, ὡς θηρία ἐπὶ καταφθορᾶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
3 γεγονότα τιμωρησάμενον ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ περὶ¹
έαυτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ γέ-
γραφεν· "Ἐγὼ γάρ οὐχ ὅτι ἑωρακὼς ἀν εὑρεθείην
τὴν Δαρείου γυναικα ἡ βεβουλημένος ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ τῶν λεγόντων περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας αὐτῆς
προσδεδεγμένος τὸν λόγον." ἔλεγε δὲ μάλιστα
συνιέναι θυητὸς ὥν ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδειν καὶ συνου-
σιάζειν, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐγγυόμενον ἀσθενείας τῇ
φύσει καὶ τὸ πουοῦν καὶ τὸ ἡδόμενον.

4 "Ἡν δὲ καὶ γαστρὸς ἐγκρατέστατος, καὶ τοῦτο
ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐδίλωσε καὶ τοῖς πρὸς "Ἄδαν
λεχθεῖσιν, ἣν ἐποιήσατο μητέρα καὶ Καρίας
βασίλισσαν ἀπέδειξεν. ὡς γάρ ἐκείνη φιλοφρο-
νουμένη πολλὰ μὲν ὄψα καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπέστελλεν
αὐτῷ καὶ πέμματα, τέλος δὲ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι
δεινοτάτους ὄψιοιοὺς καὶ ἀρτοποιούς, ἔφη τού-
των μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι· βελτίονας γὰρ ὄψιοιοὺς
ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ Λεωνίδου δεδομένους

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seen in him that he should spend his time in making such disgraceful proposals. And on Philoxenus himself he heaped much reproach in a letter, bidding him send Theodorus to perdition, merchandize and all. He severely rebuked Hagnon also for writing to him that he wanted to buy Crobylus, whose beauty was famous in Corinth, as a present for him. Furthermore, on learning that Damon and Timotheus, two Macedonian soldiers under Parmenio's command, had ruined the wives of certain mercenaries, he wrote to Parmenio ordering him, in case the men were convicted, to punish them and put them to death as wild beasts born for the destruction of mankind. In this letter he also wrote expressly concerning himself: "As for me, indeed, it will be found not only that I have not seen the wife of Dareius or desired to see her, but that I have not even allowed people to speak to me of her beauty." And he used to say that sleep and sexual intercourse, more than any thing else, made him conscious that he was mortal, implying that both weariness and pleasure arise from one and the same natural weakness.

He had also the most complete mastery over his appetite, and showed this both in many other ways, and especially by what he said to Ada, whom he honoured with the title of Mother and made queen of Caria.¹ When, namely, in the kindness of her heart, she used to send him day by day many viands and sweetmeats, and finally offered him bakers and cooks reputed to be very skilful, he said he wanted none of them, for he had better cooks which had been given him by his tutor, Leonidas; for his break-

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* 1. 23, 8.

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αὐτῷ, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄριστον, νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὀλιγαριστίαν. “Ο δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνήρ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐπὶών τὰ ἀγγεῖα καὶ τῶν ἴματίων ἔλυεν, ἐπισκοπῶν μή τί μοι τρυφερὸν ἢ περισσὸν ἡ μῆτηρ ἐντέθεικεν.”

XXIII Ἡν δὲ καὶ πρὸς οἶνον ἥττον ἢ ἑδόκει καταφερῆς. ἔδοξε δὲ διὰ τὸν χρόνον δὲν οὐ πίνων μᾶλλον ἢ λαλῶν εἰλκειν ἐφ' ἐκύστης κύλικος, ἀεὶ μακρύν τινα λόγον διατιθέμενος, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῆς σχολῆς οὔσης. ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τὰς πράξεις οὐκ οἶνος ἐκεῖνον, οὐχ ὕπνος, οὐ παιδιά τις, οὐ γάμος, οὐ θέα, καθάπερ ἄλλους στρατηγούς, ἐπέσχε.
2 δῆλοι δὲ ὁ βίος, δὲν βιώσας βραχὺν παντάπασι, πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων πράξεων ἐνέπλησεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς πρώτον μὲν ἀναστὰς καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς εὐθὺς ἡρίστα καθήμενος ἔπειτα διημέρευε κυνηγῶν ἢ δικάζων ἢ συντάττων τι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἢ ἀναγνώσκων. εἰ δὲ ὅδὸν βαδίζοι μὴ λίαν ἐπείγονταν, ἐμάνθανεν ἄμα πορευόμενος ἢ τοξεύειν ἢ ἐπιβαίνειν ἄρματος ἐλαυνομένου καὶ
3 ἀποβαίνειν. πολλάκις δὲ παίζων καὶ ἀλώπεκας ἐθίρευε καὶ ὅρυθας, ὡς ἔστι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐφημερίδων. καταλύσας δὲ καὶ τρεπόμενος πρὸς λουτρὸν ἢ ἄλειμμα, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν καὶ μαγείρων ἀνέκρινεν εἰ τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον εὐτρεπῶς ἔχουσι. καὶ δειπνεῖν μὲν ὀψὲ καὶ σκότους ἥδη κατακλινόμενος ἥρχετο, θαυμαστὴ δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ περίβλεψις ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀνίσως μηδὲ ὀλιγώρως διαινέμοιτο· τὸν δὲ

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fast, namely, a night march, and for his supper, a light breakfast. "And this same Leonidas," he said, "used to come and open my chests of bedding and clothing, to see that my mother did not hide there for me some luxury or superfluity."

XXIII. To the use of wine also he was less addicted than was generally believed. The belief arose from the time which he would spend over each cup, more in talking than in drinking, always holding some long discourse, and this too when he had abundant leisure. For in the stress of affairs he was not to be detained, as other commanders were, either by wine, or sleep, or any sport, or amour, or spectacle. This is proved by his life, which, though altogether brief, he filled to overflowing with the greatest exploits. In his times of leisure, however, after rising and sacrificing to the gods, he immediately took breakfast sitting; then, he would spend the day in hunting, or administering justice, or arranging his military affairs, or reading. If he were making a march which was not very urgent, he would practise, as he went along, either archery or mounting and dismounting from a chariot that was under way. Often, too, for diversion, he would hunt foxes or birds, as may be gathered from his journals. After he had taken quarters for the night, and while he was enjoying bath or anointing, he would enquire of his chief cooks and bakers whether the arrangements for his supper were duly made. When it was late and already dark, he would begin his supper, reclining on a couch, and marvellous was his care and circumspection at table, in order that everything might be served impartially and without stint; but

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πότον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μακρὸν ὑπὸ ἀδολεσχίας
4 ἔξετεινε. καὶ τὰλλα πάντων ἡδιστος ὧν βα-
σιλέων συνεῖναι καὶ χάριτος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀμοιρῶν,
τότε ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις ἀηδῆς ἐγίνετο καὶ λίαν
στρατιωτικός, αὐτός τε πρὸς τὸ κομπώδες ὑπο-
σιμον, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ χαριέστεροι τῶν παρόντων
ἐπετρίβοντο, μήτε ἀμιλλάσθαι τοῖς κόλαξι μήτε
λείπεοθαι βουλόμενοι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπαίνων. τὸ
5 μὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐδόκει, τὸ δὲ κίνδυνον ἔφερε.
· μετὰ δὲ τὸν πότον λουσάμενος ἐκάθευδε πολλάκις
μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διημέρευεν
ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν.

Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὄψων ἐγκρατὴς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ
τὰ σπανιώτατα πολλάκις τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης
αὐτῷ κομιζομένων ἀκροδρύων καὶ ἵχθυων ἐκάστῳ
διαπεμπόμενος τῶν ἑταίρων ἐαυτῷ μόνῳ μηδὲν
6 καταλιπέν· τὸ μέντοι δεῖπνον ἦν ἀεὶ μεγαλο-
πρεπές, καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι τῆς δαπάνης ἅμα
συνανξομένης τέλος εἰς μυρίας δραχμὰς προῆλθεν.
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστη, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὠρίσθη τελεῖν
τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Ἰσσῷ πέμ-
ψας εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς
ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναικας τῶν
Περσῶν. καὶ πλεῖστα μὲν ὠφελήθησαν οἱ τῶν
Θεσσαλῶν ἴππεῖς· τούτους γὰρ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς
διαφερόντως ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένους ἐπεμψεν ἐπί-

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over the wine, as I have said, he would sit long, for conversation's sake. And although in other ways he was of all princes most agreeable in his intercourse, and endowed with every grace, at this time his boastfulness would make him unpleasant and very like a common soldier. Not only was he himself carried away into blustering, but he suffered himself to be ridden by his flatterers. These were a great annoyance to the finer spirits in the company, who desired neither to vie with the flatterers, nor yet to fall behind them in praising Alexander. The one course they thought disgraceful, the other had its perils. After the drinking was over, he would take a bath and sleep, frequently until midday, and sometimes he would actually spend the entire day in sleep.

In the matter of delicacies, too, he himself, at all events, was master of his appetite, so that often, when the rarest fruits or fish were brought to him from the sea-coast, he would distribute them to each of his companions until he was the only one for whom nothing remained. His suppers, however, were always magnificent, and the outlay upon them increased with his successes until it reached the sum of ten thousand drachmas. There it stood, and that was the prescribed limit of expenditure for those who entertained Alexander.

XXIV. After the battle at Issus,¹ he sent to Damascus and seized the money and baggage of the Persians together with their wives and children. And most of all did the Thessalian horsemen enrich themselves, for they had shown themselves surpassingly brave in the battle, and Alexander sent them on this expedition purposely, wishing to have them enrich

¹ November, 333 B.C.

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- τηδες ὡφεληθῆναι βουλόμενος· ἐνεπλήσθη δὲ καὶ
- 2 τὸ λοιπὸν εὐπορίας στρατόπεδον. καὶ γενσά-
μενοι τότε πρῶτον οἱ Μακεδόνες χρυσοῦ καὶ
ἀργύρου καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ διαιτης Βαρβαρικῆς,
ώσπερ κύνες ἔσπευδον ἀφάμενοι στίβου διώκειν
καὶ ἀνιχνεύειν τὸν τῶν Περσῶν πλοῦτον.
- Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρῶτον ἐδόκει κρατύ-
νεσθαι τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσην. Κύπρον μὲν οὖν
εὐθὺς οἱ Βασιλεῖς ἥκουν ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτῷ, καὶ
- 3 Φοινίκην πλὴν Τύρου. Τύροιν δὲ πολιορκῶν ἐπέτα
μῆνας χώμασι καὶ μηχανᾶις καὶ τριήρεσι δια-
κοσίαις ἐκ θαλάττης, ὃναρ εἶδε τὸν Ἡρακλέα
δεξιούμενον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ καλοῦντα.
τῶν δὲ Τυρίων πολλοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους ἔδοξεν
ὅτι Απόλλων λέγειν ὡς ἄπεισι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον·
οὐ γάρ ἀρέσκειν αὐτῷ τὰ πρασσόμενα κατὰ τὴν
4 πόλιν. ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡσπερ ἀνθρωπον αὐτο-
μολοῦντα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ
τὸν θεὸν εἰληφότες σειράς τε τῷ κολοσσῷ περιέ-
βαλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καθήλουν πρὸς τὴν βάσιν,
Ἀλέξανδριστὴν καλοῦντες. ἐτέραν δὲ ὅψιν
5 Ἀλέξανδρος εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους. Σάτυρος
αὐτῷ φανεὶς ἐδόκει προσπαίζειν πόρρωθεν, εἴτα
βουλομένου λαβεῖν ὑπεξέφευγε· τέλος δὲ πολλὰ
λιπαρήσαντος καὶ περιόρμαντος ἥλθεν εἰς χεῖ-
ρας. οἱ δὲ μάντεις τοῦνομα διαιροῦντες οὐκ ἀπι-
θάνως ἔφασαν αὐτῷ. “Σὴ γενήσεται Τύρος.”
καὶ κρήνην δέ τινα δεικνύοντι, πρὸς ἣν κατὰ τοὺς
ὑπνους ἴδειν ἔδοξε τὸν Σάτυρον.
- 6 Διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας
τοὺς προσοικοῦντας τῷ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ στρατεύσας

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themselves. But the rest of the army also was filled with wealth. Then for the first time the Macedonians got a taste of gold and silver and women and barbaric luxury of life, and now that they had struck the trail, they were like dogs in their eagerness to pursue and track down the wealth of the Persians.

However, Alexander determined first to make himself master of the sea-coasts. As for Cyprus, then, its kings came at once and put the island in his hands, together with Phoenicia, with the exception of Tyre. But Tyre he besieged for seven months,¹ with moles, and engines-of-war, and two hundred triremes by sea. During this siege he had a dream in which he saw Heracles stretching out his hand to him from the wall and calling him. And many of the Tyrians dreamed that Apollo told them he was going away to Alexander, since he was displeased at what was going on in the city. Whereupon, as if the god had been a common deserter caught in the act of going over to the enemy, they encircled his colossal figure with cords and nailed it down to its pedestal, calling him an Alexandrist. In another dream, too, Alexander thought he saw a satyr who mocked him at a distance, and eluded his grasp when he tried to catch him, but finally, after much coaxing and chasing, surrendered. The seers, dividing the word "satyros" into two parts, said to him, plausibly enough, "Tyre is to be thine." And a spring is pointed out, near which Alexander dreamed he saw the satyr.

While the siege of the city was in progress, he made an expedition against the Arabians who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Mount Antilibanus. On

¹ January-August, 332 B.C.

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έκινδύνευσε διὰ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν Λυσίμαχον· ἔξη-
κολούθησε γὰρ αὐτῷ λέγων τοῦ Φοίνικος οὐκ
εἶναι χείρων οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλη-
σιάσας τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀπολιπὼν
πεζὸς ἐβάδιζεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πολὺ προῆλθον,
7 τοὺς δὲ τὸν Λυσίμαχον, ἐσπέρας ἥδη καταλαμ-
βανούσης καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὅντων, ἀπα-
γορεύοντα καὶ βαρυγόμενον οὐχ ὑπομένων ἀπολι-
πεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ παρακομίζων,
8 ἐλαθε τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀποσπασθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγων
καὶ σκότους ἄμα καὶ ρύγους σφοδροῦ νυκτερεύων
ἐν χωρίοις χαλεποῖς. εἰδεν οὖν πόρρω πυρὰ
πολλὰ καιόμενα σποράδην τῶν πολεμίων. θαρ-
ρῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῇ κουφότητι, καὶ τῷ πονεῖν
αὐτὸς ἀεὶ παραμυθούμενος τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν Μακε-
δόνων, προσέδραμε τοῖς ἔγγιστα πῦρ καίουσι· καὶ
περικαθημένους τῇ πυρᾷ δύο βαρβάρους πατάξας
τῷ ἐγχειρίδῳ καὶ δαλὸν ἀρπάσας ἥκε πρὸς τοὺς
έαυτοῦ κομίζων. ἐγκαύσαντες δὲ πῦρ πολὺ τοὺς
μὲν εὐθὺς ἐφόβησαν ὡστε φυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόν-
τας ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ κατηυλίσθησαν ἀκινδύνως.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Χάρης ἴστόρηκεν.

XXV. Ἡ δὲ πολιορκία τοιοῦτον ἔσχε πέρας.
Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν μὲν πολλὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνα-
παύοντος ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν,
οὐλίγους δέ τινας, ως μὴ σχολάζοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι,
τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντος, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις
ἐσφαγιάζετο· καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατιδῶν θρασύτερον

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this expedition he risked his life to save his tutor, Lysimachus, who insisted on following him, declaring himself to be neither older nor weaker than Phoenix¹. But when the force drew near the mountains, they abandoned their horses and proceeded on foot, and most of them got far on in advance. Alexander himself, however, would not consent to abandon the worn and weary Lysimachus, since evening was already coming on and the enemy were near, but sought to encourage him and carry him along. Before he was aware of it, therefore, he was separated from his army with a few followers, and had to spend a night of darkness and intense cold in a region that was rough and difficult. In this plight he saw far off a number of scattered fires which the enemy were burning. So, since he was confident in his own agility, and was ever wont to cheer the Macedonians in their perplexities by sharing their toils, he ran to the nearest camp-fire. Two Barbarians who were sitting at the fire he despatched with his dagger, and snatching up a fire-brand, brought it to his own party. These kindled a great fire and at once frightened some of the enemy into flight, routed others who came up against them, and spent the night without further peril. Such, then, is the account we have from Chares.

XXV. The siege of the city had the following issue. While Alexander was giving the greater part of his forces a rest from the many struggles which they had undergone, and was leading up only a few men to attack the walls, in order that the enemy might have no respite, Aristander the seer made a sacrifice, and after taking the omens, declared very confidently

¹ Cf. chapter v. 5.

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- διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μηνὶ² πάντας ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. γενομένου δὲ χλευασμοῦ καὶ γέλωτος (ἥν γὰρ ή τελευταία τοῦ μηνὸς ἡμέρᾳ), διηπορημένον αὐτὸν ἵδων ὁ Βασιλεὺς καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς μαντεύμασιν ἐκέλευε μιηκέτι τριακάδα τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ τρίτην φθίνοντος ἀριθμεῖν· καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημήνας ἀπεπειράτο τῶν τειχῶν ἐρρωμενέστερον ἥπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διενοήθη. γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καρτερούντων, ἀλλὰ συντρεχόντων καὶ προσβοηθούντων, ἀπεῖπον οἱ Τύριοι· καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰλεκτ’ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολιορκοῦντι Γάζαν αὐτῷ, τῆς Συρίας μεγίστην πόλιν, ἐμπίπτει βῶλος εἰς τὸν ὕδωρ ἀφεθεὶς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ ὅρνιθος. ὃ δὲ ὅρνις ἐφ’ ἐν τῶν μηχανημάτων καθίσας ἔλαθεν ἐνσχεθεὶς τοῖς νευρίνοις κεκρυφάλοις, οἷς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς τῶν σχοινίων ἐχρώντο. καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἀπέβη κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστάνδρου πρόρρησιν ἐτρώθη μὲν γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν ὕδωρ, ἔλαβε δὲ τὴν πόλιν. ἀποστέλλων δὲ πολλὰ τῶν λαφύρων Ὁλυμπιάδι καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, κατέπεμψε καὶ Λεωνίδῃ τῷ παιδαγωγῷ τάλαντα λιβανωτοῦ πεντακόσια καὶ σμύρνης ἑκατόν, ἀναμνησθεὶς παιδικῆς ἐλπίδος. ὃ γὰρ Λεωνίδης, ὡς ἔσκεν, ἐν θυσίᾳ ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιδραξάμενον ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ καθαγίσαντα τοῦ θυμιάματος, ““Οταν,”” ἔφη, ““τῆς
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to the bystanders that the city would certainly be captured during that month. His words produced laughter and jesting, since it was then the last day of the month, and the king, seeing that he was perplexed, and being always eager to support his prophecies, gave orders to reckon that day, not as the thirtieth of the month, but as the twenty-eighth; and then, after the trumpet had sounded the signal, he attacked the walls with greater vigour than he had at first intended. The assault became fierce, and even those troops which had been left in camp could not restrain themselves, but ran in throngs to help the assailants, and the Tyrians gave up the fight. So Alexander took the city on that day.

After this, as he was giving siege to Gaza,¹ the principal city of Syria, a clod of earth, which had been dropped from on high by a bird, struck him on the shoulder. The bird alighted on one of the battering-engines, and was at once caught in the network of sinews which were used to give a twist to the ropes.² And the omen was fulfilled as Aristander predicted; for though Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, he took the city. Moreover, as he was dispatching great quantities of the spoils home to Olympias and Cleopatra and his friends, he sent also to Leonidas his tutor five hundred talents' weight of frankincense and a hundred of myrrh, in remembrance of the hope with which that teacher had inspired his boyhood. It would seem, namely, that Leonidas, as Alexander was one day sacrificing and taking incense with both hands to throw upon the altar-fire, said to him:—"Alexander,

¹ During September and October of 332 B.C.

² Cf. Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* iv. 6, 11 f.

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ἀρωματοφόρου κρατήσης, Ἀλέξανδρε, πλουσίως οὕτως ἐπιθυμιάσεις· υῦν δὲ φειδομένως χρῶ τοῖς παροῦσι.” τότε οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἀπεστάλκαμέν σοι λιβανωτὸν ἄφθονον καὶ σμύρναν, ὅπως παύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς μικρολογούμενος.”

XXVI. Κιβωτίου δέ τινος αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντος, οὗ πολυτελέστερον οὐδὲν ἔφάνη τοῖς τὰ Δαρείου χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἡρώτα τὸν φίλους ὃ τι δοκοίη μάλιστα τῶν ἀξίων σπουδῆς εἰς αὐτὸν καταθέσθαι· πολλὰ δὲ πολλῶν λεγόντων αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν Ἰλιάδα 2 φρουρήσειν ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενος· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μεμαρτυρήκασιν. εἰ δ', ὅπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλεΐδη πιστεύοντες, ἀληθές ἐστιν, οὔκουν ἀργός οὐδὲ ἀσύμβολος αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν ἔουκει” Ομηρος, λέγουσι γάρ ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσας ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλυπεῖν, καὶ τινα τόπον γηώμηρ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων δσον οὐδέπω διεμετρεῦτο 3 καὶ περιέβαλλεν. εἴτα νύκτωρ κοιμώμενος δψιν εἶδε θαυμαστήν ἀνήρ πολιὸς εὑ μάλα τὴν κόμην καὶ γεραρὸς τὸ εἶδος ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ παραστᾶς λέγειν τὰ ἔπη τάδε·

Νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε· Φάρον δέ ἐι κικλήσκουσιν.

εὐθὺς οὖν ἔξαναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φάρον, ἥ τότε μὲν ἔτι νῆσος ἦν, τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω στόματος, υῦν δὲ διὰ χώματος ἀνείλη-

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when thou hast conquered the spice-bearing regions thou canst be thus lavish with thine incense : now, however, use sparingly what thou hast ” Accordingly, Alexander now wrote him : “ I have sent thee myrrh and frankincense in abundance, that thou mayest stop dealing parsimoniously with the gods.”

XXVI. When a small coffer was brought to him, which those in charge of the baggage and wealth of Dareius thought the most precious thing there, he asked his friends what valuable object they thought would most fittingly be deposited in it. And when many answered and there were many opinions, Alexander himself said he was going to deposit the *Iliad* there for safe keeping.¹ This is attested by many trustworthy authorities. And if what the Alexandrians tell us on the authority of Heracleides is true, then it would seem that Homer was no idle or unprofitable companion for him in his expedition. They say, namely, that after his conquest of Egypt he wished to found a large and populous Greek city which should bear his name, and by the advice of his architects was on the point of measuring off and enclosing a certain site for it. Then, in the night, as he lay asleep, he saw a wonderful vision. A man with very hoary locks and of a venerable aspect appeared to stand by his side and recite these verses :—

“ Now, there is an island in the much-dashing sea,
In front of Egypt ; Pharos is what men call it.”²

Accordingly, he rose up at once and went to Pharos, which at that time was still an island, a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, but now it has been

¹ Cf. chapter viii. 2. ² *Odysey*, iv. 334 f.

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4 πται πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον. ὡς οὖν εἶδε τόπον εὐφυίᾳ διαφέροντα (ταινία γάρ ἐστιν ἵσθμῳ πλάτος ἔχοντι σύμμετρον ἐπιεικῶς διείργουσα λίμνην τε πολλήν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν λιμένι μεγάλῳ τελευτώσαν), εἰπὼν ὡς "Ομηρος ἦν ἄρα τά τε ἄλλα θαυμαστὸς καὶ σοφώτατος ἀρχιτέκτων, ἐκέλευσε διαγράψαι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως 5 τῷ τόπῳ συναρμόστοντας. καὶ γῆ μὲν οὐ παρῆν λευκή, τῶν δὲ ἀλφίτων λαμβάνοντες ἐν πεδίῳ μελαγγείῳ κυκλοτερῇ κόλπουν ἥγουν, σῦν τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν εὐθεῖαι βάσεις ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρασπέδων εἰς σχῆμα χλαμύδος ὑπελάμβανον, ἐξ ἵσου συνάγουσαι τὸ μέγεθος. ἡσθέντος δὲ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ βασιλέως αἰφνίδιον ὅρυσθεις ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς λίμνης, πλήθει τε ἄπειροι καὶ κατὰ γένος παντοδαποὶ καὶ μέγεθος, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καταίρουντες νέφεσιν ἐοικότες οὐδὲ μικρὸν ὑπέλιπον τῶν ἀλφίτων, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διαταραχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν οἰωνόν.

6 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν μάντεων θαρρεῖν παραινούντων (πολυαρκεστάτην γὰρ οἰκίζεσθαι πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσομένην τροφόν) ἔργουν κελεύσας ἔχεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς αὐτὸς ὠρμησεν εἰς "Αμμωνος, ὁδὸν μακρὰν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔχουσαν ἐργάδη καὶ ταλαίπωρα, κινδύνους δὲ δύο, τὸν μὲν ἀνυδρίας, δι' ἣν ἔρημός ἐστιν οὐκ διλήγων ἡμερῶν, τὸν δέ, εἰ λάβρος ἐν ἄμμῳ βαθείᾳ καὶ ἀχανεὶ πορευομένοις ἐπιπέσοι νότος.

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joined to the mainland by a causeway. And when he saw a site of surpassing natural advantages (for it is a strip of land like enough to a broad isthmus, extending between a great lagoon and a stretch of sea which terminates in a large harbour), he said he saw now that Homer was not only admirable in other ways, but also a very wise architect, and ordered the plan of the city to be drawn in conformity with this site. There was no chalk at hand, so they took barley-meal¹ and marked out with it on the dark soil a rounded area, to whose inner arc straight lines extended so as to produce the figure of a chlamys, or military cloak, the lines beginning from the skirts (as one may say), and narrowing the breadth of the area uniformly.² The king was delighted with the design; but suddenly birds from the river and the lagoon, infinite in number and of every sort and size, settled down upon the place like clouds and devoured every particle of the barley-meal, so that even Alexander was greatly disturbed at the omen.

However, the seers exhorted him to be of good cheer, since the city here founded by him would have most abundant and helpful resources and be a nursing mother for men of every nation, and so he ordered those in charge of the work to proceed with it, while he himself set out for the temple of Ammon. The journey thither was long, full of toils and hardships, and had two perils. One is the dearth of water, which leaves the traveller destitute of it for many days; the other arises when a fierce south wind smites men travelling in sand of boundless depth,

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab* iii 2, 1.

² See Tarbell, "The Form of the Chlamys," *Classical Philology*, 1906, p. 285.

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ώς που καὶ πάλαι λέγεται περὶ τὸν Καμβύσου στρατόν, ἀναστήσας θῆνα μεγάλην καὶ κυματώσας τὸ πεδίον μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων πέντε καταχώσαι 7 καὶ διαφθεῖραι. ταῦτα πάντα σχεδὸν πάντες ἐλογίζουντο, χαλεπὸν δὲ ἦν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποτρέψαι πρὸς ὄπιοῦν ὡρμημένον. ἥτε γὰρ τύχη ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ὑπείκουσα τὴν γνῶμην ἴσχυρὰν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἄχρι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπεξέφερε τὴν φιλονεκίαν ἀγήττητον, οὐ μόνον πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπους καὶ καιροὺς καταβιαζομένην.

XXVII. Ἐν γοῦν τῇ τότε πορείᾳ τὰ συντυχόντα ταῖς ἀπορίαις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθήματα τῶν ὑστέρων χρησμῶν ἐπιστεύθη μᾶλλον τρόπου δέ τινα καὶ τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἡ πίστις ἐκ τούτων ὑπῆρξε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ διαρκεῖς ὑετοί γενομένοι τόν τε τῆς δίψης φόβον ἔλυσαν, καὶ τὴν ξηρότητα κατασβέσαντες τῆς ἄμμου, νοτερᾶς γενομένης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔνυμπεσούσης, εὖπονον τὸν ἀέρα καὶ καθαρώτερον 2 παρέσχον. ἔπειτα τῶν ὅρων, οὕπερ ἡσαν τοῖς ὁδηγοῖς, συγχυθέντων καὶ πλάνης οὖστης καὶ διασπασμοῦ τῶν βαδιζόντων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, κόρακες ἐκφαίνεντες ὑπελάμβανον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς πορείας, ἐπομένων μὲν ἔμπροσθεν πετόμενοι καὶ σπεύδοντες, ὑστεροῦντας δὲ καὶ βραδύνοντας 3 ἀναμένοντες. δὲ ἦν θαυμασιώτατον, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησί, ταῖς φωναῖς ἀνακαλούμενοι τοὺς

¹ Cf. Herod. iii. 26.

² According to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, two serpents served Alexander's army as guides to the oracle and back again. "But Aristobulus, whose account is generally admitted to

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as is said to have been the case with the army of Cambyses, long ago; the wind raised great billows of sand all over the plain and buried up fifty thousand men, to their utter destruction.¹ Almost all of Alexander's followers took all these things into consideration, but it was difficult to turn him aside from any course so ever when he had once set out upon it. For Fortune, by yielding to his onsets, was making his purpose obstinate, and the high spirit which he carried into his undertakings rendered his ambition finally invincible, so that it subdued not only enemies, but even times and places.

XXVII. At all events, during the journey which he made at this time, the assistance rendered him by Heaven in his perplexities met with more credence than the oracles which he afterwards received, nay, in a way, the oracles obtained credence in consequence of such assistance. For, to begin with, much rain from heaven and persistent showers removed all fear of thirst, quenched the dryness of the sand, so that it became moist and compact, and made the air purer and good to breathe. Again, when the marks for the guides became confused, and the travellers were separated and wandered about in ignorance of the route, ravens appeared and assumed direction of their march,² flying swiftly on in front of them when they followed, and waiting for them when they marched slowly and lagged behind. Moreover, what was most astonishing of all, Callisthenes tells us that the birds by their cries called back those who straggled away in the night,

be correct, says that two ravens flew in front of the army and acted as Alexander's guides" (Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 3, 5 f.).

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πλανωμένους οὐκτωρ καὶ κλάζοντες εἰς ἵχνος
καθίστασαν τῆς πορείας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ διεξελθὼν τὴν ἔρημον ἦκεν εἰς τὸν
τόπον, οὐ μὲν προφήτης αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀμμωνος ἀπὸ
τοῦ θεοῦ χαίρειν, ὡς ἀπὸ πατρός, προσεῖπεν ὁ
δὲ ἐπήρετο μῆτις τις αὐτὸν εἴη διαπεφευγὼς τῶν τοῦ
4 πατρός φονέων. εὐφῆμεν δὲ τοῦ προφήτου
κελεύσαντος, οὐ γάρ εἶναι πατέρα θυντὸν αὐτῷ,
μεταβαλλών ἐπινθάνετο, τοὺς Φιλίππου φονεῖς εἰ
πάντας εἴη τετυμωρημένος· εἶτα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς,
εἰ πάντων αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπων κυρίῳ γενέ-
σθαι. χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτο διόνυσος
καὶ Φιλίππου ἀπέχειν ἔκπλεω τὴν δίκην, ἐδωρεῖτο
τὸν θεόν ἀναθήμασι λαμπροῖς καὶ χρήμασι τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους.

5 Ταῦτα περὶ τῶν χρησμῶν οἱ πλεῦστοι γρά-
φουσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλεξανδρος ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς
τὴν μητέρα φησὶ γεγονέναι τινὰς αὐτῷ μαντείας
ἀπορρίπτους, ἃς αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν φράσει πρὸς
μόνην ἔκείνην. ἔνιοι δέ φασι τὸν μὲν προφήτην
Ἐλληνιστὶ βουλόμενον προσειπεῖν μετά τίνος
φιλοφροσύνης “Ω παιδίον,” ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ τῶν
φθόγγων ὑπὸ βαρβαρισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ σύγμα ἔξενε-
χθῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν, “Ω παιδίος,” ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦν τῷ
σύγμα χρησάμενον, ἀσμένῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ
σφάλμα τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι καὶ διαδοθῆναι λό-
γον ὡς παιδὸς Διός αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσειπόντος.
6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ψάμμωνος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ φιλο-
σόφου διακούσας ἀποδέξασθαι μάλιστα τῶν
λεχθέντων, ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεύονται
ὑπὸ θεοῦ· τὸ γάρ ἄρχον ἐν ἐκάστῳ καὶ κρατοῦν

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and cawed until they had set them in the track of the march.

When Alexander had passed through the desert and was come to the place of the oracle, the prophet of Ammon gave him salutation from the god as from a father; whereupon Alexander asked him whether any of the murderers of his father had escaped him. To this the prophet answered by bidding him be guarded in his speech, since his was not a mortal father. Alexander therefore changed the form of his question, and asked whether the murderers of Philip had all been punished; and then, regarding his own empire, he asked whether it was given to him to become lord and master of all mankind. The god gave answer that this was given to him, and that Philip was fully avenged. Then Alexander made splendid offerings to the god and gave his priests large gifts of money.

This is what most writers state regarding the oracular responses; but Alexander himself, in a letter to his mother, says that he received certain secret responses, which he would tell to her, and to her alone, on his return. And some say that the prophet, wishing to show his friendliness by addressing him with "O paidion," or *O my son*, in his foreign pronunciation ended the words with "s" instead of "n," and said, "O paidios," and that Alexander was pleased at the slip in pronunciation, and a story became current that the god had addressed him with "O pai Dios," or *O son of Zeus*. We are told, also, that he listened to the teachings of Psammon the philosopher in Egypt, and accepted most readily this utterance of his, namely, that all mankind are under the kingship of God, since in every case that

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θείόν ἔστιν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς περὶ τούτων φιλοσοφώτερον δοξάζειν καὶ λέγειν, ὡς πάντων μὲν ὅντα κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα τὸν θεόν, ἴδιον δὲ ποιούμενον ἔαυτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους.

XXVIII. Καθόλου δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους σοβαρὸς ἦν καὶ σφόδρα πεπεισμένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ γενέσεως καὶ τεκνώσεως ὅμοιος, τοῖς δὲ Ἐλλησι μετρίως καὶ ὑποφειδομένως ἔαυτὸν ἐξεθείαζε· πλὴν περὶ Σάμουν γράφων Ἀθηναίους, “Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἄν,” φησίν, “ὑμῖν ἐλευθέραιν πόλιν ἔδωκα καὶ ἔνδοξον ἔχετε δὲ αὐτὴν λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ τότε κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ προσαγορευομένουν,” λέγων τὸν Φίλιππον. Ὅστερον δὲ πληγῇ περιπεστῶν ὑπὸ τοξεύματος καὶ περιαλγής γενούμενος, “Τοῦτο μέν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ φίλοι, τὸ ρέον αἷμα, καὶ οὐκ

ἰχώρ, οἵος πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.”

ἔπει δὲ μεγάλης ποτὲ βροντῆς γενομένης καὶ πάντων ἐκπλαγέντων Ἀνάξαρχος ὁ σοφιστὴς παρὼν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν, “Μή τι σὺ τοιοῦτον ὁ τοῦ Διός;” γελάσας ἐκεῖνος, “Οὐ βούλομαι γάρ,” εἶπε, “φοβερὸς εἶναι τοὺς φίλους, ὥσπερ σύ με κελεύεις ὁ καταφαυλίζων μου τὸ δεῖπνον, ὅτι ταῖς τραπέζαις ἰχθύας ὄρᾶς ἐπικειμένους, οὐ σατράπῶν κεφαλάς.” τῷ γὰρ ὅντι λέγεται τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον ἰχθυδίων Ἡφαιστίωνι πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν προειρημένον ἐπιφθέγξασθαι λόγον, οἷον ἐξευτελίζοντα καὶ κατειρωνευόμενον

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which gets the mastery and rules is divine. Still more philosophical, however, was his own opinion and utterance on this head, namely that although God was indeed a common father of all mankind, still, He made peculiarly His own the noblest and best of them.

XXVIII. In general, he bore himself haughtily towards the Barbarians, and like one fully persuaded of his divine birth and parentage, but with the Greeks it was within limits and somewhat rarely that he assumed his own divinity. However, in writing to the Athenians concerning Samos, he said: "I cannot have given you that free and illustrious city; for ye received it from him who was then your master and was called my father," meaning Philip. At a later time, however, when he had been hit by an arrow and was suffering great pain, he said: "This, my friends, that flows here, is blood, and not

'Ichor, such as flows from the veins of the blessed gods.'"¹

Once, too, there came a great peal of thunder, and all were terrified at it; whereupon Anaxarchus the sophist who was present said to Alexander: "Couldst thou, the son of Zeus, thunder like that?" At this, Alexander laughed and said: "Nay, I do not wish to cause fear in my friends, as thou wouldest have me do, thou who despisest my suppers because, as thou sayest, thou seest the tables furnished with fish, and not with satraps' heads."² For, in fact, we are told that Anaxarchus, on seeing a present of small fish which the king had sent to Hephaestion, had uttered the speech above mentioned, as though he were dis-

¹ *Iliad*, v. 340 ² Cf. Athenaeus, pp. 250 f.

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τοὺς τὰ περίβλεπτα μεγάλους πόνοις καὶ κινδύ-
νοις διώκοντας, ὡς οὐδὲν ἡ μικρὸν ἐν ἥδοναῖς καὶ
ἀπολαύσεσι πλέον ἔχοντας τῶν ἄλλων. ὁ δὲ οὖν
Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων δῆλος ἐστιν
αὐτὸς οὐδὲν πεπονθὼς οὐδὲ τετυφωμένος, ἀλλὰ
τοὺς ἄλλους καταδουλούμενος τῇ δόξῃ τῆς θειό-
τητος.

XXIX. Εἰς δὲ Φοινίκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐξ Αἴγυ-
πτου θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πομπὰς ἐπετέλει καὶ
χορῶν κυκλίων καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγῶνας, οὐ μόνον
ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀμίλλαις λαμ-
προὺς γενομένους. ἔχορηγουν γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς
τῶν Κυπρίων, ὅσπερ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ κληρούμενοι
τὰς φυλάς, καὶ ἡγωνίζοντο θαυμαστὴ φιλοτιμίᾳ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μᾶλιστα δὲ Νικοκρέων ὁ Σαλα-
μίνιος καὶ Πασικράτης ὁ Σόλιος διεφίλουνείκησαν.

2 οὗτοι γὰρ ἔλαχον τοῖς ἐνδόξοτάτοις ὑποκριταῖς
χορηγεῖν, Πασικράτης μὲν Ἀθηνοδόρῳ, Νικο-
κρέων δὲ Θεσσαλῷ, περὶ δὲ ἐσπουδάκει καὶ αὐτὸς
Ἀλέξανδρος. οὐ μὴν διέφηνε τὴν σπουδὴν πρό-
τερον ἡ ταῖς ψήφοις ἀναγορευθῆναι νικῶντα τὸν
Ἀθηνόδωρον. τότε δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπιὰν ἔφη τοὺς
μὲν κριτὰς ἐπαινεῖν, αὐτὸς μέντοι μέρος ἀν ἥδέως
προέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Θεσσαλὸν
3 ἵδειν νευκημένον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀθηνόδωρος ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων ζημιωθείσ, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν
Διονυσίων οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, ἡξίου γράψαι περὶ

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paraging and ridiculing those who undergo great toils and dangers in the pursuit of eminence and power, since in the way of enjoyments and pleasures they have little or nothing more than other men. From what has been said, then, it is clear that Alexander himself was not foolishly affected or puffed up by the belief in his divinity, but used it for the subjugation of others.

XXIX. When he had returned from Egypt into Phoenicia,¹ he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions, and held contests of dithyrambic choruses and tragedies which were made brilliant, not only by their furnishings, but also by the competitors who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were the choregi, or exhibitors, just like, at Athens, those chosen by lot from the tribes, and they competed against each other with amazing ambition. Most eager of all was the contention between Nicocreon of Salamis and Pasicles of Soli. For the lot assigned to these exhibitors the most celebrated actors, to Pasicles Athenodorus, and to Nicocreon Thessalus, in whose success Alexander himself was interested. He did not reveal this interest, however, until, by the votes of the judges, Athenodorus had been proclaimed victor. But then, as it would appear, on leaving the theatre, he said that he approved the decision of the judges, but would gladly have given up a part of his kingdom rather than to have seen Thessalus vanquished. And yet, when Athenodorus, who had been fined by the Athenians for not keeping his engagement in the dramatic contest of their Dionysiac festival, asked the king to write a letter to them in his behalf,

¹ Early in 331 B.C.

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αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ἀπέστειλε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Λύκωνος δὲ τοῦ Σκαρφέως εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ στίχον εἰς τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἐμβαλόντος αἴτησιν περιέχοντα δέκα ταλάντων, γελάσας ἔδωκε.

- 4 Δαρείου δὲ πέμψαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φίλους δεομένους μύρια μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαλωκότων λαβεῖν τάλαντα, τὴν δὲ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἔχοντα καὶ γῆμαντα μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων φίλου εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον, ἐκοινοῦτο τοῖς ἑταίροις· καὶ Παρμενίωνος εἰπόντος “Ἐγὼ μέν, εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἥμην, ἔλαβον ἀν ταῦτα,” “Κἀγώ, νη Δία,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, “εἰ Παρμενίων.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαρείου ἔγραψεν, ώς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσει τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἑκεῖνον ἥδη πορεύεσθαι.

- XXX Ταχὺ μέντοι μετεμελήθη τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης ἐν ᾧδησι· καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἀνιώμενος ὡς ἐπίδειξιν οὖν μικρὰν ἀφηρημένος χρηστότητος. ἔθαψεν οὖν τὴν ἄνθρωπον οὐδεμιᾶς πολυτελείας φειδόμενος. τῶν δὲ θαλαμηπόλων τις εὐνούχων, οὐ συνεαλώκεισαν ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀποδράς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ πρὸς Δαρείου ἀφιππασάμενος, Τείρεως δονομα, φράζει τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός. ώς δὲ πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀνακλαύσας “Φεῦ τοῦ Περσῶν” ἔφη “δαίμονος, εἰ τὴν βασιλέως γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὴν οὐ μόνον αἰχμαλωτον γενέσθαι

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though he would not do this, he sent them the amount of the fine from his own purse. Furthermore, when Lycon of Scarpheia, who was acting successfully before Alexander, inserted into the comedy a verse containing a request for ten talents, Alexander laughed and gave them to him.¹

When Dareius sent to him a letter and friends,² begging him to accept ten thousand talents as ransom for the captives, to hold all the territory this side of the Euphrates, to take one of his daughters in marriage, and on these terms to be his ally and friend, Alexander imparted the matter to his companions. "If I were Alexander," said Parmenio, "I would accept these terms." "And so indeed would I," said Alexander, "were I Parmenio." But to Dareius he wrote: "Come to me, and thou shalt receive every courtesy; but otherwise I shall march at once against thee."³

XXX. Soon, however, he repented him of this answer, when the wife of Dareius died in childbirth, and it was evident that he was distressed at this loss of opportunity to show great kindness. Accordingly, he gave the woman a sumptuous burial. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber who had been captured with the women, Teireos by name, ran away from the camp, made his way on horseback to Dareius, and told him of the death of his wife. Then the king, beating upon his head and bursting into lamentation, said: "Alas for the evil genius of the Persians, if the sister and wife of their king

¹ Cf. *Morals*, pp. 334 f.

² This was during the siege of Tyre, according to Arrian (*Anab.* n. 25. 1).

³ This was but the conclusion of an arrogant letter. Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* n. 25, 3.

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- ζώσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἄμοιρον κεῖσθαι ταφῆς βασιλικῆς,” ὑπολαβὼν δὲ θαλαμηπόλος, “Αλλὰ ταφῆς γε χάριν,” εἶπεν, “ῳ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος οὐδὲν ἔχεις 3 αἰτιάσασθαι τὸν πουνηρὸν δαίμονα Περσῶν. οὔτε γάρ ζώσῃ τῇ δεσποίνῃ Στατείρᾳ καὶ μητρὶ σῇ καὶ τέκνοις ἐνέδει τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ή τὸ σὸν ὄρāν φῶς, δὲ πάλιν ἀναλάμψει λαμπρὸν ὁ κύριος Ὁρομάσδης, οὔτε ἀποθανοῦσα κόσμου τινὸς ἄμοιρος γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμίων τετέμηται δάκρυσιν. οὕτω γάρ ἔστι χρηστὸς κρατήσας Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς δεινὸς μαχόμενος.”
- 4 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Δαρεῖον ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ τὸ πάθος ἔξέφερε πρὸς ὑποψίας ἀτόπους· καὶ τὸν εὔνοῦχον ἐνδοτέρω τῆς σκηνῆς ἀπαγαγών, “Εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῆς Περσῶν,” ἔφη, “τύχης μακεδονίζεις, ἀλλ’ ἔτι σοι δεσπότης ἐγὼ Δαρεῖος, εἰπέ μοι σεβόμενος Μίθρου τε φῶς μέγα καὶ δεξιὰν βασίλειον, ἀρα μὴ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν Στατείρας κλαίω κακῶν, οἰκτρότερα δὲ ζώσης ἐπάσχομεν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀν κατ’ ἀξιῶν ἐδυστυχοῦμεν ὡμῷ καὶ σκυθρωπῷ περιπεσόντες ἐχθρῷ; τί γάρ εὐπρεπὲς ἀνδρὶ νέῳ πρὸς ἐχθροῦ γυναικα μέχρι¹ τιμῆς 5 τοσαύτης συμβόλαιον;” ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καταβαλῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας Τείρεως αὐτὸν ἱκέτευεν εὐφημεῖν καὶ μήτε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀδικεῖν μήτε τὴν τεθνεώσαν ἀδελφὴν καὶ γυναικα καταισχῦναι, μήτε αὐτοῦ τὴν μεγίστην ὧν ἔπταικεν

¹ μέχρι Coraces and Bekker. καὶ μέχρι

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must not only become a captive in her life, but also in her death be deprived of royal burial." "Nay, O King," answered the chamberlain, "as regards her burial, and her receiving every fitting honour, thou hast no charge to make against the evil genius of the Persians. For neither did my mistress Stateira, while she lived, or thy mother or thy children, lack any of their former great blessings except the light of thy countenance, which Lord Oromazdes will cause to shine again with lustre; nor after her death was she deprived of any funeral adornment, nay, she was honoured with the tears of enemis. For Alexander is as gentle after victory as he is terrible in battle."

When Dareius heard this, his agitation and grief swept him into absurd suspicions, and leading the eunuch away into a more secluded part of his tent, he said: "If thou also, together with the fortune of the Persians, dost not side with the Macedonians, and if I, Dareius, am still thy lord and master, tell me, as thou reverest the great light of Mithras and the right hand of thy king, is it not the least of Stateira's misfortunes that I am now lamenting? While she was alive did I not suffer more pitiful evils? And would not my wretched fortune have been more compatible with my honour if I had met with an angry and savage enemy? For what intercourse that is proper can a young man have with an enemy's wife when it leads to such marks of honour?" While the king was still speaking, Teireos threw himself down at his feet and besought him to hold his peace, and neither to wrong Alexander, nor shame his dead sister and wife, nor rob himself of the greatest consolation for his disasters,

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ἀφαιρεῖσθαι παραμυθίαν, τὸ δοκεῦν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς
ἡττῆσθαι κρείττονος ή κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύ-
σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς πλείονα
ταῦς Περσῶν γυναιξὶ σωφροσύνην ή Πέρσαις
6 ἀνδρείαν ἐπιδειγμένον. ἂμα δὲ ὅρκους τε φρι-
κώδεις τοῦ θαλαμηπόλου κινοῦντος ὑπὲρ τούτων,
καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς ἐγκρατείας καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας
τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντος, ἔξελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς
ἔταίρους ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν
οὐρανὸν ἐπεύξατο· “Θεοὶ γενέθλιοι καὶ βασίλειοι,
μάλιστα μὲν ἐμοὶ διδούντε τὴν Περσῶν τύχην εἰς
ὅρθυν αὐθις σταθεῖσαν ἐφ' οὓς ἐδεξάμην ἄγαθοῖς
ἀπόλυτεν, ἵνα κρατήσας ἀμείψωμαι τὰς Ἀλεξάν-
δρου χάριτας ὡν εἰς τὰ φίλατα ππαίσας ἔτυχον
7 εἰ δ' ἄρα τις οὗτος είμαρτὸς ἥκει χρόνος, ὁφειλό-
μενος νεμέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ, παύσασθαι τὰ Περ-
σῶν, μηδέτες ἀλλος ἀνθρώπων καθίσειν εἰς τὸν
Κύρου θρόνον πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου.” ταῦτα μὲν
οὕτω γενέσθαι τε καὶ λεχθῆναι φασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι
τῶν συγγραφέων.

XXII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφρά-
του πάσαν ὑφ' ἕαντῷ ποιησάμενος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ
Δαρείον ἐκατὸν μυριάσι στρατοῦ καταβαίνοντα.
καὶ τις αὐτῷ φράζει τῶν ἔταίρων, ὡς δὴ γέλωτος
ἄξιον πρᾶγμα, τοὺς ἀκολούθους παίζοντας εἰς
δύο μέρη διηρηκέναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, ὡν ἐκατέρου
στρατηγὸν είναι καὶ ἡγεμόνα, τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξαν-
δρον, τὸν δὲ Δαρείον ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορεύο-
2 μενον· ἀρξαμένους δὲ βώλοις ἀκροβολίζεσθαι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἴτα πυγμαῖς, τέλος ἐκκεκαῦσθαι
τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ καὶ μέχρι λίθων καὶ ξύλων, πολ-

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namely, the belief that he had been conquered by a man who was superior to human nature; nay, he should even admire Alexander for having shown greater self-restraint in dealing with Persian women than valour against Persian men. Then, while the eunuch was confirming his testimony with the most solemn oaths, and discoursing on the general self-mastery and magnanimity of Alexander, Dareius went out to his companions, and lifting his hands towards heaven, prayed: "O ye gods of my race and kingdom, above all things else grant that I may leave the fortune of Persia reestablished in the prosperity wherem I found it, in order that my victory may enable me to requite Alexander for the favours which I received at his hands when I had lost my dearest possessions; but if, then, a fated time has now come, due to divine jealousy and the vicissitudes of things, and the sway of the Persians must cease, grant that no other man may sit upon the throne of Cyrus but Alexander." That these things were thus done and said is the testimony of most historians.¹

XXXI. But to return to Alexander, when he had subdued all the country on this side of the Euphrates, he marched against Dareius,² who was coming down to meet him with a million men. On this march one of his companions told him, as a matter worth laughing at, that the camp-followers, in sport, had divided themselves into two bands, and set a general and commander over each of them, one of whom they called Alexander, and the other Dareius; and that they had begun by pelting one another with clods of earth, then had fought with their fists, and finally, heated with the desire of battle, had taken

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 20. ² In June or July of 331 B.C.

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λοὺς καὶ δυσκαταπαιύστους γεγονότας. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς μονομαχῆσαι τὸν ἡγεμόνας· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ὥπλισε, τὸν δὲ Δαρείον Φιλώτας. ἐθέάτο δὲ ὁ στρατός, ἐν οἰωνῷ τινι τοῦ μέλλοντος τιθέμενος τὸ γιγνόμενον. ἵσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἐνίκησεν ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ δωρεὰν ἔλαβε δώδεκα κώμας καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴ χρῆσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἐρατοσθένης ἴστορηκε.

- 3 Τὴν δὲ μεγάλην μάχην πρὸς Δαρείον οὐκ ἐν Λρβήλοις, ὕσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γενέσθαι συνέπεσε. σημαίνειν δέ φασιν οἶκον καμήλου τὴν διάλεκτον, ἐπεὶ τῶν πάλαι τις βασιλέων ἐκφυγὴν πολεμίους ἐπὶ καμήλου δρομάδος ἐνταῦθα καθίδρυσεν αὐτήν, ἀποτάξας τινὰς κώμας καὶ προσόδους εἰς τὴν 4 ἐπιμέλειαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν σελήνη τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔξελιπε περὶ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχήν, ἐνδεκάτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως νυκτὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν ὅψει γεγονότων, Δαρεῖος μὲν ἐν ὅπλοις συνέχε τὴν δύναμιν, ὑπὸ λαμπτάδων ἐπιπορευόμενος τὰς τάξεις, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναπαυομένων αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς μετὰ τοῦ μάντεως Ἀριστάνδρου διέτριβεν, ἱερουργίας τινὰς ἀπορρήτους ἱερουργούμενος καὶ 5 τῷ Φόβῳ σφαγιαζόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἑταίρων, καὶ μάλιστα Παρμενίων, ώς τὸ μὲν πεδίον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ Νιφάτου καὶ τῶν ὁρῶν τῶν Γορδυαίων ἀπαν ἔωράτο καταλαμπόμενον τοὺς βαρβαρικοὺς φέγγεσιν, ἀτέκμαρτος δέ τις φωνὴ συμμεμιγμένη καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-

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to stones and sticks, being now many and hard to quell. When he heard this, Alexander ordered the leaders themselves to fight in single combat; to the one called Alexander he himself gave armour, and to the one called Dareius, Philotas. The army were spectators of the combat, counting the issue as in some measure an omen of the future. After a strenuous battle, the one called Alexander was victorious, and received as a reward twelve villages and the right to wear Persian dress. This, at any rate, is what we are told by Eratosthenes.

Now, the great battle against Dareius was not fought at Arbela, as most writers state, but at Gaugamela.¹ The word signifies, we are told, "camel's house," since one of the ancient kings of the country, after escaping from his enemies on a swift camel, gave the animal a home here, assigning certain villages and revenues for its maintenance. It so happened that in the month Boedromion the moon suffered an eclipse,² about the beginning of the Mysteries at Athens, and on the eleventh night after the eclipse, the armies being now in sight of one another, Dareius kept his forces under arms, and held a review of them by torch-light; but Alexander, while his Macedonians slept, himself passed the night in front of his tent with his seer Aristander, celebrating certain mysterious sacred rites and sacrificing to the god Fear. Meanwhile the older of his companions, and particularly Parmenio, when they saw the plain between the Niphates and the Gordyaean mountains all lighted up with the barbarian fires, while an indistinguishably mingled and tumultuous sound of voices arose from their camp as

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 8, 7. ² September 20, 331 B.C.

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πέδου καθάπερ ἔξ ἀχανοῦς προσήχει πελάγους,
6 θαυμάσαντες τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους
διαλεχθέντες ὡς μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔργον εἴη
συμπεσόντας ἐκ προφανοῦς τοσούτον ὕσταθαι
πόλεμον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἴερῶν γενομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ
προσελθόντες ἐπειθον αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρῆσαι οὐκτωρ
τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τῷ σκότῳ τὸ φοβερώτατον
7 συγκαλύψαι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγῶνος. οὐ δὲ τὸ
μνημονεύμενον εἰπών, “Οὐ κλέπτω τὴν μίκην,”
ἐνίοις μὲν ἔδοξε μειρακιώδῃ καὶ κευὴν ἀπόκρισιν
πεποιήσθαι, παίζων πρὸς τοσούτον κλίδυνον,
ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῷ παρόντι θαρρεῖν καὶ στοχάζεσθαι
τοῦ μέλλοντος ὅρθως, μὴ διδοὺς πρόφασιν ἡττη-
θέντι Δαρείῳ πρὸς ἄλλην αὐθις ἀναθαρρήσαι
πέιραν, αἰτιωμένῳ τούτων οὐκτα καὶ σκότος,
ώς ὅρη καὶ στενὰ καὶ θάλασσαν τῶν προτέρων.
8 οὐ γάρ ὅπλων οὐδὲ σωμάτων ἀπορίᾳ παύσεσθαι
πολεμοῦντα Δαρείον ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως
καὶ χώρας τοσαύτης, ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἀφῇ τὸ φρόνημα
καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, δι’ ἐμφανοῦς ἡττῆς κατὰ κράτος
ἔξελεγχθεῖς.

XXXII. Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τούτων κατακλιθεὶς
ὑπὸ σκηνὴν λέγεται τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ουκτὸς
ὑπνφ βαθεῖ κρατηθῆναι παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός, ὥστε
θαυμάζειν ἐπελθόντας ὅρθρους τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ
παρ’ αὐτῶν ἔξεινεγκεῖν παράγγελμα πρῶτον
ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας· ἐπειτα τοῦ
καιροῦ κατεπείγοντος εἰσελθόντα Παρμενίωνα
καὶ παραστάντα τῷ κλίνῃ δὶς ἢ τρὶς αὐτοῦ φθέγ-
ξασθαι τοῦνομα· καὶ διεγερθέντος οὕτως ἐρωτᾶν

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if from a vast ocean, were astonished at their multitude and argued with one another that it was a great and grievous task to repel such a tide of war by engaging in broad day-light. They therefore waited upon the king when he had finished his sacrifices, and tried to persuade him to attack the enemy by night, and so to cover up with darkness the most fearful aspect of the coming struggle. But he gave them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal my victory"; whereupon some thought that he had made a vainglorious reply, and was jesting in the presence of so great a peril. Others, however, thought that he had confidence in the present situation and estimated the future correctly, not offering Dareius in case of defeat an excuse to pluck up courage again for another attempt, by laying the blame this time upon darkness and night, as he had before upon mountains, defiles, and sea.¹ For Dareius would not give up the war for lack of arms or men when he could draw from so great a host and so vast a territory, but only when he had lost courage and hope, under the conviction brought by a downright defeat in broad day-light.

XXXII. After the men were gone, Alexander lay down in his tent, and is said to have passed the rest of the night in a deeper sleep than usual, so that when his officers came to him in the early morning they were amazed, and on their own authority issued orders that the soldiers should first take breakfast. Then, since the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered the tent, and standing by his couch called Alexander twice or thrice by name; and when he

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 10, where it is Parmenio who advises a night attack.

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- ὅ τι δὴ πεπονθὼς ὑπνοι καθεύδοι νενικηκότος,
οὐχὶ μέλλοντος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν
ἀγώνων. τὸν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν διαμείδιά-
σαντα· “Τί γάρ; οὐκ ἥδη σοι νενικηκέναι δοκοῦ-
μεν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ διώκειν
ἐν πολλῇ καὶ κατεφθαρμένῃ φυγομαχοῦντα χώρα
Δαρεῖον;” οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ
παρ’ αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπεδείξατο μέγαν καὶ
συνεστηκότα τῷ λογίζεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῦν ἔαυτόν.
3 ἔσχε γάρ ὁ ἄγων ὑποτροπὴν καὶ σάλον ἐν τῷ
εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι κατὰ Παρμενίωνα, τῆς Βακτρι-
ανῆς ἵππου ρόθῳ πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ βίας παρεμ-
πεσούσης εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Μαζαίου δὲ
περιπέμψαντος ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἵππεis τοῖς
σκευοφυλακοῦσι προσβαλοῦντας. διὸ καὶ θορυ-
βούμενος ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ὁ Παρμενίων ἀπέστειλε
πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγγέλους φράζοντας οἰχεσθαι
τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος
βοήθειαν ὀχυρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πέμψει τοῖς
4 ὅπισθεν. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τοῖς
περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφόδου διδοὺς σημεῖον· ὡς δὲ ἥκουσε
τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, οὐκ ἔφη σωφρονεῦν
αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐντὸς εἶναι τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐπι-
λελῆσθαι ταραττόμενον ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν προσκτή-
σονται καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἡττωμένοις δὲ
φροντιστέον οὐ χρημάτων οὐδὲ ἀνδραπόδων, ἀλλ’
ὅπως ἀποθανοῦνται καλῶς καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνι-
ζόμενοι.
- 5 Ταῦτα ἐπιστείλας Παρμενίωνι τὸ κράνος περι-
έθετο, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον ὁπλισμὸν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς

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had thus roused him, he asked him how he could possibly sleep as if he were victorious, instead of being about to fight the greatest of all his battles. Then Alexander said with a smile: “What, pray? Dost thou not think that we are already victorious, now that we are relieved from wandering about in a vast and desolated country in pursuit of a Dareius who avoids a battle?” And not only before the battle, but also in the very thick of the struggle did he show himself great, and firm in his confident calculations. For in the battle the left wing under Parmenio was thrown back and in distress, when the Bactrian cavalry fell upon the Macedonians with great impetuosity and violence, and when Mazaeus sent horsemen round outside the line of battle to attack those who were guarding the Macedonian baggage. Therefore, too, Parmenio, much disturbed by both occurrences, sent messengers to Alexander telling him that camp and baggage were gone, unless he speedily sent strong reinforcements from front to rear.¹ Now, it chanced that at that instant Alexander was about to give the signal for the onset to those under his command; but when he heard Parmenio’s message, he declared that Parmenio was beside himself and had lost the use of his reason, and had forgotten in his distress that victors add the baggage of the enemy to their own, and that those who are vanquished must not think about their wealth or their slaves, but only how they may fight gloriously and die with honour.

After sending this message to Parmenio, he put on his helmet, but the rest of his armour he had on as

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 15, 1, where Parmenio’s message recalls Alexander from the pursuit of Dareius.

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εἶχεν, ὑπένδυμα τῶν Σικελικῶν ζωστόν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ θώρακα διπλοῦν λινοῦν ἐκ τῶν ληφθέντων ἐν Ἰσσῷ. τὸ δὲ κράνος ἦν μὲν σιδηρόν, ἔστιλβε δὲ ὁσπερ ἄργυρος καθαρός, ἔργον Θεοφίλου, συνήρμοστο δὲ αὐτῷ περιτραχήλιον ὄμοιώς σιδηροῦν, λιθοκόλλητον· μάχαιραν δὲ θαυμαστὴν βαφῇ καὶ κουφότητι. δωρησαμένου τοῦ Κιτιέων βασιλέως, εἶχεν, ἡσκημένος τὰ πολλὰ χρῆσθαι μαχαίρα παρὰ τὰς μάχας. ἐπιπόρπωμα δὲ ἐφόρει τῇ μὲν ἐργασίᾳ σοβαρώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον ὄπλισμόν· ἦν γάρ ἔργον Ἐλικῶνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ, τιμὴ δὲ τῆς Ροδίων πόλεως, ὑφ' ἧς ἐδόθη δῶρον· 7 ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν συντάττων τι τῆς φάλαγγος ἢ παρακελευόμενος ἢ διδάσκων ἢ ἐφορῶν παρεξήλαυνεν, ἄλλον ἵππον εἶχε, τοῦ Βουκεφάλα φειδόμενος ἥδη παρήλικος ὅντος· χωροῦντι δὲ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκείνος προσήγετο, καὶ μεταβάς εὐθὺς ἤρχεν ἐφόδου.

XXXIII. Τότε δὲ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς πλεῦστα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις "Ελλησιν, ὡς ἐπέρρωσταν αὐτὸν βοῶντες ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὸ ξυστὸν εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν μεταβαλὼν τῇ δεξιᾷ παρεκάλει τοὺς θεούς, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησίν, ἐπευχόμενος, εἴπερ ὅντως Διόθεν ἐστὶ γεγονώς, 2 ἀμῦναι καὶ συνεπιρρώσαι τοὺς "Ελληνας. ὁ δὲ μάντις Ἀρίστανδρος χλανίδα λευκὴν ἔχων καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπεδείκνυτο παριππεύων ἀετὸν

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he came from his tent, namely, a vest of Sicilian make girt about him, and over this a breastplate of two-ply linen from the spoils taken at Issus. His helmet was of iron, but gleamed like polished silver, a work of Theophilus; and there was fitted to this a gorget, likewise of iron, set with precious stones. He had a sword, too, of astonishing temper and lightness, a gift from the king of the Cittaeans, and he had trained himself to use a sword for the most part in his battles. He wore a belt also, which was too elaborate for the rest of his armour; for it was a work of Helicon the ancient, and a mark of honour from the city of Rhodes, which had given it to him; this also he was wont to wear in his battles. As long, then, as he was riding about and marshalling some part of his phalanx, or exhorting or instructing or reviewing his men, he spared Bucephalus, who was now past his prime, and used another horse; but whenever he was going into action, Bucephalus would be led up, and he would mount him and at once begin the attack.

XXXIII. On this occasion, he made a very long speech to the Thessalians and the other Greeks,¹ and when he saw that they encouraged him with shouts to lead them against the Barbarians, he shifted his lance into his left hand, and with his right appealed to the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, praying them, if he was really sprung from Zeus, to defend and strengthen the Greeks. Arstander the seer, too, wearing a white mantle and having a crown of gold upon his head, rode along the ranks pointing out to

¹ Sometimes the term “Hellenes” excludes, and sometimes it includes, the Macedonians. The context must decide. Cf. xlvi. 5.

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νπὲρ κεφαλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου συνεπαιωρούμενον καὶ κατευθύνοντα τῇ πτήσει ὅρθιον ἐπὶ τὸν πολεμίους, ὥστε πολὺ μὲν θάρσος ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θαρρεῖν καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀλλήλους δρόμῳ τοὺς ἵππεῦσιν ιεμένοις ἐπὶ τοὺς 3 πολεμίους ἐπικυμαίνειν τὴν φάλαγγα. πρὶν δὲ συμμῖξαι τοὺς πρώτους ἔξεκλιναν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ διωγμὸς ἦν πολὺς, εἰς τὰ μέσα συνελαύνοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ νικώμενον, ὅπου Δαρεῖος ἦν. πόρρωθεν γάρ αὐτὸν κατέδε διὰ τῶν προτεταγμένων ἐν βάθει τῆς βασιλικῆς Ἰλης ἐκφανέντα, καλὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μέγαν ἐφ' ἄρματος ὑψηλοῦ βεβῶτα, πολλοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ λαμπροῖς καταπεφραγμένοις εὖ μάλα συνεσπειραμένοις περὶ τὸ ἄρμα καὶ παρατεταγμένοις δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ὁφθεὶς ἐγγύθεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τοὺς μένοντας ἔξέπληξε καὶ διεσκέδασε τὸ πλεῖστον. οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ γενναιότατοι πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φονεύομενοι καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων πίπτοντες ἐμποδὼν τῆς διώξεως ἦσαν, ἐμπλεκόμενοι καὶ περισπαίροντες αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵπποις.

5 Δαρεῖος δέ, τῶν δεινῶν ἀπάντων ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς ὅντων καὶ τῶν προτεταγμένων δυνάμεων ἐρειπομένων εἰς αὐτόν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἀποστρέψαι τὸ ἄρμα καὶ διεξελάσαι ῥάδιον, ἀλλ' οἵ τε τροχοὶ συνείχοντο πτώμασι πεφυρμένοι τοσούτοις οἵ τε ἵπποι κατα-

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them an eagle which soared above the head of Alexander and directed his flight straight against the enemy, at which sight great courage filled the beholders, and after mutual encouragement and exhortation the cavalry charged at full speed upon the enemy and the phalanx rolled on after them like a flood. But before the foremost ranks were engaged the Barbarians gave way, and were hotly pursued, Alexander driving the conquered foe towards the centre of their array, where Dareius was.¹ For from afar he was seen by Alexander through the deep ranks of the royal squadron of horse drawn up in front of him, towering conspicuous, a fine-looking man and tall, standing on a lofty chariot, fenced about by a numerous and brilliant array of horsemen, who were densely massed around the chariot and drawn up to receive the enemy. But when they saw Alexander close at hand and terrible, and driving those who fled before him upon those who held their ground, they were smitten with fear and scattered, for the most part. The bravest and noblest of them, however, slain in front of their king and falling in heaps upon one another, obstructed the Macedonians in their pursuit, weaving and twining themselves in their last agonies about riders and horses.

But Dareius, now that all the terrors of the struggle were before his eyes, and now that the forces drawn up to protect him were crowded back upon him, since it was not an easy matter to turn his chariot about and drive it away, seeing that the wheels were obstructed and entangled in the great numbers of the fallen, while the horses, surrounded and hidden

¹ Alexander's tactics are minutely described by Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 14, 1-3).

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λαμβανόμενοι καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τῷ πληθεῖ τῶν
νεκρῶν ἔξήλλοντο καὶ συνετύραττον τὸν ἡμίοχον,
ἀπολείπει μὲν τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, θήλειαν δέ,
6 ὡς φασι, νεοτόκουν ὑππον περιβάς ἔφυγεν. οὐ μὴν
τότε ἀν ἐδόκει διαφυγεῖν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν ἥκον ἔτε-
ροι παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἵππεῖς μετακαλοῦντες
'Αλέξανδρον, ώς συνεστώσης ἔτι πολλῆς δυνάμεως
ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐνδιδόντων. ὅλως γὰρ
αἰτιῶνται Παρμενίωνα κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην
νωθρὸν γενέσθαι καὶ δύσεργον, εἴτε τοῦ γήρως
ηδη τι παραλύοντος τῆς τόλμης, εἴτε τὴν ἔξουσίαν
καὶ τὸν ὄγκον, ώς Καλλισθένης φησί, τῆς 'Αλε-
ξάνδρου δυνάμεως βαρυνόμενον καὶ προσφθο-
7 νοῦντα. τότε δ' οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνιαθεὶς τῇ
μεταπέμψει τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις οὐκ ἔφρασε τὸ
ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ώς ἀνέχων τοῦ φουεύειν καὶ σκότους
ὄντος ἀνάκλησιν ἐσίγμανει ἐλαύνων δὲ πρὸς τὸ
κινδυνεύον μέρος ἥκουσε καθ' ὄδον ἡττῆσθαι
παντάπασι καὶ φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

XXXIV. Τούτο τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης λαβούσας
τὸ πέρας, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ παντάπασιν ἡ Περσῶν
ἐδόκει καταλελύσθαι, βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς 'Ασίας
'Αλέξανδρος ἀνηγορευμένος ἔθυε τοῖς θεοῖς μεγα-
λοπρεπῶς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδωρεῖτο πλούτους καὶ
οἴκους καὶ ἡγεμονίας. φιλοτιμούμενος δὲ πρὸς
τοὺς "Ελληνας ἔγραψε τὰς τυραννίδας πάσας
καταλυθῆναι καὶ πολιτεύειν αὐτονόμους, ἴδιᾳ δὲ
Πλαταιεῦσι τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν, ὅτι τὴν
χώραν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς

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away by the multitude of dead bodies, were rearing up and frightening the charioteer, forsook his chariot and his armour, mounted a mare which, as they say, had newly foaled, and took to flight. However, it is thought that he would not then have made his escape, had not fresh horsemen come from Parmenio¹ summoning Alexander to his aid, on the ground that a large force of the enemy still held together there and would not give ground. For there is general complaint that in that battle Parmenio was sluggish and inefficient, either because old age was now impairing somewhat his courage, or because he was made envious and resentful by the arrogance and pomp, to use the words of Callisthenes, of Alexander's power. At the time, then, although he was annoyed by the summons, the king did not tell his soldiers the truth about it, but on the ground that it was dark and he would therefore remit further slaughter, sounded a recall; and as he rode towards the endangered portion of his army, he heard by the way that the enemy had been utterly defeated and was in flight.

XXXIV. The battle having had this issue, the empire of the Persians was thought to be utterly dissolved, and Alexander, proclaimed king of Asia, made magnificent sacrifices to the gods and rewarded his friends with wealth, estates, and provinces. And being desirous of honour among the Greeks, he wrote them that all their tyrannies were abolished and they might live under their own laws; moreover, he wrote the Plataeans specially that he would rebuild their city, because their ancestors had furnished their

¹ Arrian makes no mention of a second appeal for aid from Parmenio.

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2 "Ελλησιν ύπερ τῆς ἐλευθερίας παρέσχον. ἔπειμψε
δὲ καὶ Κροτωνάταις εἰς Ἰταλίαν μέρος τῶν
λαφύρων, τὴν Φαῦλλου τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ τιμῶν προ-
θυμίαν καὶ ἀρετήν, δις περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀπεγνωκότων τοὺς "Ελληνας ἴδιόστο-
λον ἔχων ναῦν ἐπλευσεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, τοῦ κυ-
δύνου τι μεθέξων. οὕτω τις εὐμενὴς ἦν πρὸς
ἀπασαν ἀρετὴν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων φύλαξ καὶ
οἰκεῖος.

XXXV. Ἐπιών δὲ τὴν Βαθυλωνίαν ἀπασαν
εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην ἔθαύμασε μάλιστα τό-
τε χάσμα τοῦ πυρὸς ὡσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς συνεχῶς
ἀναφερομένου, καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ νάφθα λιμνά-
ζοντος διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ χάσματος, δις
τᾶλλα μὲν ἀσφάλτῳ προσέσικεν, οὕτω δὲ εὐπαθῆς
πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐστιν ὥστε, πρὶν ἢ θιγεῖν τὴν φλόγα,
δι' αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ φῶς ἔξαπτόμενος αὐγῆς τὸν
2 μεταξὺ πολλάκις ἀέρα συνεκκαίειν. ἐπιδεικνύ-
μενοι δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἱ βάρβαροι
τὸν ἄγοντα πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ βασιλέως
στενωπὸν ἐλαφρῷ τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατεψέκασαν
εἴτα στάντες ἐπὶ ἄκρῳ τοὺς λαμπτῆρας τοῖς
βεβρεγμένοις προσέθηκαν· ἥδη γὰρ συνεσκόταζε.
τῶν δὲ πρώτων εὐθὺς ἀψαμένων οὐκ ἔσχεν ἢ νομὴ
χρόνου αἰσθητόν, ἀλλ' ἂμα νοήματι διῆκτο πρὸς
θάτερον πέρας καὶ πῦρ ἐγεγόνει συνεχὲς ὁ στενω-
3 πός. ἦν δέ τις Ἀθηνοφάνης Ἀθηναῖος τῶν
περὶ ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν εἰωθότων τὸ σῶμα
θεραπεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμ-
μελῶς ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ῥάθυμον. οὗτος ἐν τῷ
λουτρῶν τότε παιδαρίου τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρε-

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territory to the Greeks for the struggle in behalf of their freedom.¹ He sent also to the people of Croton in Italy a portion of the spoils, honouring the zeal and valour of their athlete Phayllus, who, in the Median wars, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy refused to help their brother Greeks, fitted out a ship at his own cost and sailed with it to Salamis, that he might have some share in the peril there.² So considerate was Alexander towards every form of valour, and such a friend and guardian of noble deeds.

XXXV. As he traversed all Babylonia, which at once submitted to him, he was most of all amazed at the chasm from which fire continually streamed forth as from a spring, and at the stream of naphtha, so abundant as to form a lake, not far from the chasm. This naphtha is in other ways like asphaltum, but is so sensitive to fire that, before the flame touches it, it is kindled by the very radiance about the flame and often sets fire also to the intervening air. To show its nature and power, the Barbarians sprinkled the street leading to Alexander's quarters with small quantities of the liquid; then, standing at the farther end of the street, they applied their torches to the moistened spots; for it was now getting dark. The first spots at once caught fire, and without an appreciable interval of time, but with the speed of thought, the flame darted to the other end, and the street was one continuous fire. Now, there was a certain Athenophanes, an Athenian, one of those who were accustomed to minister to the person of the king when he bathed and anointed himself, and to furnish suitable diversion for his thoughts. This man, one time when there was standing by Alexander

¹ In 479 B.C. ² Cf. Herodotus, vii. 47.

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στῶτος εὐτελοῦς σφόδρα καὶ γελοίου τὴν ὄψιν,
ἥδοντος δὲ χαριέντως, Στέφανος ἐκαλεῖτο, “Βού-
λει,” φησίν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διάπειραν ἐν Στεφάνῳ
τοῦ φαρμάκου λάβωμεν; ἀν γὰρ ἄφηται τούτου
καὶ μὴ κατασβεσθῆ, παντάπασιν ἀν φαίην ἄμα-
χον καὶ δεινὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν εἶναι.” προ-
θύμως δέ πως καὶ τοῦ παιδαρίου διδόντος ἑαυτὸν
πρὸς τὴν πεῖραν, ἄμα τῷ περιαλεῖψαι καὶ θυγεῖν
ἔξήνθησε φλόγα τοσαύτην τὸ σώμα καὶ πυρὶ⁴
κατεσχέθη τὸ πᾶν ὥστε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς πᾶν
ἀπορίας καὶ δέους ἐλθεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ τύχην
πολλοὶ παρῆσαν ἀγγεῖα πρὸς τὸ λουτρὸν ὕδατος
διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἀν ἔφθασεν ἡ βοήθεια
5 τὴν ἐπινομήν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μόγις κατέσβεσαν
τὸ σώμα τοῦ παιδὸς δι' ὅλου πῦρ γενόμενον, καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν.

Εἰκότως οὖν ἔνιοι τὸν μῦθον ἀνασώζοντες πρὸς
τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦτο φασιν εἶναι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας
φάρμακον, ὦ τὸν τραγῳδούμενον στέφανον καὶ
τὸν πέπλον ἔχρισεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων
οὐδὲ ἀπ' αὐτομάτου λάμψαι τὸ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ φλο-
γὸς ἐγγύθεν παρατεθείσης ὀξεῖναν ὀλκὴν καὶ συνα-
6 φὴν ἀδηλούν αἰσθῆσει γενέσθαι. τὰς γὰρ ἀκτῖνας
καὶ τὰ ρέυματα τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπωθεν ἐπερχόμενα
τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σώμασι φῶς καὶ θερμότητα προσ-
βάλλειν μόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔηρότητα πνευματικὴν
ἡ νοτίδα λιπαρὰν καὶ διαρκῆ κεκτημένοις ἀθροι-
ζόμενα καὶ πυριμανοῦντα μεταβάλλειν ὀξέως τὴν
ὑλην. παρεῖχε δὲ ἀπορίαν ἡ γένεσις . . . εἴτε

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in the bath-room a youth who had a ridiculously plain countenance, but was a graceful singer (his name was Stephanus), said, "Wilt thou, O King, that we make a trial of the liquid upon Stephanus?" For if it should lay hold of him and not be extinguished, I would certainly say that its power was invincible and terrible." The youth also, strangely enough, offered himself for the experiment, and as soon as he touched the liquid and began to anoint himself with it, his body broke out into so great a flame and was so wholly possessed by fire that Alexander fell into extreme perplexity and fear; and had it not been by chance that many were standing by holding vessels of water for the bath, the youth would have been consumed before aid reached him. Even as it was, they had great difficulty in putting out the fire, for it covered the boy's whole body, and after they had done so, he was in a sorry plight.

It is natural, then, that some who wish to bring fable into conformity with truth should say that this naphtha is the drug which Medeia used, when, in the tragedies, she anoints the crown and the robe. For it was not from these objects themselves, they say, nor of its own accord, that the fire shot up, but a flame was placed near them, which was then so swiftly drawn into conjunction with them that the senses could not take cognisance of it. For the rays and emanations of fire which come from a distance impart to some bodies merely light and warmth; but in those which are dry and porous, or which have sufficiently rich moisture, they collect themselves together, break into fierce flame, and transform the material. There has been much discussion about

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μᾶλλον ὑπέκκαυμα τῆς φλογὸς ὑπορρεῖ τὸ ὑγρὸν
ἐκ τῆς γῆς φύσιν λιπαρὰν καὶ πυριγόνον ἔχούστης.
7 καὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ Βαβυλωνία σφόδρα πυρώδης,
ῶστε τὰς μὲν κριθὰς χαμόθεν ἐκπηδᾶν καὶ ἀπο-
πάλλεσθαι πολλάκις, οἷον ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς τῶν
τόπων σφυγμοὺς ἔχοντων, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν
τοῖς καύμασιν ἐπ' ἀσκῶν πεπληρωμένων ὕδατος
8 καθεύδειν. "Αρπαλος δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀπολειφθεὶς
ἐπιμελητὴς καὶ φιλοκαλῶν Ἑλληνικὰς φυτείαις
διακοσμήσαι τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τοὺς περιπάτους,
τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐκράτησε, τὸν δὲ κιττὸν οὐκ
ἔστεξεν ἡ γῆ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ διέφθειρεν οὐ φέρον-
τα τὴν κράσιν· ή μὲν γὰρ πυρώδης, ὁ δὲ φιλό-
ψυχρος. τῶν μὲν οὖν τοιούτων παρεκβάσεων,
ἄν μέτρον ἔχωσιν, ἥττον ἵσως οἱ δύσκολοι κατη-
γορήσουσιν.

XXXVI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Σούσων κυριεύσας
παρέλαβεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τετρακισμύρια
τάλαντα νομίσματος, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην κατασκευὴν
καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἀδιήγητον. ὅπου φασὶν καὶ
πορφύρας Ἐρμιονικῆς εὑρεθῆναι τάλαντα πεντα-
κισχίλια, συγκειμένης μὲν ἐξ ἑτῶν δέκα δεόντων
διακοσίων, πρόσφατον δὲ τὸ ἄνθος ἔτι καὶ νεαρὸν
2 φυλαττούσης. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι τὸ
τὴν βαφὴν διὰ μέλιτος γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀλουργῶν,
δι’ ἐλαίου δὲ λευκοῦ τῶν λευκῶν· καὶ γὰρ τούτων
τὸν ἴσον χρόνον ἔχοντων τὴν λαμπρότητα καθα-
ρὰν καὶ στίλβουσαν ὄράσθαι. Δείνων δέ φησι
καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπό τε τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ "Ιστρου

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the origin of¹ . . . or whether rather the liquid substance that feeds the flame flows out from a soil which is rich and productive of fire. For the soil of Babylonia is very fiery, so that grains of barley often leap out of the ground and bound away, as if its inflammation made the ground throb; and the inhabitants, during the hot season, sleep on skins filled with water. Harpalus, moreover, when he was left as overseer of the country and was eager to adorn the royal gardens and walks with Hellenic plants, succeeded with all except ivy; this the soil would not support, but always killed it. The plant could not endure the temper of the soil, for the soil was fiery, while the plant was fond of coolness. However, if such digressions are kept within bounds, perhaps my impatient readers will find less fault with them.

XXXVI. On making himself master of Susa, Alexander came into possession of forty thousand talents of coined money in the palace, and of untold furniture and wealth besides.² Among this they say was found five thousand talents' weight of purple from Hermione, which, although it had been stored there for a hundred and ninety years, still kept its colours fresh and lively. The reason for this, they say, is that honey was used in the purple dyes, and white olive oil in the white dyes; for these substances, after the like space of time, are seen to have a brilliancy that is pure and lustrous. Moreover, Deinon says that the Persian kings had water also brought from the Nile and the Danube and stored

¹ "This naphtha," and the first "whether"-clause, have fallen out of the text.

² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 16, 7. A talent's weight was something over fifty pounds.

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μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μεταπεμπομένους εἰς τὴν γάζαν
ἀποιθεσθαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οἷον ἐκβεβαιουμένους
τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ κυριεύειν ἀπάντων.

- XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ Περσίδος οὖσης διὰ τραχύτητα δυσεμβόλου καὶ φυλαττομένης ὑπὸ γενναιοτάτων Περσῶν (Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ ἐπεφεύγει) γίγνεται τινος περιόδου κύκλου ἔχοντος οὐ πολὺν ἡγεμῶν αὐτῷ δίγλωσσος ἀνθρωπος, ἐκ πατρὸς Διοκίου, μητρὸς δὲ Περσίδος γεγονώς· ὃν φασιν,
ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὴν Πυθίαν προειπένν, ως λύκος ἔσται καθηγεμὼν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς
2 ἐπὶ Πέρσας πορείας. φόνον μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα πολὺν τῶν ἀλισκομένων γενέσθαι συνέπεσε· γράφει γὰρ αὐτὸς ὡς νομίζων αὐτῷ τοῦτο λυσιτελεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· νομίσματος δὲ εύρεν πλῆθος ὅσον ἐν Σούσοις, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην κατασκευὴν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκκομισθῆναι φασὶ μυρίους ὄρικοις ζεύγεσι καὶ πεντακισχιλίαις καμήλοις.
3 Ξέρξου δὲ ἀνδριάντα μέγαν θεασάμενος ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ὡθουμένων εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πλημμελῶς ἀνατετραμμένου ἐπέστη, καὶ καθάπερ ἔμψυχον προσαγορεύσας, “Πότερόν σε,” εἶπε, “διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας στρατείαν κείμενον παρέλθωμεν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην μεγαλοφροσύνην καὶ ὑρετὴν ἐγείρωμεν;” τέλος δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πρὸς ἕαυτῷ γενόμενος καὶ σιωπήσας παρῆλθε. βουλόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν

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up among their treasures, as a sort of confirmation of the greatness of their empire and the universality of their sway.

XXXVII. Persis was difficult of access, owing to the roughness of the country, and was guarded by the noblest of the Persians (for Dareius had taken to flight); but Alexander found a guide to conduct him thither by a circuit of no great extent. The man spoke two languages, since his father was a Lycian and his mother a Persian; and it was he, they say, whom the Pythian priestess had in mind when she prophesied, Alexander being yet a boy, that a “lycus,” or *wolf*, would be Alexander’s guide on his march against the Persians.¹ In this country, then, as it turned out, there was a great slaughter of the prisoners taken; for Alexander himself writes that he gave orders to have the inhabitants butchered, thinking that this would be to his advantage; and they say that as much coined money was found there² as at Susa, and that it took ten thousand pairs of mules and five thousand camels to carry away the other furniture and wealth there.

On beholding a great statue of Xerxes which had been carelessly overthrown by a throng that forced its way into the palace, Alexander stopped before it, and accosting it as if it had been alive, said: “Shall I pass on and leave thee lying there, because of thine expedition against the Hellenes, or, because of thy magnanimity and virtue in other ways, shall I set thee up again?” But finally, after communing with himself a long time in silence, he passed on. Wishing to refresh his soldiers (for it was winter

¹ Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 18, 1f.) speaks only of a forced march through the mountains.

² In Persepolis.

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χειμῶνος ὥρα) τέσσαρας μῆνας αὐτόθι διήγαγε.
4 λέγεται δὲ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τὸν
χρυσοῦν οὐρανίσκον ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θρόνῳ τὸν
Κορίνθιον Δημάρατον εὔνουν ὅντα ἄνδρα καὶ
πατρῷον φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρου πρεσβυτικῷ ἐπι-
δακρύσαι, καὶ εὐπεῖν ὡς μεγάλης ἡδονῆς στεροῦντο
τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τεθνηκότες πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξαν-
δρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον.

ΧΧΧVIII Ἐκ τούτου μέλλων ἔξελαύνειν ἐπὶ¹
Δαρείου ἔτυχε μὲν εἰς μέθην τινὰ καὶ παιδιὰν
τοῖς ἑταίροις ἀντὸν δεδωκώς, ὡστε καὶ γύναια
συμπίνειν ἐπὶ κῶμοι ήκοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἑραστάς.
ἐν δὲ τούτοις εὐδοκιμοῦσα μάλιστα Θαῖς ἡ Πτο-
λεμαίον τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος υστερον ἑταίρα, γένος
Ἀττική, τὰ μὲν ἐμμελῶς ἐπαινοῦσα, τὰ δὲ παί-
ζουσα πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἡμα τῇ μέθῃ λόγον
εἰπεῖν προϊχθη τῷ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ἥθει πρέ-
2 ποντα, μείζονα δὲ ἢ κατ' αὐτήν. ἔφη γὰρ ὁν
πεπόνηκε πεπλαυημένη τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπολαμβάνειν
χάριν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐντρυφῶσα τοῖς ὑπερη-
φάνοις Περσῶν βασιλείοις· ἔτι δὲ ἀν ἥδιον ὑπο-
πρῆσαι κωμάσασα τὸν Ξέρξου τοῦ κατακαύ-
σαντος τὰς Ἀθήνας οἰκουν, αὐτὴ τὸ πῦρ ἄνασσα
τοῦ βασιλέως ὄρῶντος, ὡς ἀν λόγος ἔχῃ πρὸς
ἀνθρώπους ὅτι τῶν ναυμάχων καὶ πεζομάχων
ἐκείνων στρατηγῶν τὰ μετά Ἀλεξάνδρου γύναια
μείζονα δίκην ἐπέθηκε Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλά-
3 δος. ἡμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ κρότου καὶ θορύβου
γενομένου καὶ παρακελεύσεως τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ

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time), he spent four months in that place. And it is said that when he took his seat for the first time under the golden canopy on the royal throne, Demaratus the Corinthian, a well-meaning man and a friend of Alexander's, as he had been of Alexander's father, burst into tears, as old men will, and declared that those Hellenes were deprived of great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius.

XXXVIII. After this, as he was about to march forth against Dareius, it chanced that he consented to take part in a merry drinking bout of his companions, at which women also came to meet their lovers and shared in their wine and revelry. The most famous among these women was Thaïs, an Athenian, the mistress of Ptolemy, who was afterwards king. She, partly in graceful praise of Alexander, and partly to make sport for him, as the drinking went on, was moved to utter a speech which befitted the character of her native country, but was too lofty for one of her kind. She said, namely, that for all her hardships in wandering over Asia she was being requited that day by thus revelling luxuriously in the splendid palace of the Persians; but it would be a still greater pleasure to go in revel rout and set fire to the house of the Xerxes who burned Athens, she herself kindling the fire under the eyes of Alexander, in order that a tradition might prevail among men that the women in the train of Alexander inflicted a greater punishment upon the Persians in behalf of Hellas than all her famous commanders by sea and land. As soon as she had thus spoken, tumultuous applause arose, and the companions of the king eagerly urged him on,

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φιλοτιμίας, ἐπισπασθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀναπηγός δήσας ἔχων στέφανον καὶ λαμπάδα προῆγεν. οἱ δὲ ἐπόμενοι κώμῳ καὶ βοῇ περιίσταντο τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων οἱ πυνθανόμενοι συνέτρεχον μετὰ λαμπάδων χαίροντες. ἥλπιζον γάρ ὅτι τοῖς οἴκοι προσέχοντός ἔστι τὸν νοῦν καὶ μὴ μέλλοντος ἐν βαρβάροις οἰκεῖν τὸ πιμπράναι τὰ βασίλεια καὶ διαφθείρειν. οἱ μὲν οὗτοι ταῦτα γενέσθαι φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ γνώμης ὅτι δὲ οὐν μετενόησε ταχὺ καὶ κατασβέσαι προσέταξεν ὁμολογεῖται.

XXXIX. Φύσει δὲ ὁν μεγαλοδωρότατος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πραγμάτων αὐξομένων· καὶ προσῆν ἡ φιλοφροσύνη, μεθ' ἣς μόνης ὡς ἀληθῶς οἱ διδόντες χαρίζονται. μνησθήσομαι δὲ δόλιγων. Ἀρίστων ὁ τῶν Παιόνων ἡγούμενος ἀποκτείνας πολέμιον ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιδειξάμενος αὐτῷ, “Τοῦτο,” εἶπεν, “ὁ βασιλεὺς, παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκπώματος χρυσοῦ τιμᾶται τὸ δῶρον.” ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας, “Κενοῦ γε,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ δέ σοι μεστὸν ἀκρύτου προπίομαι.” τῶν δὲ πολλῶν τις Μακεδόνων ἥλαυνεν ἡμίονον βασιλικὸν χρυσίον κομίζοντα· κάμνοντος δὲ τοῦ κτήνους αὐτὸς ἀράμενος ἐκόμιζε τὸ φορτίον. ἴδων οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς θλιβόμενον αὐτὸν σφόδρα καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα, μέλλοντος κατατίθεσθαι, “Μὴ κάμης,” εἶπεν, “ἄλλα

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so that he yielded to their desires, and leaping to his feet, with a garland on his head and a torch in his hand, led them the way. The company followed with shouts and revelry and surrounded the palace, while the rest of the Macedonians who learned about it ran thither with torches and were full of joy. For they hoped that the burning and destruction of the palace was the act of one who had fixed his thoughts on home, and did not intend to dwell among Barbarians. This is the way the deed was done, according to some writers; but others say it was premeditated.¹ However, it is agreed that Alexander speedily repented and gave orders to put out the fire.

XXXIX. Alexander was naturally munificent, and became still more so as his wealth increased. His gifts, too, were accompanied by a kindly spirit, with which alone, to tell the truth, a giver confers a favour. I will mention a few instances. Ariston, the captain of the Paeonians, having slain an enemy, brought his head and showed it to Alexander, saying: "In my country, O King, such a gift as this is rewarded with a golden beaker." "Yes," said Alexander with a laugh, "an empty one; but I will pledge thy health with one which is full of pure wine." Again, a common Macedonian was driving a mule laden with some of the royal gold, and when the beast gave out, took the load on his own shoulders and tried to carry it. The king, then, seeing the man in great distress and learning the facts of the case, said, as the man was about to lay his burden down, "Don't give out,

¹ So Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 18. 11 f., where there is none of Plutarch's romance. For this, cf. Diodorus, xvii. 72; Curtius, v. 7, 1-7.

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πρόσθεις ἔτι τὴν λοιπὴν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἔαν-
3 τῷ¹ τοῦτο κομίσας.” ὅλως δὲ ἥχθετο τοῖς μὴ
λαμβάνουσι μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς αἰτοῦσι. καὶ Φωκί-
ωνι μὲν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς οὐ χρησόμενος
αὐτῷ φίλῳ τὸ λοιπόν, εἰ διωθοῦτο τὰς χάριτας.
Σεραπίωνι δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ σφαιρας τινὶ νεανίσκων
οὐδὲν ἐδίδοι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αἰτεῖν. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὸ
σφαιρίζειν παραγενόμενος ὁ Σεραπίων ἀλλοις
ἔβαλλε τὴν σφαιραν, εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως,
“Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ δίδωσ;” “Οὐ γάρ αἰτεῖς,” εἶπε,
4 τούτῳ μὲν δὴ γελάσας πολλὰ ἔδωκε. Πρωτέᾳ δέ
τινι τῶν περὶ σκώμματα καὶ πότον οὐκ ἀμούσων
ἔδοξε δι’ ὄργης γεγονέναι τῶν δὲ φίλων δεομένων
κάκείνουν δακρύοντος ἔφη διαλλάττεσθαι κάκεί-
νος, “Οὐκοῦν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, δός τι μοι
πιστὸν πρῶτον.” ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ πέντε τά-
λαντα δοθῆναι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς
σωματοφύλαξι νεμομένων πλούτων, ἡλίκουν εἰχον
δηγκούν, ἐμφαίνει δι’ ἐπιστολῆς Ὁλυμπιάς, ἦν
5 ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν. “Ἀλλως,” φησίν, “εὖ
ποίει τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐνδόξους ἄγε νῦν δ’ ἵσο-
βασιλέας πάντας ποιεῖς καὶ πολυφιλίας παρ-
σκευάζεις αὐτοῖς, ἔαυτὸν δὲ ἐρημοῦς.” πολλάκις
δὲ τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὁλυμπιάδος γραφούσης ἐφύλατ-
τεν ἀπόρρητα τὰ γράμματα, πλὴν ἀπαξ Ἡφαι-
στίωνος, ὃσπερ εἰώθει, λυθεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ
συναναγνώσκοντος οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν δα-

¹ ἔαυτῷ Sint., with the best MSS.; Coraës and Bekker
have σεαυτῷ Cf. § 5.

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but finish your journey by taking this load to your own tent." Furthermore, he was generally more displeased with those who would not take his gifts than with those who asked for them. And so he wrote to Phocion in a letter that he would not treat him as a friend in future if he rejected his favours. Again, to Serapion, one of the youths who played at ball with him, he used to give nothing because he asked for nothing. Accordingly, whenever Serapion had the ball, he would throw it to others, until the king said: "Won't you give it to me?" "No," said Serapion, "because you don't ask for it," whereat the king burst out laughing and made him many presents. With Proteas, however, a clever wag and boon companion, he appeared to be angry; but when the man's friends begged his forgiveness, as did Proteas himself with tears, the king said that he was his friend again, whereat Proteas said: "In that case, O King, give me something to prove it first." Accordingly, the king ordered that five talents should be given him. What lofty airs his friends and bodyguards were wont to display over the wealth bestowed by him, is plain from a letter which Olympias wrote to him. She says: "I beg thee to find other ways of conferring favours on those thou lovest and holdest in honour; as it is, thou makest them all the equals of kings and providest them with an abundance of friends, whilst thyself thou strippest bare." Olympias often wrote him in like vein, but Alexander kept her writings secret, except once when Hephaestion, as was his wont, read with him a letter which had been opened; the king did not prevent him, but took the ring

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κτύλιον ἀφελόμενος τὸν αὐτοῦ προσέθηκε τῷ ἐκείνῳ στόματι τὴν σφραγῖδα. Μαζαίον δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου παρὰ Δαρείφ γενομένου παιδὶ σατραπείαν ἔχοντι δευτέραν προσετίθει μείζονα. παραιτούμενος δὲ ἐκείνος εἶπεν “Ω βασιλεῦ, τότε μὲν ἦν εἰς Δαρεῖος, νῦν δὲ σὺ πολλοὺς πεποίηκας Ἀλεξάνδρους.” Παρμενίωνι μὲν οὖν τὸν Βαγάδου ἔδωκεν οἶκον τὸν περὶ Σοῦσα,¹ ἐν φέρεται χιλίων ταλάντων εὑρεθῆναι ἴματισμόν. πρὸς δ' Ἀντίπατρον ἔγραψε κελεύων ἔχειν φύλακας τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐπιβουλευόμενον. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐδωρεῖτο καὶ κατέπεμπεν, οὐκ εἴα δὲ πολυπραγμονεῦν οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν· ἐγκαλούστης δὲ πρώτης ἔφερε τὴν χαλεπότητα. πλὴν ἄπαξ ποτὲ Ἀντίπατρου μακρὰν κατ' αὐτῆς γράψαντος ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνοῦντος ἀγνοεῖν εἶπεν Ἀντίπατρον ὅτι μυρίας ἐπιστολὰς ἐν δάκρυσον ἀπαλεῖφει μητρός.

XL. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἕώρα παντάπασιν ἐκτετρυφήκοτας καὶ φορτικοὺς ταῖς διαιταῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις δῆτας, ὥστε “Ἄγνωνα μὲν τὸν Τήιον ἀργυροῦν ἐν ταῖς κρηπῖσιν ἥλους φορεῖν, Λεοννάτῳ δὲ πολλαῖς καμήλοις ἀπ' Αίγυπτου κόνιν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια παρακομίζεσθαι, Φιλότᾳ δὲ πρὸς θήρας σταδίων ἐκατὸν αὐλαίας γεγονέναι, μύρφ δὲ χρωμένους ἵέναι πρὸς ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν δόσους οὐδὲ ἐλαίφ, τρίπτας δὲ καὶ κατευναστὰς περιαγομένους, ἐπετίμησε πράφως καὶ φιλοσόφως, θαυμάζειν φάμενος εἰ τοσούτους ἡγωνισμένοι καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγώνας οὐ μημονεύοντισιν ὅτι τῶν καταπονηθέντων οἱ καταπονή-

¹ οἶκον τὸν περὶ Σοῦσα, Coraes and Bekker: οἶκον, ἐν φέρεται τῶν περὶ Σοῦσα κ.τ.λ.

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from his own finger and applied its seal to the lips of Hephaestion. Again, though the son of Mazaeus, the most influential man at the court of Dareius, already had a province, Alexander gave him a second and a larger one. He, however, declined it, saying : "O King, formerly there was one Dareius, but now thou hast made many Alexanders." To Parmenio, moreover, Alexander gave the house of Bagoas at Susa, in which it is said there was found apparel worth a thousand talents. Again, he wrote to Antipater bidding him keep guards about his person, since plots were being laid against him. To his mother, also, he sent many presents, but would not suffer her to meddle in affairs nor interfere in his campaigns ; and when she chided him for this, he bore her harshness patiently. Once, however, after reading a long letter which Antipater had written in denunciation of her, he said Antipater knew not that one tear of a mother effaced ten thousand letters.

XL. He saw that his favourites had grown altogether luxurious, and were vulgar in the extravagance of their ways of living. For instance, Hagnon the Teian used to wear silver nails in his boots ; Leon-natus had dust for his gymnastic exercises brought to him on many camels from Egypt ; Philotas had hunting-nets a hundred furlongs long ; when they took their exercise and their baths, more of them actually used myrrh than olive oil, and they had in their train rubbers and chamberlains. Alexander therefore chided them in gentle and reasonable fashion. He was amazed, he said, that after they had undergone so many and so great contests they did not remember that those who conquer by toil sleep more sweetly than those who are con-

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σαντες ἥδιον καθεύδουσιν, οὐδὲ ὄρῶσι τοῖς Περσῶν βίοις τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παραβάλλοντες, ὅτι δουλικώτατον μέν ἔστι τὸ τρυφᾶν, βασιλικώτατον δὲ τὸ πονέν. “Καίτοι πῶς ἀν τις,” ἔφη, “δὶ’ ἑαυτοῦ θεραπεύσειν ἵππον ἢ λόγχην ἀσκήσειν ἢ κράνος, ἀπειθικῶς τοῦ φιλτάτου σώματος ἀπτεροῖς τὰς χεῖρας;” “Οὐκ ἴστε,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι τοῦ κρατεύν πέρας ἡμῖν ἔστι τὸ μὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν τοὺς κεκρατημένους;” ἐπέτεινεν οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις, κακοπαθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ Λάκωνα πρεσβευτὴν παραγενόμενον αὐτῷ λέοντα καταβάλλοντι μέγαν εἰπέν· “Καλῶς γε, Ἀλέξανδρε, πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἡγάνται περὶ τᾶς βασιλείας.” τοῦτο τὸ κυνήγιον Κρατερὸς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκεν, εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς ποιησάμενος τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τῶν κυνῶν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ λέοντι συνεστῶτος καὶ αὐτοῦ προσβοηθοῦντος, ὃν τὰ μὲν Λύσιππος ἔπλασε, τὰ δὲ Λεωχάρης.

XLI. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν ἀσκῶν ἄμα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παροξύνων πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκινδύνευεν οἱ δὲ φίλοι διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ δύκον ἥδη τρυφᾶν βουλόμενοι καὶ σχολάζειν ἐβαρύνοντο τὰς πλάνας καὶ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω προῆλθον εἰς τὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ κακῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ πράως ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς ταῦτα διέκειτο, φάσκων βασιλικὸν εἶναι τὸ 2 κακῶς ἀκούειν εὖ ποιοῦντα. καίτοι τὰ μικρότατα τῶν γενομένων τοὺς συνήθεσι παρ’ αὐτοῦ σημεῖα μεγάλης ὑπῆρχεν εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς· ὃν δὲν γάρ παραθήσομαι.

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quered by their toil, and did not see, from a comparison of their own lives with those of the Persians, that it is a very servile thing to be luxurious, but a very royal thing to toil. "And yet," said he, "how can a man take care of his own horse or furbish up his spear and helmet, if he is unaccustomed to using his hands on his own dear person? Know ye not," said he, "that the end and object of conquest is to avoid doing the same thing as the conquered?" Accordingly, he exerted himself yet more strenuously in military and hunting expeditions, suffering distress and risking his life, so that a Spartan ambassador who came up with him as he was bringing down a great lion, said: "Nobly, indeed, Alexander, hast thou struggled with the lion to see which should be king." This hunting-scene Craterus dedicated at Delphi, with bronze figures of the lion, the dogs, the king engaged with the lion, and himself coming to his assistance; some of the figures were moulded by Lysippus, and some by Leochares.

XLI. Alexander, then, in exercising himself and at the same time inciting others to deeds of valour, was wont to court danger; but his friends, whose wealth and magnificence now gave them a desire to live in luxury and idleness, were impatient of his long wanderings and military expeditions, and gradually went so far as to abuse him and speak ill of him. He, however, was very mildly disposed at first toward this treatment of himself, and used to say that it was the lot of a king to confer favours and be ill-spoken of therefor. And yet in the most trifling attentions which he paid his familiar friends there were marks of great good-will and esteem. I will instance a few of these.

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Πευκέστα μὲν ἔγραψε μεμφόμενος ὅτι διχθεὶς
ὑπ' ἄρκτου τοῖς μὲν ἀλλοις ἔγραψεν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐκ
ἐδῆλωσεν. “Αλλὰ τῦν γε,” φησί, “γράψου πῶς
ἔχεις, καὶ μή τινές σε τῶν συγκυνηγετούντων
3 ἐγκατέλιπτον, ἵνα δίκην δῶσι.” τοῖς δὲ περὶ¹
‘Ηφαιστίωνα διὰ πράξεις τινὰς ἀποῦσιν ἔγραψεν
ὅτι παιζόντων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἰχνεύμονα τῷ Περδίκ-
κου δορατίῳ περιπεσών Κρατερὸς τοὺς μηροὺς
ἐτρώθη. Πευκέστα δὲ σωθέντος ἔκ τινος ἀσθεν-
είας ἔγραψε πρὸς Ἀλέξιππον τὸν ἱατρὸν εὐχαρι-
στῶν. Κρατεροῦ δὲ νοσοῦντος ὅψιν ἴδων καθ'
ὕπνον αὐτός τέ τινας θυσίας ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
4 κἀκείνου θύσαι ἐκέλευσεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Παυ-
σανίᾳ τῷ ἱατρῷ Βουλομένῳ τὸν Κρατερὸν Ἑλλε-
βορίσαι, τὰ μὲν ἀγωνιῶν, τὰ δὲ παραινῶν ὅπως
χρήσεται τῇ φαρμακείᾳ. τοὺς δὲ πρώτους τὴν
‘Αρπάλον φυγὴν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν ἀπαγγείλαντας
ἔδησεν, ‘Εφιάλτην καὶ Κίσσον, ὡς καταψευδο-
5 μένους τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας
αὐτοῦ καὶ γέροντας εἰς οἶκον ἀποστέλλοντος Εὐ-
ρύλοχος Αἰγαῖος ἐνέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς
νοσοῦντας, εἴτα φωραθεὶς ἔχων οὐδὲν κακὸν ώμο-
λόγησε Τελεσίππας ἐφάνη καὶ συνεπακολουθεῖν
ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπιούσης ἐκείνης, ἥρωτησε τίνων
ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ τὸ γύναιον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι τῶν
ἐλευθέρων ἔταιρῶν, “‘Ημᾶς μέν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Εὐ-
ρύλοχε, συνερῶντας ἔχεις: ὅρα δὲ ὅπως πείθωμεν
ἢ λόγους ἢ δώρους τὴν Τελεσίππαν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐξ
ἐλευθέρας ἐστί.”

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He found fault with Peucestas by letter because, after being bitten by a bear, he wrote about it to the rest of his friends but did not tell him. "Now, however," said he, "write me how you are, and tell me whether any of your fellow-huntsmen left you in the lurch, that I may punish them." To Hephaestion, who was absent on some business, he wrote that while they were diverting themselves with hunting an ichneumon, Craterus encountered the lance of Perdiccas and was wounded in the thighs. After Peucestas had safely recovered from an illness, Alexander wrote to the physician, Alexippus, expressing his thanks. While Craterus was sick, Alexander had a vision in his sleep, whereupon he offered certain sacrifices himself for the recovery of his friend, and bade him also sacrifice. He wrote also to Pausanias, the physician, who wished to administer hellebore to Craterus, partly expressing distress, and partly advising him how to use the medicine. Those who first brought word to him that Harpalus had absconded, namely, Ephialtes and Cissus, he put in fetters, on the ground that they were falsely accusing the man. When he was sending home his aged and infirm soldiers, Eurylochus of Aegae got himself enrolled among the sick, and then, when it was discovered that he had nothing the matter with him, confessed that he was in love with Telesippa, and was bent on following along with her on her journey to the sea-board. Alexander asked of what parentage the girl was, and on hearing that she was a free-born courtesan, said: "I will help you, O Eurylochus, in your amour; but see to it that we try to persuade Telesippa either by arguments or by gifts, since she is free-born."

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- XLII. Θαυμάσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔστιν ὅτι καὶ μέχρι τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν τοῖς φίλοις ἐσχόλαζεν, οἷα γράφει παῦδα Σελεύκου εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀποδεδρακότα κελεύων ἀναζητῆσαι, καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐπανύσσοντας Νίκωνα, Κρατεροῦ δοῦλον, συνέλαβε, καὶ Μεγαθύνσῳ περὶ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἵερῳ καθεξομένου, κελεύων αὐτόν, ἀν δύνηται, συλλαβεῖν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλεσάμενος, ἐν δὲ τῷ 2 ἵερῷ μὴ προσάπτεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δίκας διακρίνων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰς θανατικὰς τὴν χείρα τῶν ὕτων τῷ ἑτέρῳ προστιθέναι τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγοντος, δπως τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καθαρὸν φυλάττηται καὶ ἀδιάβλητον. ἀλλ᾽ ὕστερόν γε αὐτὸν ἔξετράχνων αἱ πολλαὶ διαβολαί, διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν πάροδον ἐπὶ τὰ ψευδῆ λαβοῦσαι. καὶ μάλιστα κακῶς ἀκούων ἔξιστατο τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, ἄτε δὴ τὴν δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἥγαπηκώς.
- 3 Τότε δὲ ἔξήλαυνεν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον ὡς πάλιν μαχούμενος ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ Βήσσου γενομένην αὐτὸν σύλληψιν ἀπέλυσε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς οἴκαδε, δισχίλια τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἐπιμετρήσας ταῖς μισθοφοραῖς. πρὸς δὲ τὴν δίωξιν ἀργαλέαν καὶ μακρὰν γυνομένην (ἔνδεκα γὰρ ἡμέραις ἴππαστο τρισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους) ἀπηγόρευσαν μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ 4 τὴν ἀνυδρίαν. ἔνθα δὴ Μακεδόνες ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ τινες ὕδωρ ἐν ἀσκοῦς ἐφ' ἡμιόνων κομίζοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Ἀλέξαν-

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XLII. And it is astonishing that he had time to write so many letters for his friends. For instance, he wrote one giving orders to seek out a slave of Seleucus who had run away into Cilicia; and one in commendation of Peucestas for arresting Nicon, a servant of Craterus; and one to Megabyzus about an attendant who had taken refuge in a sanctuary, bidding him, if possible, entice the slave outside the sanctuary and then arrest him, but not to lay hands upon him in the sanctuary. It is said, too, that at first, when he was trying capital cases, he would put his hand over one of his ears while the accuser was speaking, that he might keep it free and unprejudiced for the accused. But afterwards the multitude of accusations which he heard rendered him harsh, and led him to believe the false because so many were true. And particularly when he was maligned he lost discretion and was cruel and inexorable, since he loved his reputation more than his life or his kingdom.

Now, however, he marched out against Dareius,¹ expecting to fight another battle; but when he heard that Dareius had been seized by Bessus, he sent his Thessalians home, after distributing among them a largess of two thousand talents over and above their pay. In consequence of the pursuit of Dareius, which was long and arduous (for in eleven days he rode thirty-three hundred furlongs), most of his horsemen gave out, and chiefly for lack of water. At this point some Macedonians met him who were carrying water from the river in skins upon their mules. And when they beheld Alexander, it being now midday, in a

¹ In the spring of 330 B.C.

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δρον ἥδη μεσημβρίας οὕσης κακῶς ὑπὸ δίψους
έχοντα ταχὺ πλησάμενοι κράνος προσήνεγκαν.
πυθομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τίσι κομίζοιεν, “Τίος,”
ἔφασαν, “ἰδίαις ἀλλὰ σοῦ ζῶντος ἐτέρους ποιη-
5 σόμεθα, κανὸν ἐκείνους ἀπολέσωμεν.” ταῦτα ἀκού-
σας ἔλαβεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸ κράνος περιβλέψας
δὲ καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἵππεις ἄπαντας
ἐγκεκλικότας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ποτὸν
βλέποντας ἀπέδωκεν οὐ πιών, ἀλλ’ ἐπαινέσας
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, “Αν γὰρ αὐτός,” ἔφη, “πίω
6 μόνος, ἀθυμήσουσιν οὗτοι.” θεασάμενοι δὲ τὴν
ἐγκράτειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν οἱ ἵππεις
ἄγειν ἀνέκραγον θαρροῦντα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
ἐμάστιξον· οὕτε γὰρ κάμνειν οὕτε διψᾶν οὔθ’
ὅλως θυητοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν αὐτούς, ἔως ἂν ἔχωσι
βασιλέα τοιούτον.

XLIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν προθυμία πάντων ἦν ὁμοία·
μόνους δέ φασιν ἔξηκοντα συνεισπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ
στρατόπεδα τῶν πολεμίων. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺν μὲν
ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἔρριμμένον ὑπερβαίνοντες,
πολλὰς δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρματάξας
ἥνιόχων ἐρήμους διαφερομένας παρερχόμενοι,
τοὺς πρώτους ἔδιωκον, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις Δαρεῖον
δύντα. μόλις δὲ εὑρίσκεται πολλῶν ἀκοντισμάτων
κατάπλεως τὸ σῶμα κείμενος ἐν ἀρματάξῃ,
2 μικρὸν ἀπολείπον τοῦ τελευτᾶν. ὅμως δὲ καὶ
πιεῖν ἤτησε, καὶ πιών ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν εἶπε πρὸς
τὸν δόντα Πολύστρατον “Ω ἀνθρωπε, τοῦτο
μοι πέρας γέγονε δυστυχίας ἀπάσης, εὐν παθεῖν
ἀμείψασθαι μὴ δυνάμενον ἀλλ’ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἀποδώσει σοι τὴν χάριν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οἱ θεοὶ

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wretched plight from thirst, they quickly filled a helmet and brought it to him. To his enquiry for whom they were carrying the water, they replied. "For our own sons; but if thou livest, we can get other sons, even if we lose these." On hearing this he took the helmet into his hands, but when he looked around and saw the horsemen about him all stretching out their heads and gazing at the water, he handed it back without drinking any, but with praises for the men who had brought it; "For," said he, "if I should drink of it alone, these horsemen of mine will be out of heart" But when they beheld his self-control and loftiness of spirit, they shouted out to him to lead them forward boldly, and began to goad their horses on, declaring that they would not regard themselves as weary, or thirsty, or as mortals at all, so long as they had such a king.

XLIII. So, then, all were alike ready and willing: but only sixty, they say, were with Alexander when he burst into the camp of the enemy. There, indeed, they rode over much gold and silver that was thrown away, passed by many waggons full of women and children which were coursing hither and thither without their drivers, and pursued those who were foremost in flight, thinking that Dareius was among them. But at last they found him lying in a waggon, his body all full of javelins, at the point of death. Nevertheless, he asked for something to drink, and when he had drunk some cold water which Polystratus gave him, he said to him: "My man, this is the extremity of all my ill-fortune, that I receive good at thy hands and am not able to return it; but Alexander will requite thee for thy good offices, and the gods will reward Alexander for his kindness to

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τῆς εἰς μητέρα καὶ γυναικά καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς
ἐπιεικείας, φ' ταῦτην δίδωμι τὴν δεξιὰν διὰ σοῦ.¹"
ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ Πολυνστράτου
3 χειρὸς ἔξελιπεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν,
ἀλγῶν τε τῷ πάθει φανερὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
χλαμύδα λύσας ἐπέβαλε τῷ σώματι καὶ περιέ-
στειλε. καὶ Βῆσσον μὲν ὕστερον εὐρὼν διεσφευ-
δόνησεν, ὅρθιων δένδρων εἰς ταῦτὸ καμφθέντων
ἔκατέρῳ μέρος προσαρτήσας τοῦ σώματος, εἴτα
μεθεὶς ἔκάτερου, ὡς ὥρμητο ῥύμη φερόμενον, τὸ
προσῆκον αὐτῷ μέρος νείμασθαι. τότε δὲ τοῦ
Δαρείου τὸ μὲν σῶμα κεκοσμημένον βασιλικῶς
πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἀπέστειλε, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν
'Εξάθρην εἰς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀνέλαβεν.

XLIV. Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀκμαιοτάτης δυνά-
μεως εἰς Τρκανίαν κατέβαινε· καὶ πελάγους ἰδὼν
κόλπουν οὐκ ἐλάττονα μὲν τοῦ Πόντου φανέντα,
γλυκύτερον δὲ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης, σαφὲς μὲν
οὐδὲν ἔσχε πυθέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ
εἴκασε τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης ἀνακοπὴν εἶναι.
2 καίτοι τούς γε φυσικοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔλαθε τά-
ληθές, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου στρατείας ἴστορήκασιν ὅτι τεσσάρων
κόλπων εἰσεχόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης
βορειότατος οὖτός ἔστι, τὸ Τρκάνιον πέλαγος
καὶ Κάσπιον ὁμοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.

'Ενταῦθα τῶν βαρβάρων τιὲς ἀπροσδοκήτως
περιτυχόντες τοῖς ἄγουσι τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ τὸν
3 Βουκεφάλαν λαμβάνουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἥνεγκεν οὐ με-

¹ These details of the death of Dareius are not to be found in Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 21 *fin.*), but in Curtius (v. 13, 28) and Diodorus (xvii. 73).

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my mother, wife, and children; to him, through thee, I give this right hand." With these words he took the hand of Polystratus and then expired.¹ When Alexander came up, he was manifestly distressed by what had happened, and unfastening his own cloak threw it upon the body and covered it. And when, at a later time,² he found Bessus, he had him rent asunder. Two straight trees were bent together and a part of his body fastened to each; then when each was released and sprang vigorously back, the part of the body that was attached to it followed after. Now, however, he sent the body of Dareius, laid out in royal state, to his mother,³ and admitted his brother, Exathres, into the number of his companions.

XLIV. He himself, however, with the flower of his army, marched on into Hyrcania. Here he saw a gulf of the open sea which appeared to be as large as the Euxine, but was sweeter than the Mediterranean. He could get no clear information about it, but conjectured that in all probability it was a stagnant overflow from the Palus Maeotis. And yet naturalists were well aware of the truth, and many years before Alexander's expedition they had set forth that this was the most northerly of four gulfs which stretch inland from the outer sea, and was called indifferently the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea.

Here some Barbarians unexpectedly fell in with those who were leading Alexander's horse, Bucephalus, and captured him. Alexander was angry

² In the spring of 329 B.C. Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 30, 5; iv. 7, 3 ff.

³ "To Persepolis, with orders that it should be buried in the royal sepulchre" (Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 22, 1)

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τρίως, ἀλλὰ κήρυκα πέμψας ἡπεῖλησε πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ μὴ ἀναπέμψειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἄγοντες ἥκον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρίζοντες, ἔχρήσατο φιλανθρώπως πᾶσι καὶ τοῦ ἵππου λύτρα τοῖς λαβούσιν ἔδωκεν.

XLV. Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν Παρθικὴν ἀναξεύξας καὶ σχολάξων πρῶτον ἐνεδύσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν στολὴν, εἴτε βουλόμενος αὐτὸν συνοικεοῦν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις νόμοις, ως μέγα πρὸς ἔξημέρωσιν ἀνθρώπων τὸ σύνηθες καὶ ὄμόφυλον, εἴτ' ἀπόπειρά τις ὑφείτο τῆς προσκυνήσεως αὐτῇ τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνασχέσθαι τὴν ἐκδιάλ-

2 τησιν αὐτὸν καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐθίζομένοις. οὐ μὴν τὴν γε Μηδικὴν ἐκείνην προσήκατο παντάπασι βαρβαρικὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον οὖσαν, οὐδὲ ἀναξυρίδας οὐδὲ κάνδυν οὐδὲ τιάραν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδικῆς μιξάμενος εὗ πως, ἀτυφοτέραν μὲν ἐκείνης, ταύτης δὲ σοβαρωτέραν οὖσαν. ἔχρήτο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις κατ' οἶκουν, εἴτα τοῖς πολλοῖς οὔτως ἐξελαύνων καὶ

3 χρηματίζων ἑωράτο. καὶ λυπηρὸν μὲν ἦν τοῖς Μακεδόσι τὸ θέαμα, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην αὐτοῦ θαυμάζοντες ἀρετὴν φύοντο δεῖν ἔνια τῶν πρὸς ἥδονὴν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἐπιχωρεῖν· ὅς γε πρὸς ἄπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔναγχος τοξευμα μὲν εἰς τὴν κυνήμην

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beyond measure, and sent a herald threatening to put them all to the sword, together with their wives and children, if they did not send him back his horse. But when they came with the horse and also put their cities into his hands, he treated them all kindly, and gave a ransom for his horse to those who had captured him.

XLV. From thence he marched into Parthia,¹ where, during a respite from fighting, he first put on the barbaric dress, either from a desire to adapt himself to the native customs, believing that community of race and custom goes far towards softening the hearts of men ; or else this was an attempt to introduce the obeisance² among the Macedonians, by accustoming them little by little to put up with changes and alterations in his mode of life. However, he did not adopt the famous Median fashion of dress, which was altogether barbaric and strange, nor did he assume trousers, or sleeved vest, or tiara, but carefully devised a fashion which was midway between the Persian and the Median, more modest than the one and more stately than the other. At first he wore this only in intercourse with the Barbarians and with his companions at home, then people generally saw him riding forth or giving audience in this attire. The sight was offensive to the Macedonians, but they admired his other high qualities and thought they ought to yield to him in some things which made for his pleasure or his fame. For, in addition to all his other hardships, he had recently been shot by an arrow in the leg below the knee, so

¹ In the early autumn of 330 B.C.

² Prostration on the ground before a great personage, a peculiarly Persian custom

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λαβών, ὑφ' οὐ τὸ τῆς κερκίδος ὅστέον ἀποθραυσθὲν ἔξέπεσε, λίθῳ δὲ πληγεὶς πάλιν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον ὥστε καὶ ταῦς ὄψεσιν ἀχλὸν ὑπο-
4 δραμεῖν παραμείνασαν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπαύετο χρώμενος ἕαντῷ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ὁρεξάρτην διαβὰς ποταμόν, δν αὐτὸς φέτο Τάναιν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τρεψάμενος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατόν, ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπὸ διαρροίας.

XLVI. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀμαζόνα οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ὃν καὶ Κλείταρχός ἔστι καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Ὄνησίκριτος καὶ Ἀντιγένης καὶ Ἰστρος· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεὺς καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀντικλείδης καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεὺς, πρὸς δὲ τούτους Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις ὁ
2 Σάμιος πλάσμα φασὶ γεγονέναι τοῦτο. καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔοικεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἀντιπάτρῳ γὰρ ἀπαυτὰ γράφων ἀκριβῶς τὸν μὲν Σκύθην αὐτῷ φῆσι διδύναι τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, Ἀμαζόνος δὲ οὐ μημονεύει. λέγεται δὲ πολλοῖς χρόνοις Ὄνησίκριτος ὑστερον ἥδη βασιλεύοντι Δυσιμάχῳ τῶν βιβλίων τὸ τέταρτον ἀναγινώσκειν, ἐν φῶ γέγραπται περὶ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος τὸν οὖν Δυσιμάχον ἀτρέμα μειδιάσαντα “Καὶ που,” φάναι, “τότε ἥμην ἐγώ;” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀν τις οὔτε ἀπιστῶν ἥττον οὔτε πιστεύων μᾶλλον Ἀλέξανδρον θαυμάσειε.

XLVII. Φοβούμενος δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς στρατείας ἀπαγορεύσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος εἴσασε κατὰ χώραν, τοὺς δὲ

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that splinters of the larger bone came out; and at another time he was smitten in the neck with a stone so severely that his eye-sight was clouded and remained so for some time. Nevertheless, he did not cease exposing himself to dangers without stint, nay, he actually crossed the river Oxartes (which he himself supposed to be the Tanais), put the Scythians to rout, and pursued them for a hundred furlongs, although he was suffering all the while from a diarrhoea.

XLVI. Here the queen of the Amazons came to see him, as most writers say, among whom are Cleitarchus, Polycleitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister; but Aristobulus, Chares the royal usher, Ptolemy, Anticleides, Philo the Theban, and Philip of Theangela, besides Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris of Samos, say that this is a fiction. And it would seem that Alexander's testimony is in favour of their statement. For in a letter to Antipater which gives all the details minutely he says that the Scythian king offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes no mention of the Amazon. And the story is told that many years afterwards Onesicritus was reading aloud to Lysimachus, who was now king, the fourth book of his history, in which was the tale of the Amazon, at which Lysimachus smiled gently and said: "And where was I at the time?" However, our belief or disbelief of this story will neither increase nor diminish our admiration for Alexander.

XLVII. Fearing that his Macedonians might tire of the rest of his expedition, he left the greater part of them in quarters, and while he had the best of

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ἀρίστους ἔχων ἐν Ὑπερβολῇ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τρισχιλίους ἵππεis, προσέβαλε, λέγων ὡς νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐνύπνιον τῶν Βαρβάρων ὁρώντων, ἀν δὲ μόνον ταοάξαντες τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπίστων, ἐπιθησομένων εὐθὺς ἀσπερ γυναιξίν.

2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι γε τοὺς Βουλομένους ἐφῆκε,¹ μαρτυράμενος ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῖς Μακεδόσι κτώμενος ἐγκαταλέλειπται μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἔθελόντων στρατεύειν. ταῦτα σχεδὸν αὐτοῖς ὄνόμασιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολῇ γέγραπται, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πάντες ἔξεκραγον ὅποι βούλεται τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄγειν. δεξαμένων δὲ τούτων τὴν πεῖραν οὐκέτι ἦν χαλεπὸν προαχθῆναι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳδίως ἐπηκολούθησεν.

3 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὡμοίου τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἑαυτόν, ἐκεīνά τε προσήγε τοῖς Μακεδονικοῦς ἔθεσιν, ἀνακράσει καὶ κοινωνίᾳ μᾶλλον δι' εὐνοίας καταστήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα νομίζων ἢ βίᾳ, μακρὰν ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ τρισμυρίους παῖδας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε γράμματά τε μανθάνειν Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Μακεδονικοῖς ὅπλοις ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλοὺς ἐπιστάτας 4 καταστήσας. καὶ τὰ περὶ Ρωξάνην ἔρωτι μὲν ἐπράχθη, καλὴν καὶ ὠραίαν ἔν τινι χόρῳ παρὰ πότον ὀδθεῖσαν, ἔδοξε δὲ οὐκ ἀνάρμοστα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις εἶναι πράγμασιν. ἐθάρρησαν γὰρ οἱ Βάρβαροι τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ γάμου, καὶ τὸν

¹ ἐφῆκε Coraes' correction of the ἔφη καὶ of the MSS., adopted by Sint.; Bekker reads ἀφιέναι . . . ἔφη.

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them with him in Hyrcania, twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, he addressed them, saying that at present they were seen by the Barbarians as in a dream, but that if they should merely throw Asia into confusion and then leave it they would be attacked by them as if they were women. However, he said, he allowed those who wished it to go away, calling them to witness that while he was winning the inhabited world for the Macedonians he had been left behind with his friends and those who were willing to continue the expedition. This is almost word for word what he wrote in his letter to Antipater, and he adds that after he had thus spoken all his hearers cried out to him to lead them to whatever part of the world he wished. After these had met his test of their loyalty, it was no longer a hard matter for the main body to be led along too, nay, they readily followed after.

Under these circumstances, too, he adapted his own mode of life still more to the customs of the country, and tried to bring these into closer agreement with Macedonian customs, thinking that by a mixture and community of practice which produced good will, rather than by force, his authority would be kept secure while he was far away. For this reason, too, he chose out thirty thousand boys and gave orders that they should learn the Greek language and be trained to use Macedonian weapons, appointing many instructors for this work. His marriage to Roxana, whom he saw in her youthful beauty taking part in a dance at a banquet, was a love affair, and yet it was thought to harmonize well with the matters which he had in hand. For the Barbarians were encouraged by the partnership into which the marriage brought them, and they were beyond

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Αλέξανδρον ὑπερηγάπησαν, ὅτι σωφρονέστατος περὶ ταῦτα γεγονὼς οὐδὲ ἡς μόνης ἡττήθη γυναικὸς ἄνευ νόμου θιγεῖν ὑπέμεινεν.

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐώρα τῶν μεγίστων Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ συμμετακοσμούμενον αὐτῷ, Κρατερὸν δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένοντα, δι’ ἐκείνου μὲν ἔχρημάτιζε τοῖς βαρβάροις, διὰ τούτου δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ ὅλως τὸν μὲν ἐφίλει μάλιστα, τὸν δὲ ἐτίμα, νομίζων καὶ λέγων ἀεὶ τὸν μὲν Ἡφαιστίωνα φιλαλέξανδρον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Κρατερὸν φιλοβασιλέα.
6 διὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπούλως ἔχοντες συνέκρουν πολλάκις. ἄπαξ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἥλθον σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐκατέρῳ παραβοηθούντων προσελάσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλοιδρεὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα φανερῶς, ἔμπληκτον καλῶν καὶ μαινόμενον, εἰ μὴ συνίησιν ὡς, ἔάν τις αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφέληται, μηδέν ἔστιν ἴδιᾳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κρατεροῦ πικρῶς
7 καθῆψατο. καὶ συναγαγάνων αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλλάξας ἐπώμοσε τὸν Ἀμμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς, ἢ μὴ μάλιστα φιλεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐκείνους· ἀν δὲ πάλιν αἴσθηται διαφερομένους, ἀποκτενεῖν ἀμφοτέρους, ἢ τὸν ἀρξάμενον. ὅθεν ὕστερον οὐδὲ παίζοντες εἰπεῖν τι οὐδὲ πρᾶξαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγονται.

XLVIII. Φιλώτας δὲ ὁ Παρμενίωνος ἀξιώματος μὲν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσι μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖος ἐδόκει καὶ καρτερικὸς εἶναι, φιλόδωρος δὲ

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measure fond of Alexander, because, most temperate of all men that he was in these matters, he would not consent to approach even the only woman who ever mastered his affections, without the sanction of law.

Moreover, when he saw that among his chiefest friends Hephaestion approved his course and joined him in changing his mode of life, while Craterus clung fast to his native ways, he employed the former in his business with the Barbarians, the latter in that with the Greeks and Macedonians. And in general he showed most affection for Hephaestion, but most esteem for Craterus, thinking, and constantly saying, that Hephaestion was a friend of Alexander, but Craterus a friend of the king. For this reason, too, the men cherished a secret grudge against one another and often came into open collision. And once, on the Indian expedition, they actually drew their swords and closed with one another, and as the friends of each were coming to his aid, Alexander rode up and abused Hephaestion publicly, calling him a fool and a madman for not knowing that without Alexander's favour he was nothing; and in private he also sharply reproved Craterus. Then he brought them together and reconciled them, taking an oath by Ammon and the rest of the gods that he loved them most of all men; but that if he heard of their quarrelling again, he would kill them both, or at least the one who began the quarrel. Wherefore after this they neither did nor said anything to harm one another, not even in jest.

XLVIII. Now, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had a high position among the Macedonians; for he was held to be valiant and able to endure hardship, and,

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οὗτω καὶ φιλέταιρος μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
οὐδείς. λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι τῶν συνήθων τινὸς
αἰτοῦντος ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι· φήσαντος
δὲ τοῦ διοικητοῦ μὴ ἔχειν, “Τί λέγεις;” εἶπεν,
2 “οὐδὲ ποτέριον ἔχεις οὐδὲ ἴμάτιον;” ὅγκῳ δὲ
φρονήματος καὶ βάρει πλούτου καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ
σῶμα θεραπείᾳ καὶ διαίτῃ χρώμενος ἐπαχθέστε-
ρον ἦ κατ' ἴδιωτην, καὶ τότε δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ
ὑψηλὸν οὐκ ἐμμελῶς, ἀλλ’ ἄνευ χαρίτων τῷ
σολοίκῳ καὶ παρασήμῳ μιμούμενος, ὑποψίαν καὶ
φθόνον ἔσχειν, ὡστε καὶ Παρμενίωνά ποτε εἰπεῖν
3 πρὸς αὐτὸν “Ο παῖ, χείρων μοι γίνουν.” πρὸς
δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ πάνυ πολλῶν χρόνων
ἐτύγχανε διαβεβλημένος. ὅτε γάρ τὰ περὶ
Δαμασκὸν ἔλω χρήμata Δαρείου νικηθέντος ἐν
Κιλικίᾳ, πολλῶν σωμάτων κομισθέντων εἰς τὸ
στρατόπεδον εὑρέθη γύναιον ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις,
τῷ μὲν γένει Πυδναῖον, εὐπρεπὲς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν.
4 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀντιγόνη. τοῦτο ἔσχεν ὁ Φιλώτας·
οίλα δὲ νέος πρὸς ἔρωμένην καὶ σὺν οὖν πολλὰ
φιλότιμα καὶ στρατιωτικὰ παρρησιαζόμενος ἐαυ-
τοῦ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων ἀπέφαινε καὶ τοῦ
πατρός, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ μειράκιον ἀπεκάλει δι'
5 αὐτοὺς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα καρπούμενον. ταῦτα
τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκφερούσης πρὸς τινὰ τῶν συνήθων,
ἐκείνου δέ, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς ἔτερον, περιηλθεν εἰς
Κρατερὸν ὁ λόγος· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ γύναιον εἰσή-
γαγε κρύφα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. ἀκούσας δὲ
ἐκείνος ἐκέλευσε φοιτᾶν εἰς ταῦτὸ τῷ Φιλώτᾳ,
καὶ πᾶν, ὃ τι ἀν ἐκπύθηται τούτου, πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀπαγγέλλειν βαδίζουσαν.

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after Alexander himself, no one was so fond of giving and so fond of his comrades. At any rate, we are told that when one of his intimates asked him for some money, he ordered his steward to give it him, and when the steward said he had none to give, "What meanest thou?" cried Philotas, "hast thou not even plate or clothing?" However, he displayed a pride of spirit, an abundance of wealth, and a care of the person and mode of life which were too offensive for a private man, and at this time particularly his imitation of majesty and loftiness was not successful at all, but clumsy, spurious, and devoid of grace, so that he incurred suspicion and envy, and even Parmenio once said to him: "My son, pray be less of a personage." Moreover, for a very long time accusations against him had been brought to Alexander himself. For when Dareius had been defeated in Cilicia and the wealth of Damascus was taken, among the many prisoners brought into the camp there was found a young woman, born in Pydna, and comely to look upon; her name was Antigone. This woman Philotas got; and as a young man will often talk freely in vaunting and martial strain to his mistress and in his cups, he used to tell her that the greatest achievements were performed by himself and his father, and would call Alexander a stripling who through their efforts enjoyed the title of ruler. These words the woman would report to one of her acquaintances, and he, as was natural, to somebody else, until the story came round to Craterus, who took the girl and brought her secretly to Alexander. He, on hearing her story, ordered her to continue her meetings with Philotas and to come and report to him whatever she learned from her lover.

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XLIX. Ο μὲν οὖν Φιλώτας ἐπιβουλευόμενος οὕτως ἡγνόει, καὶ συνήν τῇ Ἀντιγόνῃ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὄργὴν καὶ μεγαλαυχίαν ρήματα καὶ λόγους 2 κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεπιτηδείους προιέμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, καίπερ καρτερᾶς ἐνδείξεως κατὰ τοῦ Φιλάτου προσπεσούσης, ἐκαρτέρησε σιωπῆ καὶ κατέσχεν, εἴτε θαρρῶν τῇ Παρμενίωνος εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴτε δεδιώς τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ Μακεδῶν ὅνομα Λίμνος, ἐκ Χαλαίστρας, ἐπιβουλεύων Ἀλέξανδρῳ Νικόμαχόν τινα τῶν νέων, πρὸς δὲν αὐτὸς ἑρωτικῶς εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς πράξεως 3 παρεκάλει. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δεξαμένου, φράσαντος δὲ τάδελφῳ Κεβαλίνῳ τὴν πεῖραν, ἐλθὼν ἐκείνος πρὸς Φιλώταν ἐκέλευσεν εἰσάγειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς περὶ ἀναγκαίων ἔχοντας ἐντυχεῖν καὶ μεγάλων. ὁ δὲ Φιλώτας, ὁ τι δὴ παθὼν (ἀδηλον γάρ ἐστιν), οὐ παρῆγεν αὐτούς, ὡς πρὸς ἄλλους μείζοις γνωμένου τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ 4 τούτο δὶς ἐποίησε. οἱ δὲ καθ' ὑποψίαν ἥδη τοῦ Φιλώτου τραπόμενοι πρὸς ἔτερον καὶ δὶ ἐκείνου τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ προσαχθέντες πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τοῦ Λίμνου κατέπον, ἔπειτα παρεδήλωσαν ἡσυχῆ τὸν Φιλώταν, ὡς ἀμελήσειν αὐτῶν δὶς ἐντυχόντων. καὶ τούτο δὴ σφόδρα παρώξυνε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον¹ καὶ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν Λίμνον, ὡς ἡμύνετο συλλαμβανόμενος, ἀποκτείναντος αὐτόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον διεταράχθη, τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐκπεφευγέ- 5 ναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς νομίζων. καὶ πικρῶς ἔχων

¹ In the late autumn of 330 B.C.

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XLIX. Now, Philotas was ignorant of the plot thus laid against him, and in his frequent interviews with Antigone would utter many angry and boastful speeches and many improper words against the king. But Alexander, although strong testimony against Philotas came to his ears, endured in silence and restrained himself, either because he had confidence in Parmenio's good will towards him, or because he feared the reputation and power of father and son. Meanwhile, however, a Macedonian named Limnus, from Chalaestra, conspired against Alexander's life,¹ and invited Nicomachus, one of the young men, whose lover he was, to take part with him in the undertaking. Nicomachus would not accept the invitation, but told his brother Cebalinus of the attempt, and he, going to Philotas, ordered him to conduct them into the presence of Alexander, on the ground that there were matters of great importance about which they must see him. But Philotas, for whatever reason (and the reason is not known), would not conduct them in, alleging that the king was engaged on other matters of more importance. And he refused their request twice. They now became suspicious of Philotas and applied to someone else, by whom they were brought before Alexander. In the first place they told him about the plot of Limnus, and then threw out veiled insinuations against Philotas, on the ground that he had neglected their petitions on two occasions. This greatly incensed Alexander; and when he found that Limnus had defended himself against arrest and had therefore been killed by the man sent to fetch him, he was still more disturbed in mind, thinking that the proof of the plot had escaped him. And since

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- πρὸς τὸν Φιλώταν ἐπεσπάσατο τὸν πάλαι μι-
σοῦντας αὐτόν, ἥδη φανερῶς λέγοντας ὡς ῥᾳθυμία
τοῦ βασιλέως εἴη Λίμνου οἰομένου, Χαλαιστραῖον
ἄνθρωπον, ἐπιχειρήσαι τολμήματι τοσούτῳ καθ'
αὐτόν ἀλλὰ τούτον μὲν ὑπῆρέτην εἶναι, μᾶλλον
δὲ ὅργανον ἀπὸ μείζονος ἀρχῆς ἀφιέμενον, ἐν ἐκεί-
νοις δὲ τὴν ἐπιβούλην ζητητέον οἷς μάλιστα ταῦ-
6 τα λαυθάνειν συνέφερε. τοιούτοις λόγοις καὶ
ὑπονοίαις ἀναπετάσαντος τὰ ὅτα τοῦ βασιλέως
ἐπῆγον ἥδη μυρίας κατὰ τὸν Φιλώτου διαβολάς.
ἐκ τούτου δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο, τῶν ἔταιρων
ἐφεστώτων ταῖς βασάνοις, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατα-
κούντος ἔξωθεν αὐλαίας παρατεταμένης· ὅτε δὴ
καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, οἰκτρὰς καὶ ταπεινὰς
τοῦ Φιλώτου φωνὰς καὶ δεήσεις τοῖς περὶ τὸν
Ἡφαιστίωνα προσφέροντος. “Οὕτω δὴ μαλακὸς
ῶν, ὡς Φιλώτα, καὶ ἄνανδρος ἐπεχείρεις πράγμασι
7 τηλικούντοις;” ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλώτου καὶ
Παρμενίωνα πέμψας εὐθὺς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνεῖδεν,
ἄνδρα πολλὰ μὲν Φιλίππῳ συγκατεργασάμενον,
μόνον δὲ ἣ μάλιστα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων φίλων
Ἀλεξανδρον τοῖς Ἀσίαιν ἔξορμήσαντα διαβῆναι,
τριῶν δὲ νίδην οὖς ἔσχεν, ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς δύο
μὲν ἐπιδόντα πρότερον ἀποθανόντας, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ
συναναιρεθέντα.
- 8 Ταῦτα πραχθέντα πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων φοβερὸν
ἐποίησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀντιπά-
τρῳ· καὶ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ἔπειμψε κρύφα πίστεις
διδοὺς καὶ λαμβάνων. ἐφοβούντο γὰρ Ἀλέ-
ξανδρον Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ τὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἦν

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 26.

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he felt bitter towards Philotas he drew to himself those who had long hated the man, and they now said openly that the king took things too easily when he supposed that Limnus, a man of Chalaestra, had set his hand to a deed of so great daring on his own account; nay, they said, he was only an assistant, or rather an instrument sent forth by a higher power, and enquiry into the plot should be made in those quarters where there was most interest in having it concealed. After the king had once given ear to such speeches and suspicions, the enemies of Philotas brought up countless accusations against him. Consequently he was arrested and put to the question, the companions of the king standing by at the torture, while Alexander himself listened behind a stretch of tapestry. Here, as we are told, on hearing Philotas beset Hephaestion with abject and pitiful cries and supplications, he said: "So faint-hearted as thou art, Philotas, and so unmanly, couldst thou have set hand to so great an undertaking?" After Philotas had been put to death, Alexander sent at once into Media and dispatched Parmenio also, a man whose achievements with Philip had been many, and who was the only one of Alexander's older friends, or the principal one, to urge his crossing into Asia, and who, of the three sons that were his, had seen two killed on the expedition before this, and was now put to death along with the third.¹

These actions made Alexander an object of fear to many of his friends, and particularly to Antipater, who sent secretly to the Aetolians and entered into an alliance with them. For the Aetolians also were in fear of Alexander, because they had destroyed the city of the Oeniadae, and because Alexander, on

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πυθόμενος οὐκ Οἰνιαδῶν ἔφη παῖδας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν
ἐπιθήσειν δίκην Αἴτωλοῖς.

L. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον συνημέχθη καὶ τὰ
περὶ Κλείτου, οὕτω μὲν ἀπλῶς πυθομένοις τῶν
κατὰ Φιλώταν ἀγριώτερα λόγῳ μέντοι συντι-
θέντες ἄμα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ
ἀπὸ γνώμης, ἀλλὰ δυστυχίᾳ τινὶ ταῦτα εὑρίσκο-
μεν πεπραγμένα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅργην καὶ μέθην
πρόφασιν τῷ Κλείτου δαίμονι παρασχόντος.
2 ἐπράχθη δὲ οὕτως. ἦκόν τινες δπώραν Ἑλληνι-
κὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζοντες. ὁ δὲ
θαυμάσας τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐκάλει τὸν
Κλείτον, ἐπιδεῖξαι καὶ μεταδοῦναι βουλόμενος. ὁ
δὲ θύων μὲν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀφεὶς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐβά-
διζε· καὶ τρία τῶν κατεσπεισμένων προβάτων
3 ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἀνεκοινοῦτο τοῖς μάντεσιν Ἀριστάνδρῳ καὶ Κλεο-
μάντει τῷ Λάκωνι. φησάντων δὲ πονηρὸν εἶναι
τὸ σημέιον, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκθύσασθαι κατὰ τάχος
νπὲρ τοῦ Κλείτου. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ
κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους ἰδεῖν ὄψιν ἄτοπον δόξαι γὰρ
αὐτῷ τὸν Κλείτον μετὰ τῶν Παρμενίωνος νιῶν ἐν
μέλασιν ἴματίοις καθέζεσθαι, τεθνηκότων ἀπάν-
4 των. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασεν ὁ Κλείτος ἐκθυσάμενος,
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἥκε, τεθυκότος τοῦ
. βασιλέως Διοσκούρους. πότου δὲ νεανικοῦ συρ-
ραγέντος ἥδετο ποιήματα Πρανίχον τινός, ὃς δέ
φασι ἔνιοι, Πιερίωνος, εἰς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς πε-

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learning of it, had said that it would not be the sons of the Oeneadae, but he himself who would punish the Aetolians.

L. Not long afterwards came the affair of Cleitus,¹ which those who simply learn the immediate circumstances will think more savage than that of Philotas ; if we take into consideration, however, alike the cause and the time, we find that it did not happen of set purpose, but through some misfortune of the king, whose anger and intoxication furnished occasion for the evil genius of Cleitus. It happened on this wise. Some people came bringing Greek fruit to the king from the sea-board. He admired its perfection and beauty and called Cleitus, wishing to show it to him and share it with him. It chanced that Cleitus was sacrificing, but he gave up the sacrifice and came ; and three of the sheep on which libations had already been poured came following after him. When the king learned of this circumstance, he imparted it to his soothsayers, Aristander and Cleomantis the Lacedaemonian. Then, on their telling him that the omen was bad, he ordered them to sacrifice in all haste for the safety of Cleitus. For he himself, two days before this, had seen a strange vision in his sleep ; he thought he saw Cleitus sitting with the sons of Parmenio in black robes, and all were dead. However, Cleitus did not finish his sacrifice, but came at once to the supper of the king, who had sacrificed to the Dioscuri. After boisterous drinking was under way, verses were sung which had been composed by a certain Pranichus, or, as some say, Pierio, to shame and ridicule the

¹ During the campaign of 323 B.C., at Samarkand, in Sogdiana Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 8 f.

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ποιημένα τοὺς ἔναγχος ἡττημένους ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-
5 βάρων ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ καὶ γέλωτι. τῶν δὲ πρε-
σβυτέρων δυσχεραινόντων καὶ λοιδορούντων τόν
τε ποιητὴν καὶ τὸν ἄδοντα, τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡδέως ἀκροωμένων καὶ λέγειν
κελευόντων, ὃ Κλεῖτος ἥδη μεθύων καὶ φύσει
τραχὺς ὡν ὁργὴν καὶ αὐθάδης ἡγανάκτει μάλιστα,
φάσκων οὐ καλῶς ἐν βαρβάροις καὶ πολεμίοις
ὑβρίζεσθαι Μακεδόνας πολὺ βελτίονας τῶν γε-
6 λώντων, εἰ καὶ δυστυχίᾳ κέχρηνται. φήσαντος
δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Κλείτον αὐτῷ συνηγορεῦν
δυστυχίαν ἀποφαίνοντα τὴν δειλίαν, ἐπαναστάς ὁ
Κλεῖτος, “Αὕτη μέντοι σε,” εἶπεν, “ἡ δειλία τὸν
ἐκ θεῶν ἥδη τῷ Σπιθεριδάτου ξίφει τὸν υῶτον
ἐκτρέποντα περιεποίησε, καὶ τῷ Μακεδόνων αἴ-
ματι καὶ τοῖς τραύμασι τούτοις ἐγένου τηλικοῦτος
ώστε “Ἀμμωνι σαυτὸν εἰσποιεῖν ἀπειπάμενος
Φλυτπόν.”

LI. Παροξυνθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, “Ἡ ταῦ-
τα,” εἶπεν, “ῳ κακὴ κεφαλή, σὺ περὶ ἡμῶν
ἐκάστοτε λέγων καὶ διαστασιάζων Μακεδόνας
χαιρήσεις νομίζεις;” “Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ νῦν,” ἔφη,
“χαιρομεν, Ἀλέξανδρε, τοιαῦτα τέλη τῶν πόνων
κομιζόμενοι, μακαρίζομεν δὲ τοὺς ἥδη τεθνηκότας
πρὶν ἐπιδεῖν Μηδικαῖς ράβδοις ξαινομένους Μακε-
δόνας, καὶ Περσῶν δεομένους ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ
2 προσέλθωμεν.” τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κλείτου παρρησια-
ζομένου καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντανισταμέ-
νων καὶ λοιδορούντων αὐτόν, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι
κατέχειν ἐπειρῶντο τὸν θόρυβον. ὃ δὲ Ἀλέξαν-
δρος ἀποστραφεὶς πρὸς Ξενόδοχον τὸν Καρδιανὸν

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generals who had lately been defeated by the Barbarians. The older guests were annoyed at this and railed at both the poet and the singer, but Alexander and those about him listened with delight and bade the singer go on. Then Cleitus, who was already drunk and naturally of a harsh temper and wilful, was more than ever vexed, and insisted that it was not well done, when among Barbarians and enemies, to insult Macedonians who were far better men than those who laughed at them, even though they had met with misfortune. And when Alexander declared that Cleitus was pleading his own cause when he gave cowardice the name of misfortune, Cleitus sprang to his feet and said : “ It was this cowardice of mine, however, that saved thy life, god-born as thou art, when thou wast already turning thy back upon the spear of Spithridates ;¹ and it is by the blood of Macedonians, and by these wounds, that thou art become so great as to disown Philip and make thyself son to Ammon.”²

LI. Thoroughly incensed, then, Alexander said : “ Base fellow, dost thou think to speak thus of me at all times, and to raise faction among Macedonians, with impunity ? ” “ Nay,” said Cleitus, “ not even now do we enjoy impunity, since such are the rewards we get for our toils , and we pronounce those happy who are already dead, and did not live to see us Macedonians thrashed with Median rods, or begging Persians in order to get audience with our king.” So spake Cleitus in all boldness, and those about Alexander sprang up to confront him and reviled him, while the elder men tried to quell the tumult. Then Alexander, turning to Xenodochus of Cardia

¹ Cf. chapter xvi. 5.

² Cf. chapters xxvii. f.

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- καὶ τὸν Κολοφώνιον Ἀρτέμιον, “Οὐ δοκοῦσιν,” εἶπεν, “ὑμὲν οἱ Ἑλλῆνες ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὁσ-
 3 περ ἐν θηρίοις ἡμίθεοι περιπατεῖν;” τοῦ δὲ Κλεί-
 του μὴ εἰκοντος, ἀλλὰ εἰς μέσον ἢ βούλεται λέγειν
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύοντος, ἡ μὴ καλεῖν ἐπὶ
 δεῦπον ἄνδρας ἐλευθέρους καὶ παρρησίαν ἔχον-
 τας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βαρβάρων ξῆν καὶ ἄνδρα πόδων,
 οἱ τὴν Περσικὴν ξώνην καὶ τὸν διάλευκον αὐτοῦ
 χιτῶνα προσκυνήσουσιν, οὐκέτι φέρων τὴν ὀργὴν
 Ἀλέξανδρος μῆλων παρακειμένων ἐνὶ βαλάνω
 4 ἔπαισεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἔξήτει. τῶν δὲ
 σωματοφυλάκων ἐνὸς Ἀριστοφάνους φθάσαντος
 ὑφελέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περιεχόντων καὶ δεο-
 μένων, ἀναπηδήσας ἀνεβόα Μακεδονιστὶ καλῶν
 τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς (τούτο δὲ ἦν σύμβολον θορύβου
 μεγάλου), καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκήν ἐκέλευσε σημαί-
 νειν, καὶ πὺξ ἔπαισεν ὡς διατρίβοντα καὶ μὴ
 βουλόμενον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὑστερον εὐδοκίμησεν
 ὡς τὸν μὴ συνταραχθῆναι τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰτιώ-
 τατος γενόμενος. τὸν δὲ Κλείτον οὐχ ὑφιέμενον
 οἱ φίλοι μόλις ἔξεωσαν τοῦ ἄνδρωνος.
 5 ‘Ο δὲ κατ’ ἄλλας θύρας αὐθις εἰσῆι, μάλα
 διηγώρως καὶ θρασέως Εὔριπίδου τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρο-
 μάχης ιαμβέα ταῦτα περαίνων.
 οἴμοι, καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται.
- οὗτοι δὴ λαβὼν παρά τινος τῶν δορυφόρων Ἀλέ-
 ρανδρος αἰχμὴν ἀπαντώντα τὸν Κλείτον αἰτῷ
 6 διελαύνει. πεσόντος δὲ μετὰ στεναγμοῦ καὶ

¹ Verse 683 (Kirchhoff).

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and Artemius of Colophon, said · “ Do not the Greeks appear to you to walk about among Macedonians like demi-gods among wild beasts ? ” Cleitus, however, would not yield, but called on Alexander to speak out freely what he wished to say, or else not to invite to supper men who were free and spoke their minds, but to live with Barbarians and slaves, who would do obeisance to his white tunic and Persian girdle Then Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw one of the apples that lay on the table at Cleitus and hit him, and began looking about for his sword. But one of his body-guards, Aristophanes, conveyed it away before he could lay hands on it, and the rest surrounded him and begged him to desist, whereupon he sprang to his feet and called out in Macedonian speech a summons to his corps of guards (and this was a sign of great disturbance), and ordered the trumpeter to sound, and smote him with his fist because he hesitated and was unwilling to do so. This man, then, was afterwards held in high esteem on the ground that it was due to him more than to any one else that the camp was not thrown into commotion. But Cleitus would not give in, and with much ado his friends pushed him out of the banquet-hall.

He tried to come in again, however, by another door, very boldly and contemptuously reciting these iambics from the “ Andromache ” of Euripides¹:

“ Alas ! in Hellas what an evil government ! ”

And so, at last, Alexander seized a spear from one of his guards, met Cleitus as he was drawing aside the curtain before the door, and ran him through. No sooner had Cleitus fallen with a roar and a groan

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βρυχήματος εὐθὺς ἀφῆκεν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτόν. καὶ γενούμενος παρ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἵδων ἀφώνους ἐστῶτας ἐλκύσασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἔφθασε, παῖσαι δ' ἑαυτὸν ὄρμήσας παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπεσχέθη, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λαβόντων καὶ τὸ σῶμα βίᾳ παρενεγκόντων εἰς τὸν θάλαμον.

ΛΠ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα κακῶς κλαίων διηγεγκε καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἥδη τῷ βοῶν καὶ θρηνεῖν ἀπειρηκὼς ἄναυδος ἔκειτο, βαρεῖς ἀναφέρων στεναγμούς, δείσαντες οἱ φίλοι τὴν ἀποσιώπησιν εἰσῆλθον βίᾳ. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ προσίστητο τοὺς λόγους, Ἀριστάνδρου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως ὑπομιμηήσκοντος αὐτὸν τὴν τε ὅψιν ἣν εἶδε περὶ τοῦ Κλείτου, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὡς δὴ πάλαι καθειμαρμένων τούτων, ἔδοξεν ἐνδιδόναι.

- 2 διὸ Καλλισθένην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον παρεισήγαγον, Ἀριστοτέλους οἰκεῖον ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην Ἀνάξαρχον. ὃν Καλλισθένης μὲν ἡθικῶς ἀπειράτο καὶ πράως, ὑποδύμενος τῷ λόγῳ καὶ περιών ἀλύπως, λαβέσθαι τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ Ἀνάξαρχος ἰδίαν τινὰ πορευόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁδὸν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, καὶ δόξαν εἰληφώς ὑπεροψίας καὶ δλυγωρίας τῶν συνήθων, εὐθὺς εἰσελθὼν ἀνεβόθησεν. “Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰς ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη νῦν ἀποβλέπει· ὁ δὲ ἔρριπται κλαίων ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδον, ἀνθρώπων νόμον καὶ ψόγον δεδοικώσ, οἷς αὐτὸν προσήκει νόμον εἶναι καὶ ὅρον τῶν δικαιῶν, ἀπείπερ ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν νενίκηκεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δουλεύειν ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης κεκρατημένου.

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than the king's anger departed from him. And when he was come to himself and beheld his friends standing speechless, he drew the spear from the dead body and would have dashed it into his own throat, had not his body-guards prevented this by seizing his hands and carrying him by force to his chamber.

LII Here he spent the night and the following day in bitter lamentations, and at last lay speechless, worn out with his cries and wailing, heaving deep groans. Then his friends, alarmed at his silence, forced their way in. To what the others said he would pay no attention, but when Aristander the seer reminded him of the vision he had seen concerning Cleitus, and of the omen,¹ assuring him that all this had long ago been decreed by fate, he seemed to be less obdurate. Therefore they brought in to him Callisthenes the philosopher, who was a relative of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. Of these, Callisthenes tried by considerate and gentle methods to alleviate the king's suffering, employing insinuation and circumlocution so as to avoid giving pain; but Anaxarchus, who had always taken a path of his own in philosophy, and had acquired a reputation for despising and slighting his associates, shouted out as soon as he came in: "Here is Alexander, to whom the whole world is now looking; but he lies on the floor weeping like a slave, in fear of the law and the censure of men, unto whom he himself should be a law and a measure of justice, since he has conquered the right to rule and mastery, instead of submitting like a slave to the mastery of a vain opinion. Knowest

¹ Cf. chapter I. 2 f.

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4 οὐκ οἰσθα," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τὴν Δίκην ἔχει πάρεδρον ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τὴν Θέμιν, ἵνα πᾶν τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεμιτὸν γέ καὶ δίκαιον;" τοιούτοις τισὶ λόγοις χρησάμενος ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐκούφισε τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸ δὲ ηθος εἰς πολλὰ χαυνούτερον καὶ παρανομώτερον ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ δαιμονίως ἐνήρμοσε, καὶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους τὴν ὄμιλίαν, οὐδὲ ἀλλως ἐπίχαριν διὰ τὸ αὐστηρὸν οὖσαν, προσδέέβαλε.

5 Λέγεται δέ ποτε παρὰ δέῖπνον ὑπὲρ ὥρῶν καὶ κράσεως τοῦ περιέχοντος λόγων δυτῶν, τὸν Καλλισθένην, μετέχοντα δόξης τοῖς λέγουσι τάκει μᾶλλον εἴναι ψυχρὰ καὶ δυσχείμερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐναντιουμένου τοῦ Ἀναξάρχου καὶ φιλονεικοῦντος, εἰπένι. "Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἀνάγκη σὸν ταῦτα ἐκείνων ὅμολογενν ψυχρότερα· σὺ γάρ ἐκεὶ μὲν ἐν τρίβωνι διεχείμαζες, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τρεῦς ἐπιβεβλημένους δάπιδας κατάκεισαι." τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀναξάρχον καὶ τοῦτο προσπαρῷξυνε.

LIII. Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους σοφιστὰς καὶ κόλακας ὁ Καλλισθένης ἐλύπει σπουδαζόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νέων διὰ τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ἡττον δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀρέσκων διὰ τὸν βίον, εὔτακτον δυτα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ αὐτάρκη, καὶ βεβαιοῦντα τὴν λεγομένην τῆς ἀποδημίας πρόφασιν, διὰ τοὺς πολίτας καταγαγέν καὶ κατοικίσαι πάλιν τὴν πατρίδα 2 φιλοτιμούμενος ἀνέβη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. φθονούμενος δὲ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἔστιν ἀ καὶ καθ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς διαβάλλουσι παρεῖχε, τάς τε κλήσεις τὰ

¹ Olynthus, which had been destroyed by Philip in 347 B.C.

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thou not," said he, "that Zeus has Justice and Law seated beside him, in order that everything that is done by the master of the world may be lawful and just?" By using some such arguments as these Anaxarchus succeeded in lightening the suffering of the king, it is true, but rendered his disposition in many ways more vainglorious and lawless; he also made himself wonderfully liked by the king, and brought the intercourse of Callisthenes with him, which had always been unpleasant because of the man's austerity, into additional disfavour.

It is said that once at supper the conversation turned upon seasons and weather, and that Callisthenes, who held with those who maintain that it is more cold and wintry there than in Greece, was stoutly opposed by Anaxarchus, whereupon he said: "You surely must admit that it is colder here than there; for there you used to go about in winter in a cloak merely, but here you recline at table with three rugs thrown over you." Of course this also added to the irritation of Anaxarchus.

LIII. Moreover, the other sophists and flatterers in the train of Alexander were annoyed to see Callisthenes eagerly courted by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less pleasing to the older men on account of his mode of life, which was well-ordered, dignified, and independent, and confirmed the reason given for his sojourn abroad, namely, that he had gone to Alexander from an ardent desire to restore his fellow-citizens to their homes and re-people his native city.¹ And besides being envied on account of his reputation, he also at times by his own conduct furnished material for his detractors, rejecting invitations for the most

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πολλὰ διωθούμενος, ἐν τε τῷ συνεῦναι βαρύτητι
καὶ σιωπῇ δοκῶν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν οὐδὲ ἀρέσκεοθαι
τοὺς γινομένοις, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν
ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐδὲ αὐτῷ σοφός.

3 Λέγεται δέ ποτε πολλῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ¹
τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπαινέσαι κελευσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτη-
ρίου Μακεδόνας ὁ Καλλισθένης οὕτως εὐροήσαι
πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ὡστε ἀνισταμένους κροτεῖν
καὶ βάλλειν τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' αὐτόν² εἰπεῖν
οὖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δτι, κατ'³ Εὐριπίδην, τὸν
λαβόντα τῶν λόγων

καλὰς ἀφορμὰς οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὐ λέγειν.

4 “Ἀλλ’ ἔνδειξαι,” φάναι, “τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν
ἥμιν κατηγορήσας Μακεδόνων, ἵνα καὶ βελτίους
γένωνται μαθόντες ἢ πλημμελοῦσιν.” οὕτω δὴ
τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὴν παλινῳδίαν τραπόμενον
πολλὰ παρρησιάσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων,
καὶ τὴν Ἐλληνικὴν στάσιν αἰτίαν ἀποφήναντα
τῆς γενομένης περὶ Φίλιππου αὐξήσεως καὶ δυνά-
μεως εἴπειν.

ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔλλαχε τιμῆς.

5 ἐφ' ὧ πικρὸν καὶ βαρὺ ἐγγενέσθαι μῆσος τοὺς
Μακεδόστι, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ τῆς

¹ An iambic trimeter from an unknown play of Euripides (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 652).

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part, and when he did go into company, by his gravity and silence making it appear that he disapproved or disliked what was going on, so that even Alexander said in allusion to him :—

“ I hate a wise man even to himself unwise ”¹

It is said, moreover, that once when a large company had been invited to the king’s supper, Callisthenes was bidden, when the cup came to him, to speak in praise of the Macedonians, and was so successful on the theme that the guests rose up to applaud him and threw their garlands at him; whereupon Alexander said that, in the language of Euripides, when a man has for his words

“ A noble subject, it is easy to speak well ; ”²

“ But show us the power of your eloquence,” said he, “ by a denunciation of the Macedonians, that they may become even better by learning their faults.” And so Callisthenes began his palinode, and spoke long and boldly in denunciation of the Macedonians, and after showing that faction among the Greeks was the cause of the increase of Philip’s power, added :

“ But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour.”³

This gave the Macedonians a stern and bitter hatred of him, and Alexander declared that Callisthenes

¹ *Bacchae*, 260 (Kirchhoff).

³ A proverb in hexameter verse, sometimes attributed to Callimachus. Cf the *Nicias*, xi. 3; *Morals*, p. 479 a.

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δεινότητος ὁ Καλλισθένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς δυσμενείας Μακεδόνιν ἀπόδειξιν δέδωκε.

LIV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐρμιππός φησι τὸν ἀναγνώστην τοῦ Καλλισθένους Στροῖβον Ἀριστοτέλει διηγεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην συνέντα τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τοῦ Βασιλέως δὶς ἢ τρὶς ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν.

κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

οὐ φαύλως οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔοικεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι Καλλισθένης λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δυνατὸς καὶ μέγας, 2 νοῦν δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν. ἀλλὰ τήν γε προσκύνησιν ἵσχυρῶς ἀπωσαμενος καὶ φιλοσόφως, καὶ μόνος ἐν φανερῷ διελθὼν ἀ κρύφα πάντες οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡγανάκτουν, τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας αἰσχύνης ἀπῆλλαξε μεγάλης, καὶ μείζονος Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀποτρέψας τὴν προσκύνησιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπώλεσεν, ἐκβιάσασθαι δοκῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πεῖσαι τὸν βασιλέα.

3 Χάρης δὲ ὁ Μιτυληναῖς φησι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ πιόντα φιάλην προτείναί τινι τῶν φίλων· τὸν δὲ δεξάμενον πρὸς ἑστίαν ἀναστῆναι καὶ πιόντα προσκυνῆσαι πρώτον, εἴτα φιλῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ κατακλιθῆναι.

4 πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ποιούντων ἐφεξῆς τὸν Καλλισθένην λαβόντα τὴν φιάλην, οὐ προσέχοντος τοῦ Βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ Ἡφαιστίωνι προσδιαλεγομένου, πιόντα προσιέναι φιλήσοντα, Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ

¹ Achilles to Hector, *Iliad*, xxi. 107.

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had given a proof, not of his eloquence, but of his ill-will towards the Macedonians.

LIV. This, then, according to Hermippus, is the story which Stroebus, the slave who read aloud for Callisthenes, told to Aristotle, and he says that when Callisthenes was aware of the alienation of the king, twice or thrice, as he was going away from him, he recited the verse :

“ Dead is also Patroclus, a man far braver than thou art.”¹

What Aristotle said, then, would seem to have been no idle verdict, namely, that Callisthenes showed great ability as a speaker, but lacked common sense. But in the matter of the obeisance, at least, by refusing sturdily and like a philosopher to perform the act, and by standing forth alone and rehearsing in public the reasons for the indignation which all the oldest and best of the Macedonians cherished in secret, he delivered the Greeks from a great disgrace, and Alexander from a greater, by leading him not to insist upon the obeisance ; but he destroyed himself, because he was thought to use force rather than persuasion with the king.

Chares of Mitylene says that once at a banquet Alexander, after drinking, handed the cup to one of his friends, and he, on receiving it, rose up so as to face the household shrine, and when he had drunk, first made obeisance to Alexander, then kissed him, and then resumed his place upon the couch. As all the guests were doing this in turn, Callisthenes took the cup, the king not paying attention, but conversing with Hephaestion, and after he had drunk went towards the king to kiss him ; but

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προσονομαζομένου Φείδωνος εἰπόντος, “¹Ω βασι-
λεῦ, μὴ φιλήσῃς οὗτος γάρ σε μόιος οὐ προσ-
εκύνησε,” διακλῖναι τὸ φίλημα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον,
τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένη μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν
“Φιλήματι τοίνυν ἔλασσον ἔχων ἄπειμι.”

LV. Τοιαύτης ὑπογενομένης ἀλλοτριότητος
πρῶτον μὲν Ἡφαιστίων ἐπιστεύετο λέγων ὅτι
συνθέμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Καλλισθένης προσκυνῆ-
σαι ψεύσαιτο τὴν ὄμολογίαν· ἔπειτα Λυσίμαχοι
καὶ Ἀργωνες ἐπεφύοντο φάσκοντες περιέναι τὸν
σοφιστὴν ὡς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τυραννίδος μέγα
φρονοῦντα, καὶ συντρέχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ μειράκια.
καὶ περιέπειν ὡς μόνον ἐλευθέρον ἐν τοσαύταις
2 μυριάσι. διὸ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἐρμόλαοι ἐπιβου-
λευσάντων τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ φαινερῶν γενο-
μένων ἔδοξαν ἀληθέσιν ὄμοια κατηγορεῖν οἱ
διαβάλλοντες, ὡς τῷ μὲν προβαλόντι πῶς ἀν
ἐνδοξόταος γένοιτο ἀνθρώπος, εἶπεν, “Αν ἀπο-
κτεύνη τὸν ἐνδοξόταο,” τὸν δὲ Ἐρμόλαον ἐπὶ
τὴν πρᾶξιν παραξύνων ἐκέλευε μὴ δεδιέναι τὴν
χρυσῆν κλίνην, ἀλλὰ μυημονεύειν ὅτι καὶ νοσοῦντι
3 καὶ τιτρωσκομένῳ πρόσεισιν ἀνθρώπῳ καίτοι
τῶν περὶ Ἐρμόλαον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης
ἀνάγκης τοῦ Καλλισθένους κατέπειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ
Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς εὐθὺς Κρατερῷ γράφων καὶ
Ἀττάλῳ καὶ Ἀλκέτᾳ φησὶ τοὺς παιδας βασαν-
ζομένους ὄμολογενν ὡς αὐτοὶ ταῦτα πράξειαν,
ἄλλος δὲ οὐδεὶς συνειδείη. ὕστερον δὲ γράφων
πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τὸν Καλλισθένην συνεπ-

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 12.

² The conspiracy of the pages (Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 13).

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Demetrius, surnamed Pheido, cried : "O King, do not accept his kiss, for he alone has not done thee obeisance." So Alexander declined the kiss, at which Callisthenes exclaimed in a loud voice . " Well, then, I'll go away the poorer by a kiss."¹

LV. The king having been thus alienated, in the first place, Hephaestion found credence for his story that Callisthenes had promised him to make obeisance to the king and then had been false to his agreement. Again, men like Lysimachus and Hagnon persisted in saying that the sophist went about with lofty thoughts as if bent on abolishing a tyranny, and that the young men flocked to him and followed him about as if he were the only freeman among so many tens of thousands. For this reason also, when the conspiracy of Hermolaus and his associates² against Alexander was discovered, it was thought that the accusations of his detractors had an air of probability. They said, namely, that when Hermolaus put the question to him how he might become a most illustrious man, Callisthenes said : " By killing the most illustrious;" and that in inciting Hermolaus to the deed he bade him have no fear of the golden couch, but remember that he was approaching a man who was subject to sickness and wounds. And yet not one of the accomplices of Hermolaus, even in the last extremity, denounced Callisthenes. Nay, even Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote at once to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, says that the youths confessed under torture that they had made this attempt of themselves, and that no one else was privy to it. But in a letter written later to Antipater, wherein he accuses Callisthenes also of the crime, he says : " The

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⁴ αιτιασάμενος, “Οι μὲν παιδεῖς,” φησίν, “ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατέλευσθησαν, τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν ἐγὼ κολάσω καὶ τοὺς ἐκπέμψαντας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας,” ἀντικρυῖς ἔν γε τούτοις ἀποκαλυπτόμενος πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην· καὶ γὰρ ἐτέθραπτο Καλλισθένης παρ’ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἐξ ⁵ Ἡροῦς γεγονώς, ἀνεψιᾶς Ἀριστοτέλους. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου κρεμασθέντα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένον καὶ νοσήσαντα, Χάρης δὲ μετὰ τὴν σύλληψιν ἐπτὰ μῆνας φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον, ὡς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κριθεῖη παρόντος Ἀριστοτέλους, ἐν αἷς δὲ ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτρώθη περὶ τὴν Ἰνδίαν, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπέρπαχν γενόμενον καὶ φθειράσαντα.

LVI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον ἐπράχθη. Δημάρατος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος ἥδη πρεσβύτερος ὥν ἐφίλοτιμήθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναβῆναι· καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν εἰπε μεγάλης ἥδουνής ἐστερῆσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὅσοι τεθνήκασι πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον. οὐ μην ἐπὶ πλέον γε τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέλαυσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀρρωστίας ἀποθανὼν ἐκηδεύθη μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ τάφον ἔχωσεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τῇ περιμέτρῳ μέγαν, ὕψος δὲ πηχῶν ὅγδοηκοντα· τὰ δὲ λείψανα τέθριππον κεκοσμημένον λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατεκόμισε.

LVII. Μέλλων δὲ ὑπερβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδίκην, ὡς ἔώρα πλήθει λαφύρων τὴν στρατιὰν ἥδη

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 14, 3 f., where other accounts still are mentioned.

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youths were stoned to death by the Macedonians, but the sophist I will punish, together with those who sent him to me and those who harbour in their cities men who conspire against my life;” and in these words, at least, he directly reveals a hostility to Aristotle, in whose house Callisthenes, on account of his relationship, had been reared, being a son of Hero, who was a niece of Aristotle. As to the death of Callisthenes, some say that he was hanged by Alexander’s orders, others that he was bound hand and foot and died of sickness, and Chares says that after his arrest he was kept in fetters seven months, that he might be tried before a full council when Aristotle was present, but that about the time when Alexander was wounded in India, he died from obesity and the disease of lice¹

LVI. This, however, belongs to a later time.² Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was now well on in years, was eagerly desirous of going up to Alexander; and when he had seen him, he said that those Greeks were deprived of a great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius.³ However, he did not long enjoy the king’s good will towards him, but died from debility. His obsequies were magnificent, and the army raised in his memory a mound of great circumference and eighty cubits in height. His ashes were carried down to the sea-board on a four-horse chariot splendidly adorned.

LVII. Alexander was now about to cross the mountains into India,⁴ and since he saw that his army was by this time cumbered with much booty

¹ The spring of 327 B.C.

² Cf. chapter xxxvii. 4.

³ In the late spring of 327 B.C.

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- βαρεῖαν καὶ δυσκύνητον οὖσαν, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ συνεσκευασμένων τῶν ἀμαξῶν, πρώτας μὲν ὑπέπρησε τὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων, μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὰς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐνεῖναι πῦρ. καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ βούλευμα μεῖζον ἐφάνη
- 2 καὶ δεινότερον ἦ τὸ ἔργον. ὅλιγους μὲν γάρ ἡνίασεν, οἱ δὲ πλεῦστοι βοῆ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ μετὰ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς δεομένοις μεταδιδόντες, τὰ δὲ περιόντα τῆς χρείας αὐτοὶ κατακαίσοντες καὶ διαφθείροντες ὄρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλασαν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἥδη δὲ καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος κολαστὴς τῶν πλημμελούντων. καὶ γὰρ Μένανδρόν τινα τῶν ἑταίρων ἄρχοντα φρουρίου καταστήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἐβούλετο μένειν, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ἀποστάντων βαρβάρων Ὄρσοδάτην αὐτὸς κατετόξευσε.
- 3 Προβάτου δὲ τεκόντος ἄρνα περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ σχῆμα καὶ χρῶμα τιάρας ἔχοντα καὶ διδύμους ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ, βδελυχθεὶς τὸ σημεῖον ἐκαθάρθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οὓς ἐξ ἔθους ἐπήγετο πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα· διελέχθη δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνους ταράττοιτο, μὴ τὸ κράτος εἰς ἀγεννῆ καὶ ἀναλκινὸν ἀνθρωπονέτος αὐτοῦ περιστήσῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βέλτιόν τι σημεῖον γενόμενον τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔλυσεν.
- 4 ὁ γάρ ἐπὶ τῶν στρωματοφυλάκων τεταγμένος ἀνὴρ Μακεδών, ὄνομα Πρόξενος, τῇ βασιλικῇ σκηνῇ

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and hard to move, at break of day, after the baggage-waggons had been loaded, he burned first those which belonged to himself and his companions, and then gave orders to set fire to those of the Macedonians. And the planning of the thing turned out to be a larger and more formidable matter than its execution. For it gave annoyance to a few only of the soldiers, while the most of them, with rapturous shouts and war-cries, shared their necessities with those who were in need of them, and what was superfluous they burned and destroyed with their own hands, thus filling Alexander with zeal and eagerness. Besides, he was already greatly feared, and inexorable in the chastisement of a transgressor. For instance, when a certain Menander, one of his companions, who had been put in command of a garrison, refused to remain there, he put him to death; and Orsodates, a Barbarian who had revolted from him, he shot down with his own hand.

When a sheep yeaned a lamb which had upon its head what looked like a tiara in form and colour, with testicles on either side of it, Alexander was filled with loathing at the portent, and had himself purified by the Babylonians, whom he was accus-*to* take along with him for such purposes; and in conversation with his friends he said that he was not disturbed for his own sake, but for theirs, fearing lest after his death Heaven might devolve his power upon an ignoble and impotent man. However, a better portent occurred and put an end to his dejection. The Macedonian, namely, who was set over those in charge of the royal equipage, Proxenus by name, as he was digging a place for the

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χώραν ὁρύττων παρὰ τὸν Ὁξον ποταμὸν ἀνεκά-
λυψε πηγὴν ὑγροῦ λιπαροῦ καὶ πιμελώδους·
ἀπαντλουμένου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου καθαρὸν ἀνέβλυζεν
ἴδη καὶ δαυγὴς ἔλαιον, οὕτε ὅσμῃ δοκοῦν οὕτε
γεύσει ἔλαιον διαφέρειν, στιλπνότητά τε καὶ
λιπαρότητα παντάπασιν ἀπαράλλακτον, καὶ
5 ταῦτα τῆς χώρας μηδὲ ἔλαιας φερούστης. λέγεται
μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Ὁξον αὐτὸν εἶναι μαλακώτατον
ὑδωρ, ὥστε τὸ δέρμα τοῖς λουομένοις ἐπιλιπαί-
νειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ θαυμαστῶς Ἀλέξανδρος
ἡσθεὶς δῆλος ἔστιν ἐξ ὧν γράφει πρὸς Ἀντί-
πατρον, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τοῦτο τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ γεγονότων αὐτῷ τιθέμενος. οἱ δὲ μάντεις
ἐνδέξουν μὲν στρατείας, ἐπιπόνου δὲ καὶ χαλεπῆς
τὸ σημεῖον ἐποιοῦντο· πόνων γάρ ἀρωγὴν ἔλαιον
ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεοῦ δεδόσθαι.

LVIII. Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς μάχας αὐτῷ
κίνδυνοι συνέπεσον καὶ τραύμασι νεανικοῖς ἀπήν-
τησε, τὴν δὲ πλείστην φθορὰν ἀπορίαι τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων καὶ δυσκρασίαι τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀπειργά-
σαντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. αὐτὸς δὲ τόλμη τὴν τύχην
ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀρετῇ φιλοτιμού-
μενος, οὐδὲν φέτο τοῖς θαρροῦσιν ἀνάλωτον οὐδὲ
2 ὄχυρὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἀτόλμοις. λέγεται δὲ τὴν Σισι-
μίθρου πολιορκῶν πέτραν ἀβατον οὖσαν καὶ ἀπό-
τομον¹ ἀθυμούντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐρωτήσαι
τὸν Ὁξυάρτην ποιός τις αὐτὸς εἴη τὴν ψυχὴν
ὁ Σισιμίθρης. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὁξυάρτου δει-
λότατον ἀνθρώπων, “Λέγεις σύ γε,” φάναι, “τὴν

¹ ἀπότομον Coraes' correction of the MSS. ἀπρόσβατον, for which Bekker reads ἀπρόσμαχον, after Schaefer. Sintenis² suggests ἀπότομον καὶ ἀπρόσβατον.

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king's tent along the river Oxus, uncovered a spring of liquid which was oily and fatty; but when the top of it was drawn off, there flowed at once a pure and clear oil, which appeared to differ from olive oil neither in odour nor in flavour, and in smoothness and lustre was altogether the same, and that too though the country produced no olive trees. It is said, indeed, that the Oxus itself also has a very soft water, which gives sleekness to the skin of those who bathe in it. However, that Alexander was marvellously pleased is clear from what he writes to Antipater, where he speaks of this as one of the greatest omens vouchsafed to him from Heaven. The seers, however, held that the omen foreshadowed an expedition which would be glorious, but difficult and toilsome; for oil, they said, was given to men by Heaven as an aid to toil.

LVIII. And so it proved; for he encountered many perils in the battles which he fought, and received very severe wounds; but the greatest losses which his army suffered were caused by lack of necessary provisions and severity of weather. Still, he was eager to overcome fortune by boldness and force by valour, and thought nothing invincible for the courageous, and nothing secure for the cowardly. It is said that when he was besieging the citadel of Sisimithres, which was steep and inaccessible, so that his soldiers were disheartened, he asked Oxyartes what sort of a man Sisimithres himself was in point of spirit. And when Oxyartes replied that he was most cowardly of men, "Thy words mean," said Alexander, "that we

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πέτραν ἀλώσιμον ἡμῖν εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον αὐτῆς
3 οὐκ ὄχυρόν ἔστι·” ταύτην μὲν οὖν ἐκφοβήσας τὸν
Σισιμίθρην ἔλαβεν. ἐπέρα δὲ ὁμοίως ἀποτόμῳ
προσβαλὼν τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν Μακεδόνων
παρώρμα, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρόν τινα καλούμενον
προσαγορεύσας, “Ἀλλὰ σοί γε,” εἶπεν, “ἀν-
δραγαθέν προσήκει καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.” ἐπεὶ
δὲ λαμπρῶς ὁ νεανίας ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν, οὐ
4 μετρίως ἐδήχθη. τῇ δὲ καλουμένῃ Νύσῃ τῶν
Μακεδόνων ὀκνούντων προσάγειν (καὶ γὰρ ποτα-
μὸς ἦν πρὸς αὐτὴν Βαθὺς) ἐπιστάς, “Τί γάρ,” εἶπεν,
“ὅ κάκιστος ἐγὼ νεῦν οὐκ ἔμαθον;” καὶ ἥδη ἔχων
τὴν ἀσπίδα περᾶν ἡσθέλησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπαύ-
σαντος τὴν μάχην αὐτοῦ παρῆσαν ἀπὸ τῶν
πολιορκουμένων πόλεων πρέσβεις δεησόμενοι,
πρῶτον μὲν ὅφθεὶς ἀθεράπευτος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
ἔξεπληξεν αὐτούς· ἔπειτα προσκεφαλάίου τινὸς
5 αὐτῷ κομισθέντος ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα καθίσαι τὸν
πρεσβύτατον· Ἀκουφις ἐκαλεῖτο. θαυμάσας οὖν
τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ Ἀκουφις
ἡρώτα τί βούλεται ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φίλους.
φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, “Σὲ μὲν ἄρχοντα
καταστήσαντας αὐτῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς πέμψαντας
έκατὸν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους,” γελάσας ὁ Ἀκου-
φις, “Ἀλλὰ βέλτιον,” εἶπεν, “ἄρξω, βασιλεῦ,
τοὺς κακίστους πρὸς σὲ πέμψας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς
ἀρίστους.”

LIX. Ὁ δὲ Ταξίλης λέγεται μὲν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς
ἔχειν μοῖραν οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν Αἰγύπτου τὸ μέγε-
θος, εὑθοτον δὲ καὶ καλλίκαρπον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα,

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can take the citadel, since he who commands it is a weak thing." And indeed he did take the citadel by frightening Sisimithres. Again, after attacking another citadel equally precipitous, he was urging on the younger Macedonians, and addressing one who bore the name of Alexander, said : " It behooves thee, at least, to be a brave man, even for thy name's sake." And when the young man, fighting gloriously, fell, the king was pained beyond measure. And at another time, when his Macedonians hesitated to advance upon the citadel called Nysa because there was a deep river in front of it, Alexander, halting on the bank, cried : " Most miserable man that I am, why, pray, have I not learned to swim ? " and at once, carrying his shield, he would have tried to cross. And when, after he had put a stop to the fighting, ambassadors came from the beleaguered cities to beg for terms, they were amazed, to begin with, to see him in full armour and without an attendant; and besides, when a cushion was brought him for his use, he ordered the eldest of the ambassadors, Acuphis by name, to take it for his seat. Acuphis, accordingly, astonished at his magnanimity and courtesy, asked what he wished them to do in order to be his friends. " Thy countrymen," said Alexander, " must make thee their ruler, and send me a hundred of their best men." At this Acuphis laughed, and said : " Nay, O King, I shall rule better if I send to thee the worst men rather than the best." ¹

LIX. Taxiles, we are told, had a realm in India as large as Egypt, with good pastureage, too, and in the highest degree productive of beautiful fruits. He

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 2, 1-3.

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σοφὸς δέ τις ἀνὴρ εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀσπασάμενος, “Τί δεῖ πολέμων,” φάναι, “καὶ μάχης ἡμῖν, Ἀλέξανδρε, πρὸς ἄλληλους, εἰ μήτε ὕδωρ ἀφαιρησόμενος ἡμῶν ἀφῆσαι μήτε τροφὴν ἀναγκαῖαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν μόνων ἀνάγκη διαμάχεσθαι

2 νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποις; τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις χρῆμασι καὶ κτήμασι λεγομένοις, εἰ μέν εἴμι κρείττων, ἔτοιμος εὐν ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἥπτων, οὐ φεύγω χάριν ἔχειν εὐ παθών.” ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν, “Ἡ που νομίζεις,” ἔφη, “δίχα μάχης ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἐντευξὺν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοιούτων λόγων καὶ φιλοφροσύνης; ἀλλ’ οὐδέν σοι πλέον ἐγὼ γάρ ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ διαμαχοῦμαι ταῖς χάρισιν, ὡς μου χρηστὸς ὧν

3 μὴ περιγένηται.” λαβὼν δὲ δῶρα πολλὰ καὶ δοὺς πλείονα τέλος χήλια τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ προεπιειν. ἐφ' οὓς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἵσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἡμερωτέρως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι μισθοφοροῦντες ἐπεφούτων ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐρρωμένως ἀμύνοντες καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκακοποίουν, σπεισάμενος ἐν τινι πόλει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπίοντας ἐν ὅδῳ λαβὼν ἄπαντας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἄλλα νομίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς πολεμήσαντος, ὥσπερ κηλὶς πρόσεστιν. οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ τούτων οἱ φιλόσοφοι πράγματα παρέσχον αὐτῷ, τοὺς τε προστιθεμένους τῶν βασιλέων κακίζοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους δῆμους ἀφιστάντες. διὸ καὶ τούτων πολλοὺς ἐκρέμασε.

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was also a wise man in his way, and after he had greeted Alexander, said : " Why must we war and fight with one another, Alexander, if thou art not come to rob us of water or of necessary sustenance, the only things for which men of sense are obliged to fight obstinately ? As for other wealth and possessions, so-called, if I am thy superior therein, I am ready to confer favours ; but if thine inferior, I will not object to thanking you for favours conferred." At this Alexander was delighted, and clasping the king's hand, said : " Canst thou think, pray, that after such words of kindness our interview is to end without a battle ? Nay, thou shalt not get the better of me ; for I will contend against thee and fight to the last with my favours, that thou mayest not surpass me in generosity." So, after receiving many gifts and giving many more, at last he lavished upon him a thousand talents in coined money. This conduct greatly vexed Alexander's friends, but it made many of the Barbarians look upon him more kindly.

The best fighters among the Indians, however, were mercenaries, and they used to go about to the different cities and defend them sturdily, and wrought much harm to Alexander's cause. Therefore, after he had made a truce with them in a certain city and allowed them to depart, he fell upon them as they marched and slew them all. And this act adheres like a stain to his military career ; in all other instances he waged war according to usage and like a king. The philosophers, too, no less than the mercenaries, gave him trouble, by abusing those of the native princes who attached themselves to his cause, and by inciting the free peoples to revolt. He therefore took many of these also and hanged them

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LX. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς Πῶρον αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὡς ἐπράχθη γέγραφε. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ῥέοντος ἀντιπόρους ἴσταντα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἀεὶ τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν διάβασιν. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ψόφου ποιεῖν καὶ θόρυβον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολύν, ἐθίζοντα τοὺς βαρβάρους ² μὴ φοβεῖσθαι· νυκτὸς δὲ χειμερίου καὶ ἀσελήνου λαβόντα τῶν πεζῶν μέρος, ἵππεῖς δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους, καὶ προελθόντα πόρρω τῶν πολεμίων διαπερᾶσαι πρὸς νῆσον οὐ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ῥαγδάιον μὲν ἐκχυθέντος ὅμβρου, πρηστήρων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον φερομένων, ὅμως ὁρῶν ἀπολλυμένους τινὰς καὶ συμφλεγομένους ὑπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς νησῖδος ἄρας προσφέρεσθαι ταῖς ἀντιπέρας ὅχθαις. τραχὺν δὲ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπιόντα καὶ μετέωρον, ἔκρηγμα ποιῆσαι μέγα, καὶ πολὺ μέρος ἐκείνη φέρεσθαι τοῦ ῥεύματος· αὐτὸν δὲ δέξασθαι τὸ μέσον οὐ βεβαίως, ἀτε δὴ συνολισθάνον καὶ περιρρηγνύμενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἰπεῖν φασιν αὐτὸν ““Ω ‘Αθηναῖοι, ἄρα γε πιστεύσαιτε ἂν ἡλίκους ὑπομένω κινδύνους ἔνεκα τῆς παρ’ ὑμῖν εὐδοξίας;”

³ ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν Ὁησίκριτος εἴρηκεν, αὐτὸς δέ φησι τὰς σχεδίας ἀφέντας αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων τὸ ἔκρηγμα διαβαίνειν ἄχρι μαστῶν βρεχομένους, διαβάς δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εἴκοσι σταδίους προϊππεῦσαι, λογιζόμενος, εἰ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς

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LX. Of his campaign against Porus¹ he himself has given an account in his letters. He says, namely, that the river Hydaspes flowed between the two camps, and that Porus stationed his elephants on the opposite bank and kept continual watch of the crossing. He himself, accordingly, day by day caused a great din and tumult to be made in his camp, and thereby accustomed the Barbarians not to be alarmed. Then, on a dark and stormy night, he took a part of his infantry and the best of his horsemen, and after proceeding along the river to a distance from where the enemy lay, crossed over to a small island. Here rain fell in torrents, and many tornadoes and thunder-bolts dashed down upon his men; but nevertheless, although he saw that many of them were being burned to death by the thunder-bolts, he set out from the islet and made for the opposite banks. But the Hydaspes, made violent by the storm and dashing high against its bank, made a great breach in it, and a large part of the stream was setting in that direction; and the shore between the two currents gave his men no sure footing, since it was broken and slippery. And here it was that he is said to have cried: "O Athenians, can ye possibly believe what perils I am undergoing to win glory in your eyes?" This, however, is the story of Onesicritus; Alexander himself says that they left their rafts and crossed the breach with their armour on, wading breast-high in water, and that after he had crossed he led his horsemen twenty furlongs in advance of his infantry, calculating that, in case the enemy attacked with

¹ See Arrian, *Anab.* v. 9-19. It was in the spring of 326 B.C.

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ἴπποις προσβάλοιεν, πολὺν κρατήσειν, εἰ δὲ κινοῖεν τὴν φάλαγγα, φθήσεσθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς αὐτῷ
5 προσγενομένους· θάτερον δὲ συμβῆναι. τῶν γὰρ ἵππέων χιλίους καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἔξηκοντα συμπεσόντα τρεφάμενος, τὰ μὲν ἄρματα λαβεῖν ἅπαντα, τῶν δὲ ἵππέων ἀνελεῦν τετρακοσίους.
οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσαντα τὸν Πῶρον ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη διαβεβηκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπιέναι μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, πλὴν ὅσουν ἐμποδὸν εἶναι τοῖς διαβαίνουσι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπέλιπε. φοβηθεὶς δὲ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνσέεσαι κατὰ θάτερον κέρας, Κοῖνον δὲ τῷ
6 δεξιῷ προσβαλεῖν κελεῦσαι. γενομένης δὲ τροπῆς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία καὶ συνειλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκβιαζομένους, ὅθεν ἥδη τὴν μάχην ἀναμεμημένην εἶναι, καὶ μόλις ὅγδοης ὥρας ἀπειπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ τῆς μάχης ποιητὴς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἴρηκεν.

Οἱ δὲ πλεῦστοι τῶν συγγραφέων ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν Πῶρον ὑπεραίροντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν σπιθαμῆ τὸ μῆκος ἵππότου μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἐλέφαντα συμμετρίᾳ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὅγκον
7 τοῦ σώματος. καίτοι μέγιστος ἦν ὁ ἐλέφας· σύνεσιν δὲ θαυμαστὴν ἐπεδείξατο καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐρρωμένου μὲν ἔτι θυμῷ τοὺς προσμαχομένους ἀμυνόμενος καὶ ἀνακόπτων, ὡς δὲ ἥσθετο βελῶν πλήθει καὶ τραυμάτων κάμνοντα, δείσας μὴ πειρρυῆ, τοὺς μὲν γόνασιν εἰς γῆν ὑφῆκε πράως ἑαυτόν, τῇ δὲ προνομαίᾳ λαμ-

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their cavalry, he would be far superior to them, and in case they moved up their men-at-arms, his infantry would join him in good season. And one of these suppositions came to pass. For after routing a thousand of the enemy's horsemen and sixty of their chariots which engaged him, he captured all the chariots, and slew four hundred of the horsemen. And now Porus, thus led to believe that Alexander himself had crossed the river, advanced upon him with all his forces, except the part he left behind to impede the crossing of the remaining Macedonians. But Alexander, fearing the elephants and the great numbers of the enemy, himself assaulted their left wing, and ordered Coenus to attack their right. Both wings having been routed, the vanquished troops retired in every case upon the elephants in the centre, and were there crowded together with them, and from this point on the battle was waged at close quarters, and it was not until the eighth hour that the enemy gave up. Such then, is the account of the battle which the victor himself has given in his letters.

Most historians agree that Porus was four cubits and a span¹ high, and that the size and majesty of his body made his elephant seem as fitting a mount for him as a horse for a horseman. And yet his elephant was of the largest size; and it showed remarkable intelligence and solicitude for the king, bravely defending him and beating back his assailants while he was still in full vigour, and when it perceived that its master was worn out with a multitude of missiles and wounds, fearing lest he should fall off, it knelt softly on the ground, and with its proboscis

¹ Six feet and three inches

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βάνων ἀτρέμα τῶν δορατίων ἔκαστον ἔξηρει τοῦ
 8 σώματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ληφθέντα τὸν Πῶρον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡρώτα πῶς αὐτῷ χρήσηται, “Βασιλικῶς,”
 εἶπε· προσπυθομένου δὲ μή τι ἄλλο λέγει,
 “Πάντα,” εἶπεν, “ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ.” οὐ
 μόνον οὖν ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ὃν ἐβασίλευε,
 σατράπην καλούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέθηκε χώραν
 τοὺς¹ αὐτονόμους καταστρεψάμενος, ἐν ᾧ
 πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ἔθνη, πόλεις δὲ πεντακισχιλίας
 ἀξιολόγους, κώμας δὲ παμπόλλας εἶναι φασιν.
 ἄλλην δὲ τρὶς τοσαύτην ἡς Φιλιππόν τινα τῶν
 ἔταιρων σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν.

LXI. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρὸς Πῶρον μάχης καὶ ὁ
 Βουκεφάλας ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκ εὐθύς, ἀλλ᾽ ὕστερον,
 ώς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τραυμάτων θερα-
 πευόμενος, ώς δὲ Ὁμηρος, διὰ γῆρας ὑπέρ-
 πονος γενόμενος· τριάκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν
 αὐτὸν. ἐδήχθη δὲ ἵσχυρῶς Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐδὲν
 ἄλλο ἢ συνήθη καὶ φίλου ἀποβεβληκέναι νομίζων·
 καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσας ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Τδάστην
 Βουκεφαλίαν προσηγόρευσε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ
 κύνα Περίταν ὄνομα τεθραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
 στεργόμενοι ἀποβαλλὼν κτίσαι πόλιν ἐπώνυμον.
 τοῦτο δὲ Σωτίων φησὶ Ποτάμωνος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ
 Λεσβίου.

LXII. Τοὺς μέντοι Μακεδόνας ὁ πρὸς Πῶρον
 ἀγών ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε καὶ τοῦ πρόσω πῆς
 Ἰνδικῆς ἔτι προελθεῖν ἐπέσχε. μόλις γὰρ ἐκεῖνον

¹ τοὺς with Bekker, after Coraes: καὶ τούς.

² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 19, 4 f.

² Alexander carried his conquests from the Indus to the
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gently took each spear and drew it out of his body. Porus was taken prisoner, and when Alexander asked him how he would be treated, said: "Like a king"; and to another question from Alexander whether he had anything else to say, replied: "All things are included in my 'like a king.'"¹ Accordingly, Alexander not only permitted him to govern his former kingdom, giving him the title of satrap, but also added to it the territory of the independent peoples whom he subdued, in which there are said to have been fifteen nations, five thousand cities of considerable size, and a great multitude of villages. He subdued other territory also thrice as large as this and appointed Philip, one of his companions, satrap over it.

LXI. After the battle with Porus, too, Bucephalus died,—not at once, but some time afterwards,—as most writers say, from wounds for which he was under treatment, but according to Onesicritus, from old age, having become quite worn out;¹ for he was thirty years old when he died. His death grieved Alexander mightily, who felt that he had lost nothing less than a comrade and friend; he also built a city in his memory on the banks of the Hydaspes and called it Bucephalia. It is said, too, that when he lost a dog also, named Peritas, which had been reared by him and was loved by him, he founded a city and gave it the dog's name. Sotion says he heard this from Potamon the Lesbian.

LXII. As for the Macedonians, however, their struggle with Porus blunted their courage and stayed their further advance into India.² For having had

Hyphasis (Arian, *Anab.* v 25), subduing the Punjab. It was now September, 326 B.C.

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ώσάμενοι δισμυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ δισχιλίοις ἵππεῦσι
παραταξάμενον, ἀντέστησαν ἵσχυρῶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
βιαζομένῳ καὶ τὸν Γάγγην περᾶσαι ποταμόν,
εὑρος μὲν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων εἶναι
πυνθανόμενοι καὶ βάθος ὄργυιὰς ἑκατόν, ἀντι-
πέρας δὲ τὰς δύχθας ἀποκεκρύφθαι πλήθεσιν
2 ὅπλων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων. ἐλέγοντο γὰρ
ὅκτὼ μὲν μυριάδας ἵπποτῶν, εἴκοσι δὲ πεζῶν,
ἄρματα δὲ ὅκτακισχίλια καὶ μαχίμους ἐλέφαντας
ἔξακισχιλίους ἔχοντες οἱ Γαιδαριτῶν καὶ Πραι-
σίων βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν. καὶ κόμπος οὐκ ἦν
περὶ ταῦτα. Ἀνδρόκοττος γὰρ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ
βασιλεύσας Σελεύκῳ πεντακοσίους ἐλέφαντας
ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ στρατοῦ μυριάσιν ἔξηκοντα τὴν
Ίνδικὴν ἐπῆλθεν ἄπασαν καταστρεφόμενος.

3 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὑπὸ δυσθυμίας καὶ ὄργης
αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καθείρξας ἔκειτο, χάριν
οὐδεμίαν εἰδὼς τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις εἰ μὴ περά-
σειε τὸν Γάγγην, ἀλλ’ ἔξομολόγησιν ἡττης τιθέ-
μενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. ὡς δὲ οὖτε φίλοι τὰ εἰκότα
παρηγοροῦντες αὐτὸν οὗ τε στρατιῶται κλαυ-
θυῷ καὶ βοῇ προσιστάμενοι ταῖς θύραις ἰκέτευον,
ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀνεξεύγνυε, πολλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἄπα-
4 τηλὰ καὶ σοφιστικὰ μηχανώμενος. καὶ γὰρ ὅπλα
μείζονα καὶ φάτνας ἵππων καὶ χαλινοὺς βαρυ-
τέρους κατασκευάσας ἀπέλιπέ τε καὶ διέρρυψεν
ἵδρυσατο δὲ βωμοὺς θεῶν, οὓς μέχρι τοῦ οἰ
Πραισίων βασιλεῖς διαβαίνοντες σέβονται καὶ

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All they could do to repulse an enemy who mustered only twenty thousand infantry and two thousand horse, they violently opposed Alexander when he insisted on crossing the river Ganges also, the width of which, as they learned, was thirty-two furlongs, its depth a hundred fathoms, while its banks on the further side were covered with multitudes of men-at-arms and horsemen and elephants. For they were told that the kings of the Ganderites and Praesii were awaiting them with eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. And there was no boasting in these reports. For Androcottus, who reigned there not long afterwards, made a present to Seleucus of five hundred elephants, and with an army of six hundred thousand men overran and subdued all India.

At first, then, Alexander shut himself up in his tent from displeasure and wrath and lay there, feeling no gratitude for what he had already achieved unless he should cross the Ganges, nay, counting a retreat a confession of defeat. But his friends gave him fitting consolation, and his soldiers crowded about his door and besought him with loud cries and wailing, until at last he relented and began to break camp, resorting to many deceitful and fallacious devices for the enhancement of his fame. For instance, he had armour prepared that was larger than usual, and mangers for horses that were higher, and bits that were heavier than those in common use, and left them scattered up and down. Moreover, he erected altars for the gods, which down to the present time are revered by the kings of the Praesii when they cross the river, and on them they offer

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θύουσιν Ἐλληνικὰς θυσίας. Ἀνδρόκοττος δὲ μειράκιον ὁν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδε, καὶ λέγεται πολλάκις εἰπεῖν ὕστερον ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν ἥλθε τὰ πράγματα λαβεῖν Ἀλέξανδρος, μισουμένου τε καὶ καταφρονουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ μοχθηρίαν καὶ δυσγένειαν.

LXIII. Ἐντεῦθεν ὄρμήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ πορθμεῖα κωπήρη καὶ σχεδίας πηξάμενος, ἐκομίζετο τοῖς ποταμοῖς ὑποφερόμενος σχολαίως. ὁ δὲ πλοῦς οὐκ ἀργὸς ἦν οὐδὲ ἀπόλεμος, προσβάλλων δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἀποβαίνων ἔχειροῦτο πάντα. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς καλουμένοις Μαλλοῖς, οὓς φασιν Ἰνδῶν μαχιμωτάτους γενέσθαι, μικρὸν ἐδέησε

- ² κατακοπῆναι, τοὺς μὲν γάρ ἀνθρώπους βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπεσκέδασε, πρῶτος δὲ διὰ κλίμακος τεθεισῆς ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς ἢ τε κλίμαξ συνετρίβη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφισταμένων παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλάμβανε πληγὰς κάτωθεν, δλιγοστὸς ὧν συστρέψας ἐαυτὸν εἰς μέσους ἀφῆκε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὁρθὸς ἔστη.
³ τιναξαμένου δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἔδοξαν οἱ βάρβαροι σέλας τι καὶ φάσμα πρὸ τοῦ σώματος φέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔφυγον καὶ διεσκεδάσθησαν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν μετὰ διεῦν ὑπασπιστῶν, ἐπιδραμόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ξίφεσι καὶ δόρασι διὰ τῶν ὅπλων συνετίτρωσκον ἀμυνόμενον, εἰς δὲ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω στάσις ἐφῆκεν ἀπὸ τόξου βέλος οὕτως εἴτονον καὶ βίαιον ὥστε τὸν θώρακα διακόψαν ἐμπαγῆναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν μασθόν δοστέοις.

¹ Hydaspes, Acesines, and Indus (Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 1).

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sacrifices in the Hellenic manner. Androcottus, when he was a stripling, saw Alexander himself, and we are told that he often said in later times that Alexander narrowly missed making himself master of the country, since its king was hated and despised on account of his baseness and low birth.

LXIII. From thence, being eager to behold the ocean, and having built many passage-boats equipped with oars, and many rafts, he was conveyed down the rivers¹ in a leisurely course. And yet his voyage was not made without effort nor even without war, but he would land and assault the cities on his route and subdue everything. However, in attacking the people called Malli, who are said to have been the most warlike of the Indians, he came within a little of being cut down. For after dispersing the inhabitants from the walls with missiles, he was the first to mount upon the wall by a scaling ladder, and since the ladder was broken to pieces and he was exposed to the missiles of the Barbarians who stood along the wall below, almost alone as he was, he crouched and threw himself into the midst of the enemy, and by good fortune alighted on his feet. Then, as he brandished his arms, the Barbarians thought that a shape of gleaming fire played in front of his person. Therefore at first they scattered and fled; but when they saw that he was accompanied by only two of his guards, they ran upon him, and some tried to wound him by thrusting their swords and spears through his armour as he defended himself, while one, standing a little further off, shot an arrow at him with such accuracy and force that it cut its way through his breastplate and fastened itself in his ribs at the breast. Such was

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4 πρὸς δὲ τὴν πληγὴν ἐνδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα κάμψαντος, ὁ μὲν βαλὼν ἐπέδραμε βαρβαρικὴν μάχαιραν σπασάμενος, Πευκέστας δὲ καὶ Διμναῖος προέστησαν· ὡν πληγέντων ἑκατέρων ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανε, Πευκέστας δὲ ἀντεῖχε, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπέκτεινεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τραύματα πολλὰ λαβών, τέλος δὲ πληγεὶς ὑπέρῳφ κατὰ τοῦ τραχῆλου, προσήρεισε τῷ τείχει τὸ σῶμα, βλέπων 5 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων περιχυθέντων ἡρπασθεὶς ἀναισθητος ἤδη τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐκομίζετο. καὶ παραυτικα μὲν ὡς τεθνεώτος ἦν λόγος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ πολυπόνως τὸν διστὸν ἐκπρισάντων ξύλινον δόντα, καὶ τοῦ θώρακος οὕτω μόλις ἀπολυθέντος, περὶ τὴν ἐκκοπὴν ἐγίνοντο τῆς ἀκίδος ἐνδεδυκύιας ἐν τῷ διστέων. λέγεται δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος τριῶν δακτύων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τεσσάρων. διὸ ταῖς λιποθυμίαις ἔγγιστα θανάτου συνελαυνόμενος ἔξαιρουμένης αὐτῆς, ὅμως ἀνέλαβε. καὶ διαφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔτι δὲ ἀσθενῆς ὡν καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν διαιτῃ καὶ θεραπείαις ἔχων αὐτόν, ἔξω θορυβοῦντας ὡς ἥσθετο ποθοῦντας αὐτὸν ἵδειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, λαβὼν ἴματιον προῆλθε. καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς αὐθις ἀνήχθη καὶ παρεκομίζετο χώραν τε πολλὴν καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καταστρεφόμενος.

LXIV. Τῶν δὲ Γυμνοσοφιστῶν τοὺς μάλιστα τὸν Σάββαν ἀναπείσαντας ἀποστῆματα καὶ κακὰ πλείστα τοῖς Μακεδόσι παρασχόντας λαβὼν δέκα, δεινοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις

¹ Leonnatus, according to Aelian, vi. 10, 2.

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the force of the blow that Alexander recoiled and sank to his knees, whereupon his assailant ran at him with drawn scimitar, while Peucestas and Limnaeus¹ defended him. Both of them were wounded, and Limnaeus was killed; but Peucestas held out, and at last Alexander killed the Barbarian. But he himself received many wounds, and at last was smitten on the neck with a cudgel, and leaned against the wall, his eyes still fixed upon his foes. At this instant his Macedonians flocked about him, caught him up, already unconscious of what was going on about him, and carried him to his tent. And straightway a report that he was dead prevailed in the camp; but when with much difficulty and pains they had sawn off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and had thus succeeded at last in removing the king's breastplate, they came to the excision of the arrow-head, which was buried in one of the ribs. We are told, moreover, that it was three fingers broad and four long. Its removal, therefore, threw the king into swoons and brought him to death's door, but nevertheless he recovered. And after he was out of danger, though he was still weak and kept himself for a long time under regimen and treatment, perceiving from their tumult at his door that his Macedonians were yearning to see him, he took his cloak and went out to them. And after sacrificing to the gods he went on board ship again and dropped down the river, subduing much territory and great cities as he went.

LXIV. He captured ten of the Gymnosophists who had done most to get Sabbas to revolt, and had made the most trouble for the Macedonians. These philosophers were reputed to be clever and concise

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καὶ βραχυλόγους, ἐρωτήματα προύβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἄπορα, φήσας ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν μὴ ὄρθως ἀποκρινάμενον πρώτου, εἰτα ἐφεζῆς οὕτω τοὺς ἄλλους·
 2 ἔνα δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐκέλευσε κρίνειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρώτος ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερον οἴεται τοὺς ζῶντας εἶναι πλείονας ἢ τοὺς τεθνηκότας, ἔφη τοὺς ζῶντας· οὐκέτι γάρ εἶναι τοὺς τεθνηκότας. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὴν θάλατταν μείζονα τρέφειν θηρία, τὴν γῆν· ταῦτης γάρ μέρος εἶναι τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ δὲ τρίτος, ποιόν ἐστι ζῶν πανουργότατον, “Οἱ μέχρι νῦν,” εἶπεν,
 3 “ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔγνωκεν.” ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ἀνακρινόμενος τίνι λογισμῷ τὸν Σάββαν ἀπέστησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο, “Καλῶς ζῆν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἢ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν.” ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερον οἴεται τὴν ήμέραν ἢ τὴν νύκτα προτέραν γεγονέναι, “Τὴν ήμέραν,” εἶπεν, “ήμέρα μᾶθη” καὶ προσεπέπειν οὗτος, θαυμάσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅτι τῶν ἀπόρων ἐρωτήσεων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς
 4 ἀποκρίσεις ἀπόρους εἶναι. μεταβαλὼν οὖν τὸν ἔκτον ἥρωτα πῶς ἀν τις φιληθείη μάλιστα· “Ἄν κράτιστος ὁν,” ἔφη, “μὴ φοβερὸς ἡ.” τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν ὁ μὲν ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἀν τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένοιτο θεός, “Εἴ τι πράξειεν,” εἶπεν, “οἱ πρᾶξαι δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ ἐστιν.” ὁ δὲ περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, πότερον ἵσχυρότερον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν ζωὴν τοσαῦτα κακὰ φέρουσαν. ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος, μέχρι τίνος ἀνθρώπων καλῶς ἔχον ζῆν, “Μέχρι οὐδὲ μὴ νομίζει τὸ τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν ἄμεινον.” οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενος πρὸς τὸν δικαστὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφαίνεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ ἔτερον ἔτέρου χείρον εἰρηκέναι φήσαντος “Οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “σὺ

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in answering questions, and Alexander therefore put difficult questions to them, declaring that he would put to death him who first made an incorrect answer, and then the rest, in an order determined in like manner; and he commanded one of them, the oldest, to be judge in the contest. The first one, accordingly, being asked which, in his opinion, were more numerous, the living or the dead, said that the living were, since the dead no longer existed. The second, being asked whether the earth or the sea produced larger animals, said the earth did, since the sea was but a part of the earth. The third, being asked what animal was most cunning, said: "That which up to this time man has not discovered." The fourth, when asked why he had induced Sabbas to revolt, replied: "Because I wished him either to live nobly or to die nobly." The fifth, being asked which, in his opinion, was older, day or night, replied: "Day, by one day"; and he added, upon the king expressing amazement, that hard questions must have hard answers. Passing on, then, to the sixth, Alexander asked how a man could be most loved; "If," said the philosopher, "he is most powerful, and yet does not inspire fear." Of the three remaining, he who was asked how one might become a god instead of man, replied: "By doing something which a man cannot do"; the one who was asked which was the stronger, life or death, answered: "Life, since it supports so many ills." And the last, asked how long it were well for a man to live, answered: "Until he does not regard death as better than life." So, then, turning to the judge, Alexander bade him give his opinion. The judge declared that they had answered one worse than another. "Well, then," said Alexander, "thou shalt

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πρώτος ἀποθανῆ τοιαῦτα κρίνων.” “Οὐκ ἄν γε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὴ σὺ ψεύδῃ φήσας πρῶτου ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν ἀποκρινάμενον κάκιστα.”

LXV. Τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀφῆκε δωρησάμενος πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ζῶντας ἔπειμφεν Ὁνησίκριτον, ἀφικέσθαι δεόμενος πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Ὁνησίκριτος ἦν φιλόσοφος τῶν Διογένει τῷ Κυνικῷ συνεσχολακότων.
2 καὶ φῆσι τὸν μὲν Καλανὸν ὑβριστικῶς πάντας καὶ τραχέως κελεύειν ἀποδύντα τὸν χιτῶνα γυμνὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν λόγων· ἄλλως δὲ οὐ διαλέξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδὲ εἰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἀφίκεται· τὸν δὲ Δάνδαμιν πραζότερον εἶναι, καὶ διακούσαντα περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Διογένους εἰπεῖν ὡς εὐφυεῖς μὲν αὐτῷ γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, λίαν δὲ τοὺς νόμους αἰσχυνόμενοι βεβιω-
3 κέναι. ἄλλοι δέ φασι τὸν Δάνδαμιν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἀλλ' ἡ τοσοῦτον μόνον· “Τίνος χάριν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὃδὸν τοσαύτην δεῦρ' ἥλθε;” τὸν μέντοι Καλανὸν ἔπεισεν ὁ Ταξίλης ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Σφίνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ' Ἰνδικὴν γλώτταν τῷ Καλὲ προσαγορεύων ἀντὶ τοῦ Χαίρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἡσπάζετο, Καλανὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάσθη. τούτου δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀλε-
4 ξάνδρῳ προθέσθαι. καταβαλὼν γάρ ἐν μέσῳ βύρσαν τινὰ ἔηράν καὶ κατεσκληκυῖαν ἐπάτησε τὸ ἄκρον· ἡ δὲ εἰς ἐν πιεσθεῖσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπήρθη μέρεσι. καὶ τούτο περιών ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ πιέζων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐδείκνυε γιγνόμενον, ἄχρι οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπιστᾶς κατέσχε καὶ πάντα οὕτως ἡρέ-

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die first for giving such a verdict." "That cannot be, O King," said the judge, "unless thou falsely saidst that thou wouldest put to death first him who answered worst."

LXV. These philosophers, then, he dismissed with gifts; but to those who were in the highest repute and lived quietly by themselves he sent Onesicritus, asking them to pay him a visit. Now, Onesicritus was a philosopher of the school of Diogenes the Cynic. And he tells us that Calanus very harshly and insolently bade him strip off his tunic and listen naked to what he had to say, otherwise he would not converse with him, not even if he came from Zeus; but he says that Dandamis was gentler, and that after hearing fully about Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, he remarked that the men appeared to him to have been of good natural parts but to have passed their lives in too much awe of the laws. Others, however, say that the only words uttered by Dandamis were these: "Why did Alexander make such a long journey hither?" Calanus, nevertheless, was persuaded by Taxiles to pay a visit to Alexander. His real name was Sphines, but because he greeted those whom he met with "Cale," the Indian word of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. It was Calanus, as we are told, who laid before Alexander the famous illustration of government. It was this. He threw down upon the ground a dry and shrivelled hide, and set his foot upon the outer edge of it; the hide was pressed down in one place, but rose up in others. He went all round the hide and showed that this was the result wherever he pressed the edge down, and then at last he stood in the middle of it, and lo! it was all held down firm and still.

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μησεν. ἐβούλετο δὲ ή εἰκὼν ἔνδειξις εἶναι τοῦ τὰ μέσα δεῖν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς πιέζειν καὶ μὴ μακρὰν ἀποπλανᾶσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

LXVI. Ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπαγωγὴ μηνῶν ἐπτὰ χρόνον ἀνάλωσεν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὸν Ὁκεανὸν ἀνέπλευσε πρὸς νῆσον ἣν Σκιλλοῦστιν αὐτὸς ὡνόμασεν, ἔτεροι δὲ Ψιλτοῦκιν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποβὰς ἔθυε τοὺς θεοῖς, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐπεῖδε τοῦ πελαγοῦς καὶ τῆς παραλίας δόσον ἐφικτὸν ἦν. εἴτα ἐπευξάμενος μηδένα μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς ὄρους τῆς στρατείας ἀνέστρεφε. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναύς ἐκέλευσε περιπλεῖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἔχουσας, ἡγεμόνα μὲν Νέαρχον ἀποδεξας, ἀρχικυβερνήτην δὲ Ὁνησίκριτον· αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ δι' Ὁρειτῶν πορευόμενος εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν προήχθη καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλεσεν, ὥστε τῆς μαχίμου δυνάμεως μηδὲ τὸ τέταρτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀπαγαγεῖν. καίτοι δώδεκα μὲν μυριάδες ἦσαν οἱ πεζοί, τὸ δὲ ἵππικὸν εἰς μυρίους 3 καὶ πεντακισχιλίους. ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσοι χαλεπαὶ καὶ δίαιται πονηραὶ καὶ καύμata ἔηραὶ καὶ πλείστους δὲ λιμὸς διέφθειρεν, ἀσπορον χώραν ἐπιόντας ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων, δόλιγα καὶ ὡγεννῆ πρόβατα κεκτημένων, ἢ τοὺς θαλαττίους ἵχθυς εἰθισμένα προσφέρεσθαι σάρκα μοχθηρὰν εἶχε καὶ δυσώδη, μόδις οὖν ἐν ἡμέραις ἔξήκρυτα ταύτην διελθῶν καὶ τῆς Γεδρωσίας ἀφάμενος εὐθὺς ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἦν πᾶσι, τῶν ἔγγιστα σατραπῶν καὶ βασιλέων παρασκευασάντων.

¹ In midsummer of 325 B.C.

² It is Cilluta in Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 19, 3).

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The similitude was designed to show that Alexander ought to put most constraint upon the middle of his empire and not wander far away from it.

LXVI. His descent of the rivers to the sea consumed seven months' time. And after emerging with his fleet into the ocean,¹ he sailed out to an island to which he himself gave the name of Scillustis, others that of Psiltucis.² Here he landed and sacrificed to the gods, and studied the nature of the sea and of all the sea-coast that was accessible. Then, after praying that no man after him might pass beyond the bounds of his expedition, he turned to go back. His fleet he ordered to go round by sea, keeping India on the right; Nearchus was appointed admiral of the fleet, Onesicritus its chief-pilot. But he himself proceeded by land through the country of the Oreites, where he was reduced to the direst straits and lost a multitude of men, so that not even the fourth part of his fighting force was brought back from India. And yet his infantry had once numbered a hundred and twenty thousand, and his cavalry fifteen thousand. But grievous diseases, wretched food, parching heats, and, worst of all, famine destroyed them, since they traversed an un-tilled country of men who dragged out a miserable existence, who possessed but few sheep and those of a miserable sort, since the sea-fish which they ate made their flesh unsavoury and rank. It was with difficulty, then, that Alexander passed through this country in sixty days; but as soon as he reached Gedrosia he had all things in abundance, for the nearest satraps and princes had provided them.

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LXVII. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δύναμιν ἔξωρμησε κώμῳ χρώμενος ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ διὰ τῆς Καρμανίας. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ἵπποι σχέδην ἐκόμιζον ὁκτώ, μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὑπὲρ θυμέλης ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ περιφανεῖ πλαισίῳ πεπηγυίᾳ εὐωχούμενον συνεχῶς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός· ἄμαξαι δὲ παμπληθεῖς, αἱ μὲν ἀλουργοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις περιβολαίοις, αἱ δὲ ὕλης ἀεὶ προσφάτου καὶ χλωρᾶς σκιαζόμεναι κλάδοις, εἴποντο τοὺς ἄλλους ἄγουσσαι φίλους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ πίνοντας. εἶδες δὲ ἀν οὐ πέλτην, οὐ κράνος, οὐ σάρισαν, ἀλλὰ φιάλαις καὶ ύρτοῖς καὶ θηρικλείοις παρὰ τὴν ὅδὸν ἅπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται βαπτίζοντες ἐκ πίθων μεγάλων καὶ κρατήρων ἀλλήλοις προέπινον, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ προάγειν ἄμα καὶ βαδίζειν, οἱ δὲ κατακείμενοι. πολλὴ δὲ μούσα συρίγγων καὶ ἀνλῶν φόδης τε καὶ ψαλμοῦ καὶ 2 βακχείας γυναικῶν κατεῖχε πάντα τόπον. τῷ δὲ ἀτάκτῳ καὶ πεπλανημένῳ τῆς πορείας παρείπετο καὶ παιδιὰ βακχικῆς ὑβρεως, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπαραπέμποντος τὸν κῶμον. ἐπειδὲ ἦκε τῆς Γεδρωσίας εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, αὐτὸς ἀνελάμβανε τὴν στρατιὰν πανηγυρίζων. λέγεται δὲ μεθύοντα αὐτὸν θεωρεῖν ἀγῶνας χορῶν, τὸν δὲ ἐρώμενον Βαγών χορεύοντα νικῆσαι καὶ κεκοσμημένον διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου παρελθόντα καθίσαι παρ' αὐτόν· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας κροτεῖν καὶ βοῶν φιλήσαι κελεύοντας, ἄχρι οὗ περιβαλῶν κατεφίλησεν.

¹ According to Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 28, 1 f.), this bacchanalian procession through Carmania rests on no credible authority.

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LXVII. Accordingly, after refreshing his forces here, he set out and marched for seven days through Carmania in a revelling rout. He himself was conveyed slowly along by eight horses, while he feasted day and night continuously with his companions on a dais built upon a lofty and conspicuous scaffolding of oblong shape; and waggons without number followed, some with purple and embroidered canopies, others protected from the sun by boughs of trees which were kept fresh and green, conveying the rest of his friends and commanders, who were all garlanded and drinking. Not a shield was to be seen, not a helmet, not a spear, but along the whole march with cups and drinking-horns and flagons the soldiers kept dipping wine from huge casks and mixing-bowls and pledging one another, some as they marched along, others lying down; while pipes and flutes, stringed instruments and song, and revelling cries of women, filled every place with abundant music. Then, upon this disordered and straggling procession there followed also the sports of bacchanalian license, as though Bacchus himself were present and conducting the revel.¹ Moreover, when he came to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he once more gave his army time for rest and held high festival. We are told, too, that he was once viewing some contests in singing and dancing, being well heated with wine, and that his favourite, Bagoas, won the prize for song and dance, and then, all in his festal array, passed through the theatre and took his seat by Alexander's side; at sight of which the Macedonians clapped their hands and loudly bade the king kiss the victor, until at last he threw his arms about him and kissed him tenderly.

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LXVIII. Ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ Νέαρχον ἀναβάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθεὶς καὶ διακούσας τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν, ὥρμησεν αὐτὸς πλεύσας κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην στόλῳ μεγάλῳ, εἴτα περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην παρακομισθεὶς διὰ στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. καὶ πλοῖα παντοδαπά περὶ Θάψακον ἐπήγυνυτο, καὶ συνήγοντο ναῦται καὶ κυβερνῆται πανταχόθεν.
2 ἡ δὲ ἄνω στρατείᾳ χαλεπῇ γενομένῃ καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαλλοὺς τραῦμα καὶ ἡ φθορὰ πολλὴ λεχθεῖσα τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπιστίᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ τά τε ὑπήκοα πρὸς ἀποστάσεις ἐπῆρε καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ σατράπαις ἀδικίαν¹ πολλὴν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὑβρίν ἐνεποίησε· καὶ δῆλος διέδραμε
3 σάλος ἀπάντων καὶ νεωτερισμός. ὅπου καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον Ὁλυμπίας καὶ Κλεοπάτρα στασιάσασαι διείλοντο τὴν ἀρχήν, Ὁλυμπίας μὲν Ἡπειρου, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ Μακεδονίαν παραλαβοῦσα. καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος βέλτιον ἔφη βεβουλεύενθαι τὴν μητέρα· Μακεδόνας γάρ οὐκ ἀν ὑπομενοι βασιλευομένους ὑπὸ γυναικός.

Διὰ ταῦτα Νέαρχον μὲν αὐθις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐπεμψεν, ἐμπλῆσαι πολέμων ἄπασαν ἐγνωκὼς τὴν παραλίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβαίνων ἐκόλαζε τοὺς
4 πονηροὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν. τῶν δὲ Ἀβουλήτου παίδων ἔνα μὲν Ὁξυάρτην αὐτὸς ἀπέκτεινε σαρίση διελάσας, Ἀβουλήτου δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων παρασκευάσαντος, ἀλλ' ἡ τρισχίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντος, ἐκέ-

¹ ἀδικίαν Bekker reads ἀκηδίαν (*indifference*) with a Munich MS. (M.).

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LXVIIJ. Here Nearchus came up to meet him, and Alexander was so delighted to hear of his voyage that he eagerly desired to sail down the Euphrates himself with a large fleet,¹ and then, after circumnavigating Arabia and Africa, to enter the Mediterranean by way of the pillars of Heracles. And vessels of every sort were built for him at Thapsacus, and sailors and pilots were assembled from all parts. But the increasing difficulties of his march back, his wound among the Malli, and the losses in his army, which were reported to be heavy, led men to doubt his safe return, inclined subject peoples to revolt, and bred great injustice, rapacity, and insolence in the generals and satraps whom he had appointed. In a word, restlessness and a desire for change spread everywhere. For even against Antipater, Olympias and Cleopatra had raised a faction, and had divided his realm between them, Olympias taking Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia. When he heard of this, Alexander said that his mother had made the better choice; for the Macedonians would not submit to be reigned over by a woman.

For these reasons he sent Nearchus back to the sea,² determined to fill all the regions along the sea with wars, while he himself, marching down from Upper Asia, chastised those of his commanders who had done wrong. One of the sons of Abuletes, Oxyartes, he slew with his own hand, running him through with a spear; and when Abuletes failed to furnish him with the necessary provisions, but brought him instead three thousand talents in coin, Alexander

¹ It was after his return to Persepolis that this desire seized him (Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 1, 1).

² Early in 324 B.C.

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λευσε τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ ἀργύριον παραβαλεῖν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐγένουντο, φήσας, “Τί οὖν ὅφελος ἡμῖν τῆς σῆς παρασκευῆς;” καθεῖρξε τὸν Ἀβουλήτην.

LXIX. Ἐν δὲ Πέρσαις πρώτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὸ νόμισμα ταῖς γυναιξὶν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὁσάκις εἰς Πέρσας ἀφίκουντο, διδόναι χρυσοῦν ἑκάστῃ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασιν ἐνίους μὴ πολλάκις, ^Ωχον δὲ μηδὲ ἄπαξ εἰς Πέρσας παραγενέσθαι, διὰ μικρολογίαν ἀποξενώσαντα τῆς 2 πατρίδος ἔαυτόν. ἔπειτα τὸν Κύρου τάφον εὐρὼν διορωρυγμένον ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, καίτοι Πελλαῖος ἦν οὐ τῶν ἀσημοτάτων ὁ πλημμελήσας, ὄνομα Πολύμαχος. τὴν δὲ ἐπιγραφὴν ἀναγνοὺς ἐκέλευσεν Ἐλληνικοῖς ὑποχαράξαι γράμμασιν. εἶχε δὲ οὕτως· “^Ω ἀνθρωπε, δοτις εἰ καὶ ὅθεν ἤκεις, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἤξεις, οἶδα, ἐγὼ Κύρος εἰμὶ ὁ Πέρσαις κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχῆν. μὴ οὖν τῆς δλίγης μοι ταύτης γῆς φθονήσῃς ἢ 3 τούμὸν σῶμα περικαλύπτε.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐμπαθῇ σφόδρα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐποίησεν, ἐν νῷ λαβόντα τὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ μεταβολήν.

Ο δὲ Καλανὸς ἐνταῦθα χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ὑπὸ κοιλίας ἐνοχληθεὶς γήτήσατο πυρὰν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. καὶ κομισθεὶς ἵππῳ πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπευξάμενος καὶ κατασπείσας ἔαυτον καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαρξάμενος, ἀναβαίνων ἐδεξιοῦτο τοὺς παρόντας τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεί-

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ordered the money to be thrown to his horses. And when they would not touch it, "Of what use to us, then," he cried, "is the provision you have made?" and threw Abuletes into prison.

LXIX. In Persia, to begin with, he distributed the money among the women, just as their kings were accustomed, as often as they came into Persia, to give each one of them a gold piece. And for this reason, it is said, some of their kings did not come often into Persia, and Ochus not even once, being so penurious as to expatriate himself. In the second place, having discovered that the tomb of Cyrus had been rifled, he put to death the perpetrator of the deed, although the culprit was a prominent Macedonian native of Pella, by name Polymachus. After reading the inscription upon this tomb, he ordered it to be repeated below in Greek letters. It ran thus: "O man, whosoever thou art and whencesoever thou comest, for I know that thou wilt come, I am Cyrus, and I won for the Persians their empire. Do not, therefore, begrudge me this little earth which covers my body." These words, then, deeply affected Alexander, who was reminded of the uncertainty and mutability of life.¹

In Persia, too, Calanus, who had suffered for a little while from intestinal disorder, asked that a funeral pyre might be prepared for him.² To this he came on horseback, and after offering prayers, sprinkling himself, and casting some of his hair upon the pyre, he ascended it, greeting the Macedonians who were present, and exhorting them to make that

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 29, 4-8.

² The self-sacrifice of Calanus is narrated by Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 3).

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νην ἡδέως γενέσθαι καὶ μεθυσθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκείνον ἔφη μετ' ὀλίγον χρό-
 4 νον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ὄψεσθαι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν κατα-
 κλιθεὶς καὶ συγκαλυψάμενος οὐκ ἐκινήθη τοῦ πυρὸς πλησιάζοντος, ἀλλ' ἐν φυλακῇ σχή-
 ματι, τοῦτο διατηρῶν ἐκαλλιέρησεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ σοφιστῶν. τοῦτο πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὑστερον ἄλλος Ἰνδὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις Καίσαρι συνών ἐποίησε· καὶ δείκυνται μέχρι νῦν τὸ μνη-
 μεῖον Ἰνδοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.

LXX. 'Ο δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς γενό-
 μενος, καὶ σιναγαγάνων πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ
 τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἀγῶνα προϊθηκε καὶ
 στέφανον ἀκρατοποσίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστον
 πιῶν Πρόμαχος ἄχρι χοῶν τεσσάρων προῆλθε·
 καὶ λαβών τὸ νικητήριον, στέφανον ταλαντιαῖον,
 ἥμέρας τρεῖς ἐπέζησε. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, ὡς Χάρης
 φησί, τετταράκοντα καὶ εἰς ἀπέθανον πιόντες,
 ἰσχυροῦ τῇ μέθῃ κρύοντος ἐπιγενομένου.

2 Τῶν δὲ ἑταίρων γάμοιν ἐν Σούσοις ἐπιτελῶν, καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν αὐτὸς γυναῖκα τὴν Δαρείου θυγα-
 τέρα Στάτειραν, διανέμων δὲ τὰς ἀρίστας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, κοινὸν δὲ τῶν ἦδη προγεγαμηκότων Μακεδόνων γάμον ἄλλον¹ ἔστιάσας, ἐν φασιν ἐννακισχελίων τῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖ-
 πνον δύτων ἑκάστῳ χρυσῆν φιάλην πρὸς τὰς σπουδὰς δοθῆναι, τά τε ἄλλα θαυμαστῶς ἐλαμ-
 πρύνατο καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανείσασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁφειλόντων αὐτὸς διαλύσας, τοῦ παντὸς ἀναλώ-
 ματος ἐλάσσονος μυρίων ταλάντων ἐκατὸν τριά-

¹ ὄλλον Bekker, after Coraes καλδν with the MSS.

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day one of pleasure and revelry with the king, whom, he declared, he should soon see in Babylon. After thus speaking, he lay down and covered his head, nor did he move as the fire approached him, but continued to lie in the same posture as at first, and so sacrificed himself acceptably, as the wise men of his country had done from of old. The same thing was done many years afterwards by another Indian who was in the following of Caesar,¹ at Athens; and the "Indian's Tomb" is shown there to this day.

LXX. But Alexander, after returning from the funeral pyre and assembling many of his friends and officers for supper, proposed a contest in drinking neat wine, the victor to be crowned. Well, then, the one who drank the most, Promachus, got as far as four pitchers;² he took the prize, a crown of a talent's worth, but lived only three days afterwards. And of the rest, according to Chares, forty-one died of what they drank, a violent chill having set in after their debauch.

At Susa he brought to pass the marriage of his companions, took to wife himself the daughter of Dareius, Stateira, assigned the noblest women to his noblest men, and gave a general wedding feast for those of his Macedonians who had already contracted other marriages. At this feast, we are told, nine thousand guests reclined at supper, to each of whom a golden cup for the libations was given. All the other appointments too, were amazingly splendid, and the host paid himself the debts which his guests owed, the whole outlay amounting to nine thousand

¹ Augustus Caesar.

² The "chous," or *pitcher*, held about three quarts.

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ζ κοντα ταλάντοις γενομένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντιγένης ὁ ἑτερόφθαλμος ὡς ὀφείλων ἀπεγράψατο ψευδῶς, καὶ παραγαγών τινα φάσκοντα δεδανεικέναι πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν, ἀπέτισε τὸ ἀργύριον, εἴτα ἐφωράθη ψευδόμενος, ὅργισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπῆλασε τῆς αὐλῆς αὐτὸν καὶ παρείλετο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἦν δὲ λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὁ Ἀντιγένης· καὶ ἔτι δὲ νέος ὡν, Φιλίππου πολιορκοῦντος Πέρινθον, ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ καταπελτικοῦ βέλους εἰς τὸν ὄφθαλμόν, οὐ παρέσχε βουλομένοις ἔξελεῖν τὸ βέλος οὐδὲ ὑφήκατο πρὶν ὥστασθαι προσμαχόμενος καὶ κατακλεῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς 4 τὸ τεῖχος. οὐ μετρίως οὖν τότε τὴν ἀτυμίαν ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ δῆλος ἦν ἔαντὸν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ βαρυθυμίας διαχρησόμενος. καὶ τοῦτο δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν ὅργην καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἔχειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν.

LXXI. Τῶν δὲ παίδων τῶν τρισμυρίων, οὓς ἀσκουμένους καὶ μανθάνοντας ἀπέλιπε, τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀνδρείων φανέντων καὶ τοῖς εἰδεσιν εὐπρεπῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς μελέταις εὐχέρειαν καὶ κουφότητα θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδειξαμένων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἥσθη, τοῖς δὲ Μακεδόσι θυσθυμίᾳ παρέστη καὶ δέος, ὡς ἥττον αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως προσέξοντος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ πεπηρωμένους αὐτοῦ καταπέμποντος ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὕβριν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ προπηλακισμόν, ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρησάμενον εἰς ἅπαντα νῦν ἀποτίθεσθαι σὺν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ προσρίπτειν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς

¹ Alexander also paid the debts of all his soldiers, amounting to 20,000 talents (Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 5, 1-3),

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eight hundred and seventy talents.¹ Now Antigenes, the One-eyed, had got himself enrolled as a debtor fraudulently and, on producing somebody who affirmed that he had made a loan to him at the bank, the money was paid over; then his fraud was discovered, and the king, in anger, drove him from his court and deprived him of his command. Antigenes, however, was a splendid soldier, and while he was still a young man and Philip was besieging Perinthus, though a bolt from a catapult smote him in the eye, he would not consent to have the bolt taken out nor give up fighting until he had repelled the enemy and shut them up within their walls. Accordingly, he could not endure with any complacency the disgrace that now fell upon him, but was evidently going to make away with himself from grief and despondency. So the king, fearing this, put away his wrath and ordered him to keep the money.

LXXI. The thirty thousand boys whom he had left behind him under instruction and training² were now so vigorous in their bodies and so comely in their looks, and showed besides such admirable dexterity and agility in their exercises, that Alexander himself was delighted; his Macedonians, however, were filled with dejection and fear, thinking that their king would now pay less regard to them. Therefore when he also sent the weak and maimed among them down to the sea-board, they said it was insult and abuse, after using men up in every kind of service, now to put them away in disgrace and cast them back upon their native cities and their parents, no longer

unless this is the donation which Plutarch has here erroneously connected with the great wedding feast. Cf. Athenaeus, xii. pp. 538 ff ² Cf. chapter xlvi. 3.

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γοινεῦσιν, οὐ τοιούτους παραλαβόντα. πάντας
οὖν ἐκέλευνον ἀφιέναι καὶ πάντας ἀχρήστους
νομίζειν Μακεδόνας, ἔχοντα τὸν νέους τούτους
πυρριχιστάς, σὺν οἷς ἐπὶών κατακτήσεται τὴν
3 οἰκουμένην. πρὸς τὰῦτα χαλεπῶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἔσχε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς
ὄργην, ἀπελάσας δὲ τὰς φυλακὰς παρέδωκε
Πέρσαις καὶ κατέστησεν ἐκ τούτων δορυφόρους
καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους, ὃντες δὲ συμφρονήσαντες
πεμπόμενον, αὗτοὺς δὲ ἀπειργομένους καὶ προπη-
λακιζομένους, ἐταπεινοῦντο· καὶ διδόντες λόγον
εὑρισκον αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους δεῖν μανέντας ὑπὸ ζηλο-
4 τυπίας καὶ ὄργης. τέλος δὲ συμφρονήσαντες
ἐβάδιζον ἀνοπλοὶ καὶ μοιοχίτωνες ἐπὶ τὴν σκη-
νῆν, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ κλαυθμοῦ παραδιδόντες
έαυτοὺς καὶ χρήσασθαι κελεύοντες ὡς κακοῖς καὶ
ἀχαρίστοις. ὁ δὲ οὐ προσίετο, καίπερ ἥδη
μαλασσόμενος. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας
δύο καὶ νύκτας οὕτω προσεστῶτες καὶ ὀλοφυρό-
μενοι καὶ κοίρανον ἀγακαλοῦντες ἐκαρτέρησαν.
5 τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος οἰκτροὺς
καὶ τεταπεινωμένους ἐδάκρυε πολὺν χρόνον· εἴτα
μεμψάμενος μέτρια καὶ προσαγορεύσας φιλαν-
θρώπως ἀπέλυσε τὸν ἀχρήστους δωρησάμενος
μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ γράψας πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον
ὅπως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς θεάτροις προε-
δρίαν ἔχοντες ἐστεφανωμένοι καθέζοιντο. τῶν δὲ
τεθηηκότων τὸν παῖδας ὄρφανοὺς δυτας ἐμμί-
σθους ἐποίησεν.

¹ The account of the quarrel between Alexander and the Macedonians in Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 8-11) differs materially from that of Plutarch

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the men they were when he took them. Accordingly, they bade him send them all away and hold all his Macedonians of no account, since he had these young war-dancers, with whom he could go on and conquer the world.¹ At these words of theirs Alexander was displeased, and heaped much abuse upon them in his anger, and drove them away, and committed his watches to Persians, and out of these constituted his body-guards and attendants. When the Macedonians saw him escorted by these, while they themselves were excluded from him and treated with contumely, they were humbled; and when they reasoned the matter out they found that they had been almost mad with jealousy and rage. So finally, after coming to their senses, they went to his tent, without their arms and wearing their tunics only, and with loud cries and lamentations put themselves at his mercy, bidding him deal with them as base and thankless men. But Alexander would not see them, although his heart was softening. And the men would not desist, but for two days and nights persisted in standing thus before his door, weeping and calling upon their master. So on the third day he came forth, and when he saw their piteous and humble plight, wept for some time; then, after chiding them gently and speaking kindly to them, he dismissed those who were past service with magnificent gifts, and wrote to Antipater that at all the public contests and in the theatres they should have the foremost seats and wear garlands. He also ordained that the orphan children of those who had lost their lives in his service should receive their father's pay.²

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* viii. 12.

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LXXII. Ως δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας καὶ διώκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα, πάλιν ἦν ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ἀτε δὴ τρισχιλίων αὐτῷ τεχνιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφιγμένων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας Ἡφαιστίων πυρέσσων οἴα δὲ νέος καὶ στρατιωτικὸς οὐ φέρων ἀκριβῆ δίαιταν, ἀμα τῷ τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαῦκον ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ θέατρον περὶ ἄριστου γενόμενος καὶ καταφαγὼν ἀλεκτρυόνα ἐφθὸν καὶ ψυκτῆρα μέγαν ἐκπιῶν οἴνου κακῶς ἔσχε καὶ μικρὸν δια-
2 λιπὼν ἀπέθανε. τοῦτο οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ τὸ πάθος Ἀλέξανδρος ἦνεγκεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μὲν ἵππους τε κεῖραι πάντας ἐπὶ πένθει καὶ ἡμιόνους ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἀφέντε τὰς ἐπάλξεις, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον ἰατρὸν ἀνεστάυρωσεν, αὐλοὺς δὲ κατέπαυσε καὶ μουσικὴν πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολὺν χρόνον, ἔως ἐξ Ἀμμωνος ἥλθε μαντεία τιμᾶν Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ θύειν ὡς ἥρωι παρακελεύ-
3 ουσα. τοῦ δὲ πένθους παρηγορίᾳ τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν καὶ κυνηγέσιον ἀνθρώπων ἐξῆλθε καὶ τὸ Κοσσαίων ἔθνος κατεστρέφετο, πάντας ἥβηδὸν ἀποσφάττων. τοῦτο δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐναγισμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο. τύμβον δὲ καὶ ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν περὶ ταῦτα κόσμον ἀπὸ μυρίων ταλάντων ἐπιτελέσαι διανοούμενος, ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τῷ φιλοτέχνῳ καὶ περιττῷ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν δαπάνην, ἐπόθησε μάλιστα τῶν τεχνιτῶν Στασικράτην, μεγαλουργίαν τινὰ καὶ τόλμαν καὶ κόμπουν ἐν ταῖς καινοτομίαις ἐπαγ-

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LXXII. When he came to Ecbatana in Media and had transacted the business that was urgent, he was once more much occupied with theatres and festivals, since three thousand artists had come to him from Greece. But during this time it chanced that Hephaestion had a fever; and since, young man and soldier that he was, he could not submit to a strict regimen, as soon as Glaucus, his physician, had gone off to the theatre, he sat down to breakfast, ate a boiled fowl, drank a huge cooler of wine, fell sick, and in a little while died. Alexander's grief at this loss knew no bounds.¹ He immediately ordered that the manes and tails of all horses and mules should be shorn in token of mourning, and took away the battlements of the cities round about; he also crucified the wretched physician, and put a stop to the sound of flutes and every kind of music in the camp for a long time, until an oracular response from Ammon came bidding him honour Hephaestion as a hero and sacrifice to him. Moreover, making war a solace for his grief, he went forth to hunt and track down men, as it were, and overwhelmed the nation of the Cossaean, slaughtering them all from the youth upwards. This was called an offering to the shade of Hephaestion. Upon a tomb and obsequies for his friend, and upon their embellishments, he purposed to expend ten thousand talents, and wished that the ingenuity and novelty of the construction should surpass the expense. He therefore longed for Stasicrates above all other artists, because in his innovations there was always promise of great

¹ Arrian finds great diversity in the accounts of Alexander's displays of grief at Hephaestion's death (*Anab.* vii. 14).

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4 γελλόμενον. οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐντυχὼν
ἔφη τῶν ὁρῶν μάλιστα τὸν Θράκιον Ἀθων διατύ-
πωσιν ἀνδρείκελον δέχεσθαι καὶ διαμόρφωσιν·
ἀν οὖν κελεύη, μονιμώτατον ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῷ
καὶ περιφανέστατον ἔξεργάμεσθαι τὸν Ἀθων, τῇ
μὲν ἀριστερῇ χειρὶ περιλαμβάνοντα μυρίανδρουν
πόλιν οἰκουμένην, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ σπένδοντα ποταμοῦ
ῥέῦμα δαψιλές εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρέοντος.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρητήσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἀτοπώτερα
καὶ δαπανηρότερα τούτων σοφιζόμενος τότε καὶ
συμμηχανώμενος τοῖς τεχνίταις διέτριβεν.

LXXXIII. Εἰς δὲ Βαβυλῶνα προάγοντος αὐτοῦ
Νέαρχος (ἀφίκετο γὰρ αὐθις εἰσπλεύσας εἰς τὸν
Εὐφράτην διὰ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης) ἔφη τινάς
ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ Χαλδαίους, παραινοῦντας ἀπέχε-
σθαι Βαβυλῶνος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ
ἔφρόντισεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύετο· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τελ-
χεσι γενομένος ὄρῳ κόρακας πολλοὺς διαφερομέ-
νους καὶ τύπτοντας ἀλλήλους, ὃν ἔνιοι κατέπεισον
2 παρ' αὐτόν. ἔπειτα μηνύσεως γενομένης κατὰ
'Απολλοδώρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ώς
εἴη περὶ αὐτοῦ τεθυμένος, ἐκάλει Πιθαγόραν τὸν
μάντιν. οὐκ ἀρνουμένου δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡρώτησε
τῶν Ἱερῶν τὸν τρόπον. φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι τὸ
ἡπαρ ἦν ἄλοβον, “Παπαί,” εἶπεν, “ἰσχυρὸν τὸ
σημεῖον.” καὶ τὸν Πιθαγόραν οὐδὲν ἡδίκησεν.
ἥχθετο δὲ μὴ πεισθεὶς τῷ Νεάρχῳ, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ
τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἔξω κατασκηνῶν καὶ περιπλέων

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magnificence, boldness, and ostentation. This man, indeed, had said to him at a former interview that of all mountains the Thracian Athos could most readily be given the form and shape of a man ; if, therefore, Alexander should so order, he would make out of Mount Athos a most enduring and most conspicuous statue of the king, which in its left hand should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and with its right should pour forth a river running with generous current into the sea. This project, it is true, Alexander had declined ; but now he was busy devising and contriving with his artists projects far more strange and expensive than this.

LXXIII. As he was on his way to enter Babylon, Nearchus (who had joined him again after sailing through the ocean into the Euphrates) told the king that certain Chaldaeans had met him and advised that Alexander should keep away from Babylon.¹ Alexander paid no heed to this, but continued on his march ; and when he was arrived at the walls, he saw many ravens flying about and clawing one another, and some of them fell dead at his feet. Again, being informed that Apollodorus the commandant of Babylon had sacrificed to learn Alexander's fate, Alexander called Pythagoras the seer. Pythagoras did not deny the fact, whereupon Alexander asked him what was the character of the sacrifice. And when the seer told that the victim's liver had no lobe, "Ah me !" said Alexander, "a forcible omen !" and did Pythagoras no harm. He was sorry, too, that he had not obeyed Nearchus, and passed most of his time outside of Babylon, either

¹ According to Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 16, 5), the Chaldaeans besought Alexander in person to suspend his march to Babylon. It was in the spring of 323 B.C.

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3 τὸν Εὐφράτην διέτριβεν. ἡνώχλει δ' αὐτὸν σημεῖα πολλά. καὶ γὰρ λέοντα τῶν τρεφομένων μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἡμερος ὅνος ἐπελθὼν καὶ λακτίσας ἀνεῖλεν. ἀποδυσαμένου δὲ πρὸς ἄλειμμα καὶ σφαῖραν αὐτοῦ παιζόντος οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ σφαιρίζοντες, ὡς ἔδει πάλιν λαβεῖν τὰ ἴματα, καθορῶσιν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ καθεξόμενον σιωπῆ, τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν περικείμενον. οὗτος ἀνακρινόμενος ὅστις εἴη, πολὺν χρόνον ἄναυδος ἦν· μόλις δὲ συμφρονήσας Διονύσιος μὲν ἔφη καλεῖσθαι, Μεσσήνιος δὲ εἶναι τὸ γένος· ἐκ δέ τινος αἰτίας καὶ κατηγορίας ἐνταῦθα κομισθεὶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολὺν χρόνον γεγονέναι ἐν δεσμοῖς· ἄρτι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν Σάραπιν ἐπιστάντα τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἀνεῖναι καὶ προαγαγεῖν δεῦρο, καὶ κελεῦσαι λαβόντα τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸ διάδημα καθίσαι καὶ σιωπᾶν.

LXXIV. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον, ὥσπερ ἐκέλευνον οἱ μάντεις, ἡφάντισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἡθύμει καὶ δύσελπις ἦν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἡδη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὑποπτος. μάλιστα δὲ Ἀντίπατρον ἐφοβεῖτο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ὃν Ἰόλας μὲν ἀρχιοινοχόος ἦν, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος ἀφίκτο μὲν νεωστί, θεασάμενος δὲ βαρβάρους τινὰς προσκυνοῦντας, ἦτε δὴ τεθραμμένος Ἐλληνικῶς καὶ τοιοῦτο πρότερον μηδὲν ἐωρακώς, 2 ἐγέλασε προπετέστερον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὠργίσθη, καὶ δραξάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν τριχῶν σφόδρα

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living in his tent, or sailing about on the Euphrates. And he was troubled by many omens. For instance, the largest and handsomest lion in his menagerie was attacked by a tame ass and kicked to death. Again, he once took off his clothes for exercise and was playing at ball, and when it was time to dress again, the young men who were playing with him beheld a man seated on the king's throne, in silence, wearing the royal diadem and robes. When the man was asked who he was, he was speechless for a long time; but at last he came to his senses and said that his name was Dionysius, and that he was a native of Messenia; in consequence of some charge brought against him, he said, he had been brought thither from the sea-board, and for a long time had been in chains; but just now the god Serapis had come to him and loosed his chains and brought him to this spot, bidding him put on the robe and diadem and sit on the throne and hold his peace.¹

LXXIV. On hearing of this, Alexander put the man out of the way, as the seers directed; but he began to be low-spirited, and was distrustful now of the favour of Heaven and suspicious of his friends. He was particularly afraid of Antipater and of his sons, one of whom, Iolas, was his chief cupbearer; the other, Cassander, had only recently come to Babylon, and when he saw some Barbarians doing obeisance to Alexander, since he had been reared as a Greek and had never seen such a sight as this before, he laughed boisterously. But Alexander was enraged, and clutching him fiercely by

¹ Other predictions of Alexander's death are given in Arrian (*Anab.* vii 18, 22, and 24).

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ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἔπαισε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον. αὐθις δὲ πρὸς τὸν κατηγοροῦντας Ἀντιπάτρου λέγειν τι βουλόμενον τὸν Κάσανδρον ἐκκρούων, “Τί λέγεις;” ἔφη, “τοσαύτην ὅδὸν ἀνθρώπους μηδὲν ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ συκοφαν-
 3 τοῦντας ἐλθεῖν;” φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κασάνδρου τοῦτο αὐτὸ σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν, ὅτι μακρὰν ἥκουσι τῶν ἐλέγχων, ἀναγελάσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, “Ταῦτα ἔκεινα,” ἔφη, “σοφίσματα τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς ἐκάτερον τὸν λόγον· οἱμωξομέ-
 νων,¹ ἀν καὶ μικρὸν ἀδικοῦντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 4 φανήτε.” τὸ δὲ ὅδον οὕτω φασὶ δεινὸν ἐνδῦναι καὶ δευτοποιὸν ἐγγενέσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ Κασάνδρου τὸ δέος, ὡςτε ὑστερον χρόνοις πολλοῖς, ἥδη Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντα καὶ κρατοῦντα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐν Δελφοῖς περιπατοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, εἰκόνος Ἀλεξάνδρου φανείσης, ἀφων πληγέντα φρίξαι καὶ κραδανθῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ μόλις ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτόν, ἵλιγγιάσαντα πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν.

LXXV. Ο δὲ οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐνέδωκε τότε πρὸς τὰ θεῖα ταραχώδης γενόμενος καὶ περίφοβος τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐδὲν ἦν μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν ἀήθων καὶ ἀτόπων ὃ μὴ τέρας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σημεῖον· ἀλλὰ θυομένων καὶ καθαιρόντων καὶ μαντευόν-
 2 των μεστὸν ἦν τὸ βασίλειον. οὕτως ἄρα δεινὸν μὲν ἡ ἀπιστία πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ καταφρόνησις αὐτῶν, δεινὴ δὲ αὐθις ἡ δεισιδαιμονία, ἦ,² δίκην ὕδατος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινούμενον καταρρέοντος,²

¹ οἱμωξομένων Sint. with the best MSS.; οἱμωξομένου γε Coraes; οἱμώξῃ μὲν οὖν Bekker.

² ἦ, καταρρέοντος supplied by Bekker, after Coraes.

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the hair with both hands dashed his head against the wall. And at another time, when Cassander would have said something in opposition to those who were bringing charges against Antipater, Alexander interrupted him, saying: "What meanest thou? Would men come so long a journey if they had not been wronged and were making false charges?" And when Cassander declared that this very fact of their coming a long distance away from the proofs showed that they were making false charges, Alexander burst out laughing and said: "These are the famous sophisms of Aristotle's disciples for either side of the question; but ye shall rue the day if it appear that ye have done these men even a slight wrong." And in general, as we are told, Cassander's spirit was deeply penetrated and imbued with a dreadful fear of Alexander, so that many years afterwards, when he was now king of Macedonia and master of Greece, as he was walking about and surveying the statues at Delphi, the sight of an image of Alexander smote him suddenly with a shuddering and trembling from which he could scarcely recover, and made his head swim.

LXXV. Alexander, then, since he had now become sensitive to indications of the divine will and perturbed and apprehensive in his mind, converted every unusual and strange occurrence, were it never so insignificant, into a prodigy and portent; and sacrificers, purifiers, and diviners filled his palace. So, you see, while it is a dire thing to be incredulous towards indications of the divine will and to have contempt for them, superstition is likewise a dire thing, which, after the manner of water ever seeking the

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ἀνεπλήρους¹ ἀβελτερίας κατάφοβου² τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον γενόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ χρησμῶν γε τῶν περὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐκ θεοῦ κομισθέντων ἀποθέμενος τὸ πένθος αὐθις ἦν ἐν θυσίαις καὶ 3 πότοις. ἔστιάσας δὲ λαμπρῶς τοὺς περὶ Νέαρχον, εἴτα λουσάμειος, ὃσπερ εἰώθει μέλλων καθεύδειν, Μῆδίου δεηθέντος φέχετο κωμασόμενος πρὸς αὐτόν· κάκει πιὼν ὅλην τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἥρξατο πυρέττειν, οὕτε σκύφον Ἡρακλέους ἐκπιῶν οὕτε ἄφιν διαλγῆς γενόμενος τὸ μετάφρενον ὃσπερ λόγχῃ πεπληγώς, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά τινες φύσιον δὲν γράφειν ὃσπερ δράματος μεγάλου τραγικὸν ἔξοδιον καὶ περιπαθές πλάσαντες.
 4 Ἀριστόβουλος δέ φησιν αὐτὸν πυρέττοντα μανικῶς, διψήσαντα δὲ σφόδρα πιεῖν οἶνον ἐκ τούτου δὲ φρενιτιάσαι, καὶ τελευτῆσαι τριακάδι Δαισίου μηνός.

LXXVI. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὕτως γέγραπται τὰ περὶ τὴν νόσουν. ὅγδοη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ Δαισίου μηνὸς ἐκάθευδεν ἐν τῷ λουτρῶν διὰ τὸ πυρέξαι. τῇ δὲ ἔξῆς λουσάμενος εἰς τὸν θάλαμον μετήλθε, καὶ διημέρευε πρὸς Μῆδιον κυβεύων. εἰτ' ὁψὲ λουσάμενος καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦς θεοῖς ἐπιθεὶς ἐμφαγῶν διὰ συκτὸς ἐπύρεξε. τῇ εἰκάδι λουσάμενος πάλιν ἔθυσε τὴν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν· καὶ κατακείμενος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶν τοῖς περὶ Νέαρ-

¹ ἀνεπλήρους Coraes' correction of the MSS. καὶ ἀναπληροῦν, adopted by Bekker.

² κατάφοβον Coraes' correction of the MSS. καὶ φόβουν, adopted by Bekker.

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lower levels, filled with folly the Alexander who was now become a prey to his fears. Notwithstanding, in consequence of oracular responses regarding Hephaestion which were brought him, he laid aside his grief and betook himself once more to sacrifices and drinking-bouts. He gave a splendid entertainment to Nearchus, and then, although he had taken his customary bath before going to bed, at the request of Medius he went to hold high revel with him;¹ and here, after drinking all the next day, he began to have a fever. This did not come upon him after he had quaffed a "bowl of Heracles," nor after he had been seized with a sudden pain in the back as though smitten with a spear; these particulars certain writers felt obliged to give, and so, as it were, invented in tragic fashion a moving finale for a great action. But Aristobulus says that he had a raging fever, and that when he got very thirsty he drank wine, whereupon he became delirious, and died on the thirtieth day of the month Daesius.

LXXVI. Moreover, in the court "Journals" there are recorded the following particulars regarding his sickness.² On the eighteenth of the month Daesius³ he slept in the bathing-room because he had a fever. On the following day, after his bath, he removed into his bed-chamber, and spent the day at dice with Medius. Then, when it was late, he took a bath, performed his sacrifices to the gods, ate a little, and had a fever through the night. On the twentieth, after bathing again, he performed his customary sacrifice; and lying in the bathing-room

¹ Cf Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 25

² They are given also by Arrian (*Anab.* viii. 25).

³ June 2, 323 B.C.

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χον ἐσχόλαιεν, ἀκροώμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν
καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν. τῇ δεκάτῃ φθίνον-
τος ταῦτα ποιήσας μᾶλλον ἀνεφλέχθη, καὶ τὴν
νύκτα Βαρέως ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν
ἐπύρεττε σφόδρα. καὶ μεταρθεὶς κατέκειτο παρὰ
τὴν μεγάλην κολυμβήθραν, ὅτε δὴ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι
διελέχθη περὶ τῶν ἐρίμων ἡγεμονίας τάξεων,
3 ὅπως καταστήσωσι δοκιμάσαντες. ἐβδόμη σφό-
δρα πυρέττων ἔθυσεν ἔξαρθεὶς πρὸς τὰ ιερά· τῶν
δὲ ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευε τοὺς μεγίστους διατρίβειν ἐν
τῇ αὐλῇ, ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχους ἔξω
νυκτερεύειν. εἰς δὲ τὰ πέραν βασίλεια διακομι-
σθεὶς τῇ ἔκτῃ μικρὸν ὑπνωσεν, ὁ δὲ πυρετὸς οὐκ
ἀνῆκεν. ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἦν ἄφω-
4 νος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν πέμπτην· διὸ καὶ τοῖς
Μακεδόσιν ἔδοξε τεθνάναι, καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες
ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, καὶ διηπειλοῦντο τοῖς ἑταίροις ἔως
ἐβιάσαντο· καὶ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνοιχθεισῶν ἐν
τοῖς χιτῶσι καθ' ἕνα πάντες παρὰ τὴν κλίνην
παρεξῆλθον. ταῦτης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ περὶ Πύ-
θωνα καὶ Σέλευκου εἰς τὸ Σαραπεῖον ἀποστάλ-
έντες ἥρωτων εἰ κομίσωσι ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον·
οἱ δὲ θεὸς κατὰ χώραν ἔαν ἀνεῦλε. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ
φθίνοντος πρὸς δεῖλην ἀπέθανε.

LXXVII. Τούτων τὰ πλεῦστα κατὰ λέξιν ἐν
ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὕτῳ γέγραπται. φαρμακείας
δὲ ὑποψίαν παραυτίκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν, ἔκτῳ δὲ

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he devoted himself to Nearchus, listening to his story of his voyage and of the great sea. The twenty-first he spent in the same way and was still more inflamed, and during the night he was in a grievous plight, and all the following day his fever was very high. So he had his bed removed and lay by the side of the great bath, where he conversed with his officers about the vacant posts in the army, and how they might be filled with experienced men. On the twenty-fourth his fever was violent and he had to be carried forth to perform his sacrifices ; moreover, he ordered his principal officers to tarry in the court of the palace, and the commanders of divisions and companies to spend the night outside. He was carried to the palace on the other side of the river on the twenty-fifth, and got a little sleep, but his fever did not abate. And when his commanders came to his bedside, he was speechless, as he was also on the twenty-sixth ; therefore the Macedonians made up their minds that he was dead, and came with loud shouts to the doors of the palace, and threatened his companions until all opposition was broken down ; and when the doors had been thrown open to them, without cloak or armour, one by one, they all filed slowly past his couch. During this day, too, Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis to enquire whether they should bring Alexander thither ; and the god gave answer that they should leave him where he was. And on the twenty-eighth,¹ towards evening, he died.

LXXVII. Most of this account is word for word as written in the "Journals." And as for suspicions of poisoning, no one had any immediately, but five

¹ June 13, 323 B.C.

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ἔτει φασὶ μηνύσεως γενομένης τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, ἐκρῦψαι δὲ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ ἕλα τεθνηκότος, ώς τούτου τὸ φάρμακον ἔγχε-
2 αυτος. οἱ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλην φάσκοντες Ἀντιπά-
τρῳ σύμβουλον γεγενῆσθαι τῆς πράξεως, καὶ
ὅλως δὶ' ἐκείνου πορισθῆναι τὸ φάρμακον, Ἀγνό-
θεμίν τινα διηγεῖσθαι λέγουσιν ώς Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσαντα· τὸ δὲ φάρμακον ὑδωρ
εἶναι ψυχρὸν καὶ παγετῶδες ἀπὸ πέτρας τινὸς ἐν
Νωνάκριδι οὔσης, ἦν δισπερ δρόσον λεπτὴν ἀνα-
λαμβάνοντες εἰς ὄνον χηλὴν ἀποτίθενται· τῶν
γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀγγείον στέγειν, ἀλλὰ διακό-
3 πτειν ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος καὶ δριμύτητος. οἱ δὲ
πλεῖστοι τὸν λόγον ὅλως οἴονται πεπλάσθαι τὸν
περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας· καὶ τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς ἔστιν
οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι τῶν ἡγεμόνων στασιασάντων ἐφ'
ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀθεράπευτον τὸ σῶμα κείμενον
ἐν τόποις θερμοῖς καὶ πυνγώδεσιν οὐδὲν ἔσχε
τοιαύτης φθορᾶς σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔμεινε καθαρὸν
καὶ πρόσφατον.

4 Ἡ δὲ Ῥωξάνη κύουσα μὲν ἐτύγχανε καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο τιμωμένη παρὰ τοὺς Μακεδοσι· δυσκήλως
δὲ ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν Στάτειραν ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτὴν
ἐπιστολῇ τινι πεπλασμένῃ παραγενέσθαι, καὶ
προσαγαγοῦσα μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ
τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ κατέβαλε καὶ συνέ-
χωσεν, εἰδότος ταῦτα Περδίκκουν καὶ συμπράτ-
5 τοντος. ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐθὺς ἐν δυνάμει μεγίστη,
τὸν Ἀρριδαίον δισπερ δορυφόρημα τῆς βασιλείας
ἐφελκύμενος, γεγονότα μὲν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀδόξου
καὶ κοινῆς Φιλίμνης, ἀτελῆ δὲ τὸ φρονεῖν ὄντα

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years afterwards, as we are told, upon information given, Olympias put many men to death, and scattered abroad the ashes of Iolas, alleging that he had administered the poison. But those who affirm that Aristotle counselled Antipater to do the deed,¹ and that it was entirely through his agency that the poison was provided, mention one Hagnothemis as their authority, who professed to have heard the story from Antigonus the king; and the poison was water, icy cold, from a certain cliff in Nonacris; this they gathered up like a delicate dew and stored it in an ass's hoof; for no other vessel would hold the water, but would all be eaten through by it, owing to its coldness and pungency. Most writers, however, think that the story of the poisoning is altogether a fabrication; and it is no slight evidence in their favour that during the dissensions of Alexander's commanders, which lasted many days, his body, although it lay without special care in places that were moist and stifling, showed no sign of such a destructive influence, but remained pure and fresh.

Now, Roxana was with child, and on this account was held in honour among the Macedonians; but she was jealous of Stateira, and therefore deceived her by a forged letter into coming where she was, and when she had got her there, slew her, together with her sister, threw their bodies into the well, and filled the well with earth, Perdiccas being privy to the deed and partner in it. For it was he who was at once in the greatest authority, dragging Arrhidaeus around after him to safe-guard, as it were, the royal power. Arrhidaeus was Philip's son by an obscure and common woman named Philinna, and

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 28.

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διὰ σώματος νόσον οὐ φύσει προσπεσοῦσαν οὐδὲ
αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φασὶ παιδὸς ὄντος
αὐτοῦ διαφαίνεσθαι χάριεν ἥθος καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννές,
εἴτα μέντοι φαρμάκοις ὑπὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος κακω-
θέντα διαφθαρῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν.

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was deficient in intellect owing to bodily disease. This, however, did not come upon him in the course of nature or of its own accord, indeed, it is said that as a boy he displayed an exceedingly gifted and noble disposition: but afterwards Olympias gave him drugs which injured his body and ruined his mind.

CAESAR

Γ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ

Ι Τὴν Κίννα τοῦ μοναρχήσαντος θυγατέρα Κορηνηλίαν, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Σύλλας, οὕτε ἐλπίσιν οὕτε φόβῳ δυνηθεὶς ἀποσπάσαι Καίσαρος, ἐδήμευσε τὴν φερνήν αὐτῆς. αἵτια δὲ Καίσαρι τῆς πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπεχθείας ἡ πρὸς Μάριον οἰκειότης ἦν. Ἰουλίᾳ γάρ, πατρὸς ἀδελφῆς Καίσαρος, ὁ πρεσβύτερος συνφίκει Μάριος, ἔξ οὗ ἐγερόντει 2 Μάριος ὁ νεώτερος, ἀνεψιός ὁν Καίσαρος. ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους φόνων ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ δι' ἀσχολίας ὑπὸ Σύλλα παρορώμενος οὐκ ἡγάπησεν, ἀλλὰ μετιὰν ἴερωσύνην εἰς τὸν δῆμον προήλθεν οὕπω πάνυ μειράκιον ὅν, ταύτης μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπεναντιωθεὶς Σύλλας παρεσκεύασε, περὶ δὲ ἀναιρέσεως βουλευόμενος, ἐνίων λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἔχοι λόγον ἀποκτιννύναι παῖδα τηλικοῦτον, οὐκ ἔφη οὐδὲν ἔχειν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ παιδὶ 3 τούτῳ Μαρίους ἐνορῶσι. ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς ἀνενεχθείσης πρὸς Καίσαρα συχνὸν μέν τινα χρόνον πλανώμενος ἐν Σαβίνοις ἔκλεπτεν ἑαυτόν ἐπειτα δι' ἀρρωστίαν εἰς οἰκίαν ἐτέραν μετακομιζόμενος κατὰ νύκτα περιπίπτει στρατιώταις τοῦ Σύλλα

¹ Many think that opening paragraphs of this *Life*, describing the birth and boyhood of Caesar, have been lost.

² In 86 B.C., after the death of his colleague, Valerius Flaccus.

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THE wife of Caesar¹ was Cornelia, the daughter of the Cinna who had once held the sole power at Rome,² and when Sulla became master of affairs,³ he could not, either by promises or threats, induce Caesar to put her away, and therefore confiscated her dowry. Now, the reason for Caesar's hatred of Sulla was Caesar's relationship to Marius. For Julia, a sister of Caesar's father, was the wife of Marius the Elder, and the mother of Marius the Younger, who was therefore Caesar's cousin. Moreover, Caesar was not satisfied to be overlooked at first by Sulla, who was busy with a multitude of proscriptions, but he came before the people as candidate for a priesthood, although he was not yet much more than a stripling. To this candidacy Sulla secretly opposed himself, and took measures to make Caesar fail in it, and when he was deliberating about putting him to death and some said there was no reason for killing a mere boy like him, he declared that they had no sense if they did not see in this boy many Mariuses.⁴ When this speech was reported to Caesar, he hid himself for some time, wandering about in the country of the Sabines. Then, as he was changing his abode by night on account of sickness, he fell in with soldiers of Sulla who

¹ In 82 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, ix. 1 f.

² Nam Caesari multos Marios messe (Suetonius, *Durus Julius*, i.).

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- διερευνωμένοις ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία καὶ τοὺς κεκρυμμένους συλλαμβάνουσιν. ὃν τὸν ἡγεμόνα Κορηνῆλουν πείσας δυσὶ ταλάντοις ἀφείθη, καὶ καταβὰς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἔξέπλευσεν εἰς Βιθυνίαν
4 πρὸς Νικομήδην τὸν βασιλέα. παρ' ὧ διατρίψας χρόνον οὐ πολύν, εἴτα ἀποπλέων ἀλίσκεται περὶ τὴν Φαρμακοῦσσαν νῆσον ὑπὸ πειρατῶν ἥδη τότε στόλοις μεγάλοις καὶ σκάφεσιν ἀπλέτοις κατεχόντων τὴν θάλατταν.
- II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λύτρα εἴκοσι τάλαντα κατεγέλασεν ως οὐκ εἰδότων ὃν γῆρήκοιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ώμολόγησε πεντήκοντα δώσειν· ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλον εἰς ἄλλην διαπέμψας πόλιν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν χρημάτων πορισμόν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις φονικωτάτοις Κίλιξι μεθ' ἐνὸς φίλου καὶ δυοῖν ἀκολούθουν ἀπολελειμμένος οὔτω καταφρονητικῶς εἶχεν ὥστε πέμπων ὁσάκις ἀναπάντητο προσέταττεν αὐτοῖς σιωπᾶν. ἡμέραις δὲ τεσσαράκοντα δυεῦν δεούσαις, ὕσπερ οὐ φρουρούμενος, ἀλλὰ δορυφορούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἀδείας συνέπαιξε καὶ συνεγυμνάζετο. καὶ ποιήματα γράφων καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἀκροατᾶς ἐκείνοις ἔχρητο, καὶ τοὺς μὴ θαυμάζοντας ἀντικρυς ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ βαρβάρους ἀπεκάλει, καὶ σὺν γέλωτι πολλάκις ἡπείρησε κρεμᾶν αὐτούς.
2 παύοιτο προσέταττεν αὐτοῖς σιωπᾶν. ἡμέραις δὲ τεσσαράκοντα δυεῦν δεούσαις, ὕσπερ οὐ φρουρούμενος, ἀλλὰ δορυφορούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἀδείας συνέπαιξε καὶ συνεγυμνάζετο. καὶ ποιήματα γράφων καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἀκροατᾶς ἐκείνοις ἔχρητο, καὶ τοὺς μὴ θαυμάζοντας ἀντικρυς ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ βαρβάρους ἀπεκάλει, καὶ σὺν γέλωτι πολλάκις ἡπείρησε κρεμᾶν αὐτούς.
3 οἱ δὲ ἔχαιρον, ἀφελείᾳ τινὶ καὶ παιδιᾷ τὴν παρρησίαν ταύτην νέμουστες. ὡς δὲ ἥκον ἐκ Μιλήτου τὰ λύτρα καὶ δοὺς ἀφείθη, πλοῖα πληρώσας εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ Μιλησίων λιμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς ληστὰς

¹ Caesar served under Marcus Thermus, praetor of Asia, in 81–80 B.C., being then nineteen years of age, and by him

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were searching those regions and arresting the men in hiding there. Caesar gave their leader, Cornelius, two talents to set him free, and at once went down to the sea and sailed to King Nicomedes in Bithynia.¹ With him he tarried a short time, and then, on his voyage back,² was captured, near the island Pharmacusa, by pirates, who already at that time controlled the sea with large armaments and countless small vessels.

II. To begin with, then, when the pirates demanded twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them for not knowing who their captive was, and of his own accord agreed to give them fifty. In the next place, after he had sent various followers to various cities to procure the money and was left with one friend and two attendants among Cilicians, most murderous of men, he held them in such disdain that whenever he lay down to sleep he would send and order them to stop talking. For eight and thirty days, as if the men were not his watchiers, but his royal body-guard, he shared in their sports and exercises with great unconcern. He also wrote poems and sundry speeches which he read aloud to them, and those who did not admire these he would call to their faces illiterate Barbarians, and often laughingly threatened to hang them all. The pirates were delighted at this, and attributed his boldness of speech to a certain simplicity and boyish mirth. But after his ransom had come from Miletus and he had paid it and was set free, he immediately manned vessels and put to sea from the harbour

was sent to Bithynia in order to raise a fleet to assist in the siege of Mitylene

² According to Suetonius (*Div Jul* 4), it was on a voyage from Rome to Rhodes (after 77 B.C.) that Caesar was captured by pirates.

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ἀνήγετο· καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔτι πρὸς τὴν νῆσφ ναυ-
λοχοῦντας ἐκράτησε τῶν πλείστων. καὶ τὰ μὲν
χρῆματα λείαν ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν
Πέργάμῳ καταθέμενος εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτὸς
ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν διέποντα τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰούνιον,¹
ώς ἐκείνῳ προσῆκον ὅντι στρατηγῷ κολάσαι τοὺς
4 ἑαλωκότας. ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ τοὺς χρήμασιν ἐπο-
φθαλμώντος (ἥν γάρ οὐκ ὀλίγα) καὶ περὶ τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων σκέψεσθαι φάσκοντος ἐπὶ σχολῆς,
χαίρειν ἔστις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς Πέργαμον
φέρετο, καὶ προαγαγὼν τὸν ληστὰς ἀπαντας
ἀγεσταύρωσεν, ὡςπερ αὐτοῦ δοκῶν παίξειν ἐν τῇ
νῆσφ προειρήκει πολλάκις.

III. Εἴκ δὲ τούτου τῆς Σύλλα δυνάμεως ἥδη
μαραινομένης καὶ τῶν οἴκοι καλούντων αὐτὸν
ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ σχολὴν πρὸς Ἀπολλώ-
νιον τὸν τοῦ Μόλωνος, οὐκ καὶ Κικέρων ἡκρόατο,
σοφιστεύοντος ἐπιφανῶς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιει-
κοῦς εἶναι δοκοῦντος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ φῦναι πρὸς
λόγους πολιτικοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄριστα, καὶ δια-
πονῆσαι φιλοτιμότατα τὴν φύσιν, ὡς τὰ δευτερεῖα
μὲν ἀδηρίτως ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ πρωτεῖον, δπως τῇ
δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις πρῶτος εἴη μᾶλλον
2 ἀσχοληθείς, ἀφεῖναι, πρὸς ὅπερ ἡ φύσις ὑφηγεῖτο
τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν δεινότητος, ὑπὸ στρατειῶν καὶ
πολιτείας, ἢ κατεκτήσατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐκ
ἔξικόμενος. αὐτὸς δ' οὖν ὑστερον ἐν τῇ πρὸς
Κικέρωνα περὶ Κάτωνος ἀντιγραφῇ παραιτεῖται
μὴ στρατιωτικοῦ λόγου ἀνδρὸς ἀντεξετάζειν πρὸς

¹ Ἰονγκον Sintenis.

¹ According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 4), this voyage, on which he was captured by pirates, was undertaken after his

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of Miletus against the robbers. He caught them, too, still lying at anchor off the island, and got most of them into his power. Their money he made his booty, but the men themselves he lodged in the prison at Pergamuni, and then went in person to Junius, the governor of Asia, on the ground that it belonged to him, as praetor of the province, to punish the captives. But since the praetor cast longing eyes on their money, which was no small sum, and kept saying that he would consider the case of the captives at his leisure, Caesar left him to his own devices, went to Pergamum, took the robbers out of prison, and crucified them all, just as he had often warned them on the island that he would do, when they thought he was joking.

III. After this, Sulla's power being now on the wane, and Caesar's friends at home inviting him to return, Caesar sailed to Rhodes¹ to study under Apollonius the son of Molon, an illustrious rhetorician with the reputation of a worthy character, of whom Cicero also was a pupil. It is said, too, that Caesar had the greatest natural talent for political oratory, and cultivated his talent most ambitiously, so that he had an undisputed second rank; the first rank, however, he renounced, because he devoted his efforts to being first as a statesman and commander rather, and did not achieve that effectiveness in oratory to which his natural talent directed him, in consequence of his campaigns and of his political activities, by means of which he acquired the supremacy. And so it was that, at a later time, in his reply to Cicero's "Cato," he himself deprecated comparison between the diction of a soldier and the eloquence of an unsuccessful prosecution of Dolabella, mentioned in the next chapter. See the note on i. 4.

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δεινότητα ρήγτορος εύφυουντι καὶ σχολὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτο πολλὴν ἄγοντος.

IV. Ἐπανελθὼν δ' εἰς Ῥώμην Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινε κακώσεως ἐπαρχίας, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων μαρτυρίας αὐτῷ παρέσχον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Δολοβέλλας ἀπέφυγε τὴν δίκην, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀμειβόμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς προθυμίας συνηγόρευσεν αὐτῷ Πόπλιον Ἀντώνιον διωκούσῃ δωροδοκίας ἐπὶ Λευκούλλου τοῦ Μάρκου Μακε-
2 δονίας στρατηγοῦ. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἵσχυσεν ὥστε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς δημάρχους, σκηνφάμενον οὐκ ἔχειν τὸ ἵσον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πρὸς Ἐλληνας. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πολλὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τὰς συνηγορίας αὐτοῦ χάρις ἐξέλαμπε, πολλὴ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ ὁμιλίας φιλοσφροσύνης εὔνοια παρὰ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπήντα,
3 θεραπευτικοῦ παρ' ἡλικίαν ὅντος. ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀπὸ δείπνων καὶ τραπέζης καὶ δλως τῆς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν λαμπρότητος αὐξανομένη κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ δύναμις εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἦν τὸ πρῶτον οἱ φθοροῦντες οἰόμενοι ταχὺ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐπιλιπόντων ἐξίτηλον ἔσεσθαι, περιεώρων ἀνθούσαν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς· ὅψὲ δὲ ἥσθοντο, μεγάλης καὶ δυσανατρέπτου γενομένης καὶ βαδιζούσης ἀντικρυνθῆναι τὸ μὴ κωλυθῆναι λαβοῦσαν. ὁ γοῦν πρῶτος ὑπιδέσθαι δοκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ φοβηθῆναι τῆς πολιτείας ὥσπερ θαλάττης τὰ διαγελῶντα

4

¹ ἡγητέον MSS. and Sint.²; ἡγητέον οὕτω Coraes, after Stephanus; οὕτω ἡγητέον Sint.¹; οὕτως ἡγητέον Bekker.

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orator who was gifted by nature and had plenty of leisure to pursue his studies.

IV. After his return to Rome he impeached Dolabella¹ for maladministration of his province, and many of the cities of Greece supplied him with testimony. Dolabella, it is true, was acquitted, but Caesar, in return for the zealous efforts of the Greeks in his behalf, served as their advocate when they prosecuted Publius Antonius for corruption before Marcus Lucullus, the praetor of Macedonia. And he was so effective that Antonius appealed to the tribunes at Rome, alleging that he could not have a fair trial in Greece against Greeks. At Rome, moreover, Caesar won a great and brilliant popularity by his eloquence as an advocate, and much good will from the common people for the friendliness of his manners in intercourse with them, since he was ingratiating beyond his years. He had also a large and gradually increasing political influence in consequence of his lavish hospitality and the general splendour of his mode of life. At first his enemies thought this influence would quickly vanish when his expenditures ceased, and therefore suffered it to thrive among the common people; but later on when it had become great and hard to subvert, and aimed directly at a complete revolution in the state, they perceived that no beginnings should be considered too small to be quickly made great by continuance, after contempt of them has left them unobstructed. At all events, the man who is thought to have been the first to see beneath the surface of Caesar's public policy and to fear it, as one might fear the smiling surface of the sea, and who com-

¹ In 77 B.C.

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καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ ἵλαρῷ κεκρυμμένην δεινότητα τοῦ ἥθους καταμαθὼν Κικέρων ἔλεγε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐπιβούλεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτεύμασι τυραννικὴν ἐνορᾶν διάνοιαν, “Ἄλλ’ ὅταν,” ἔφη, “τὴν κόμην οὕτω διακειμένην περιττῶς ἴδω κάκείνον ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ κυνώμενον, οὐ μοι δοκεῖ πάλιν οὗτος ἄνθρωπος εἰς νοῦν ἀνέμβαλέσθαι τηλικούτον κακόν, ἀναίρεσιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑστερον.

V. Τοῦ δὲ δήμου πρώτην μὲν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἐλαβεν ὅτε πρὸς Γάιον Ποπίλιον ἐρίσας ὑπὲρ χιλιαρχίας πρότερος ἀνηγορεύθη δευτέραν δὲ καὶ καταφανεστέραν ὅτε, τῆς Μαρίου γυναικὸς Ἰουλίας ἀποθανούσης, ἀδελφίδοις ὧν αὐτῆς ἐγκώμιόν τε λαμπρὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διῆλθε, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἐτόλμησεν εἰκόνας Μαρίου προθέσθαι, τότε πρώτον ὁφθείσας μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σύλλα πολιτείαν, πολεμίων τῶν ἀνδρῶν 2 κριθέντων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ γάρ ἐνίων καταβοησάντων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ δῆμος ἀντίχησε λαμπρῶς, δεξαμενος κρότῳ καὶ θαυμάσας ὥσπερ ἐξ "Αἰδου διὰ χρόνων πολλῶν ἀνάγοντα τὰς Μαρίου τιμὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ γυναιξὶν πρεσβυτέραις λόγους ἐπιταφίους διεξιέναι πάτριον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, νέαις δὲ οὐκ ὃν ἐν ἔθει πρώτος εἶπε Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης· καὶ τοῦτο ἦνεγκεν αὐτῷ χάριν τινὰ καὶ συνεδημαγώγησε τῷ πάθει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς ἥμερον ἄιδρα καὶ περίμεστον ἥθους ἀγαπᾶν.

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prehended the powerful character hidden beneath his kindly and cheerful exterior, namely Cicero, said that in most of Caesar's political plans and projects he saw a tyrannical purpose ; "On the other hand," said he, "when I look at his hair, which is arranged with so much nicety, and see him scratching his head with one finger, I cannot think that this man would ever conceive of so great a crime as the overthrow of the Roman constitution" This, it is true, belongs to a later period.

V. The first proof of the people's good will towards him he received when he competed against Caius Popilius for a military tribuneship and was elected over him ; a second and more conspicuous proof he received when, as nephew of Julia the deceased wife of Marius, he pronounced a splendid encomium upon her in the forum,¹ and in her funeral procession ventured to display images of Marius, which were then seen for the first time since the administration of Sulla, because Marius and his friends had been pronounced public enemies. When, namely, some cried out against Caesar for this procedure, the people answered them with loud shouts, received Caesar with applause, and admired him for bringing back after so long a time, as it were from Hades, the honours of Marius into the city. Now, in the case of elderly women, it was ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations over them ; but it was not customary in the case of young women, and Caesar was the first to do so when his own wife died.² This also brought him much favour, and worked upon the sympathies of the multitude, so that they were fond of him, as a man who was gentle and full of feeling.

¹ In 68 B.C.

² In 68 B.C.

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3 Θάφας δὲ τὴν γυναικα ταμίας εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐνὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ Βέτερι συνεξῆλθεν, ὃν αὐτὸν τε τιμῶν ἀεὶ διετέλεσε καὶ τὸν νεὸν πάλιν αὐτὸς ἄρχων ταμίαν ἐποίησε. γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης τρίτην ἡγάγετο γυναικα Πομπήιαν, ἔχων ἐκ Κορυνηλίας θυγατέρα τὴν ὑστερον Πομπήιαν την την πηγή Μάγνη γαμηθεῖσαν. χρώμενος δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις ἀφειδῶς, καὶ δοκῶν μὲν ἐφίμερον καὶ βραχεῖαν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων δόξαν, ὡνούμενος δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις τὰ μέγιστα μικρῶν, λέγεται πρὶν εἰς ἄρχην τινα καθίστασθαι χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων γενέσθαι 5 χρεωφειλέτης ταλάντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐπιμελητὴς πάμπολλα χρήματα προσανύλωσε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ ἀγορανομῶν ζεύγη μονομάχων τριακόσια καὶ εἴκοσι παρέσχε καὶ ταῖς ἀλλαις περὶ θέατρα καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ δεῖπνα χορηγίαις καὶ πολυτελείαις τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατέκλυσε φιλοτιμίας, οὕτω διέθηκε τὸν δῆμον ὡς καινὰς μὲν ἄρχας καινὰς δὲ τιμὰς ζητεῖν ἔκαστου, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμείψαιντο.

VI. Διεῖν δὲ οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσεων, τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Σύλλα μέγα δυναμένης, τῆς δὲ Μαριανῆς, ἣ τότε κατεπτήχει καὶ διέσπαστο κομιδὴ ταπεινὰ πράττουσα, ταύτην ἀναρρώσαι καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι βουλόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἀγορανομικαῖς φιλοτιμί-

¹ In 67 B.C.

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After the funeral of his wife, he went out to Spain¹ as quaestor under Vetus, one of the praetors, whom he never ceased to hold in high esteem, and whose son, in turn, when he himself was praetor, he made his quaestor. After he had served in this office, he married for his third wife² Pompeia, having already by Cornelia a daughter who was afterwards married to Pompey the Great. He was unsparing in his outlays of money, and was thought to be purchasing a transient and short-lived fame at a great price, though in reality he was buying things of the highest value at a small price. We are told, accordingly, that before he entered upon any public office he was thirteen hundred talents in debt. Again, being appointed curator of the Appian Way, he expended upon it vast sums of his own money; and again, during his aedileship,³ he furnished three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators, and by lavish provision besides for theatrical performances, processions, and public banquets, he washed away all memory of the ambitious efforts of his predecessors in the office. By these means he put the people in such a humour that every man of them was seeking out new offices and new honours with which to requite him.

VI. There were two parties in the city, that of Sulla, which had been all powerful since his day, and that of Marius, which at that time was in an altogether lowly state, being cowed and scattered. This party Caesar wished to revive and attach to himself, and therefore, when the ambitious efforts of his aedileship were at their height, he had images

² Caesar was first married to Cossutia, the daughter of a rich Roman knight. ³ In 66 B.C.

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αις ἀκμὴν ἔχούσαις εἰκόνας ἐποιήσατο Μαρίου
κρύφα καὶ Νίκας τροπαιοφόρους, ἃς φέρων νυκτὸς
2 εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέστησεν. ἔμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ
τοὺς θεασαμένους μαρμαίροντα πάντα χρυσῷ καὶ
τέχνῃ κατεσκευασμένα περιττῶς (διεδήλου δὲ
γράμμασι τὰ Κιμβρικὰ κατορθώματα) θάμβος
ἔσχε τῆς τόλμης τοῦ ἀναθέντος (οὐ γάρ ἦν ἀδη-
λος), ταχὺ δὲ περιών ὁ λόγος ἥθροιζε πάντας
3 ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐβόων
τυραννίδα πολιτεύεσθαι Καίσαρα, νόμοις καὶ
δόγμασι κατορθωρυγμένας ἐπανιστάντα τιμάς, καὶ
τοῦτο πεῖραν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον εἶναι προμαλαττό-
μενον, εἰ τετιθάσευται ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις ὑπ' αὐ-
τοῦ καὶ δίδωσι παίξειν τοιαῦτα καὶ καινοτομεῖν,
οἱ δὲ Μαριανὸι παραθαρρύναντες ἀλλήλους πλή-
θει τε θαυμαστοὶ ὅσοι διεφάνησαν ἔξαιφνης, καὶ
4 κρότῳ κατείχον τὸ Καπιτώλιον πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ
δάκρυα τὴν Μαρίου θεωμένοις ὅψιν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς
ἔχώρει, καὶ μέγας ἦν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐγκωμίοις αἰρό-
μενος, ὡς ἀντὶ πάντων ἄξιος εἴη ὁ¹ ἀνὴρ τῆς
Μαρίου συγγενείας. συναχθείσης δὲ περὶ τού-
των τῆς βουλῆς, Κάτλος Λουτάτιος, ἀνὴρ εὐδοκι-
μῶν τότε μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων, ἀναστὰς καὶ κατη-
γορήσας Καίσαρος ἐπεφθέγξατο τὸ μνημονεύο-
μενον· “Οὐκέτι γάρ ὑπονόμοις,” ἔφη, “Καίσαρ,
ἀλλ' ἥδη μηχανᾶς αἰρεῖ τὴν πολιτείαν.” ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἀπολογησάμενος πρὸς ταῦτα Καίσαρ ἔπεισε
τὴν σύγκλητον, ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ θαυμάζοντες αὐτὸν

¹ εἴη ὁ bracketed by Sint.².

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of Marius secretly made, together with trophy-bearing Victories, and these he ordered to be carried by night and set up on the Capitol. At day-break those who beheld all these objects glittering with gold and fashioned with the most exquisite art (and they bore inscriptions setting forth the Cimbrian successes of Marius¹) were amazed at the daring of the man who had set them up (for it was evident who had done it), and the report of it quickly spreading brought everybody together for the sight. But some cried out that Caesar was scheming to usurp sole power in the state when he thus revived honours which had been buried by laws and decrees, and that this proceeding was a test of the people, whose feelings towards him he had previously softened, to see whether they had been made docile by his ambitious displays and would permit him to amuse himself with such innovations. The partisans of Marius, however, encouraged one another and showed themselves on a sudden in amazing numbers, and filled the Capitol with their applause. Many, too, were moved to tears of joy when they beheld the features of Marius, and Caesar was highly extolled by them, and regarded as above all others worthy of his kinship with Marius. But when the senate met to discuss these matters, Catulus Lutatius, a man of the highest repute at that time in Rome, rose up and denounced Caesar, uttering the memorable words: "No longer, indeed, by sapping and mining, Caesar, but with engines of war art thou capturing the government." Caesar, however, defended himself against this charge and convinced the senate, whereupon his admirers were still more

¹ See the *Marius*, chapters xi.-xxii

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ἐπήρθησαν, καὶ παρεκελεύοντο μηδενὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ὑφίεσθαι· πάντων γὰρ ἔκόντι τῷ δῆμῳ περιέσεσθαι καὶ πρωτεύσειν.

VII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Μετέλλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτήσαντος καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην περιμάχητον οὐσαν Ἰσαυρικοῦ καὶ Κάτλου μετιόντων, ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μέγιστον ἐν βουλῇ δυναμένων, οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καίσαρ, ἀλλὰ 2 καταβὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀντιπαρήγγελλεν. ἀγχωμάλου δὲ τῆς σπουδῆς φαινομένης, ὁ Κάτλος, ἀπὸ μείζονος ἀξίας μᾶλλον ὄρρωδῶν τὴν ἀδηλότητα, προσέπεμψε πείθων ἀποστῆναι τὸν Καίσαρα τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐπὶ πολλοῦ χρήμασιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πλείω προσδανεισάμενος ἔφη διαγωνιεῖσθαι.

Τῆς δὲ ήμέρας ἐνστάσης καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀδακρυτὸν προπεμπούσης, ἀσπασάμενος αὐτήν, ““Ω μῆτερ,” εἶπε, “τήμερον 3 ἡ ἀρχιερέα τὸν οὐδὲν ἡ φυγάδα δψει.” διενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς ψήφου καὶ γενομένης ἀμύλλης ἐκράτησε, καὶ παρέσχε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις φόβον ὃς ἐπὶ πᾶν θρασύτητος προάξων τὸν δῆμον. δθεν οἱ περὶ Πείσωνα καὶ Κάτλου ἥτιῶντο Κικέρωνα φεισάμενον Καίσαρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ 4 Κατιλίναν λαβὴν παρασχόντος. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Κατιλίνας οὐ μόνον τὴν πολιτείαν μεταβαλεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὅλην ἀνελεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα συγχέαι διανοηθεῖς αὐτὸς μὲν ἔξεπεσε,

¹ In 63 B.C.

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elated and exhorted him not to lower his pretensions for any man, since the people would be glad to have him triumph over all opposition and be the first man in the state.

VII. At this time, too, Metellus, the pontifex maximus, or high priest, died,¹ and though Isauricus and Catulus were candidates for the priesthood, which was an object of great ambition, and though they were most illustrious men and of the greatest influence in the senate, Caesar would not give way to them, but presented himself to the people as a rival candidate. The favour of the electors appeared to be about equally divided, and therefore Catulus, who, as the worthier of Caesar's competitors, dreaded more the uncertainty of the issue, sent and tried to induce Caesar to desist from his ambitious project, offering him large sums of money. But Caesar declared that he would carry the contest through even though he had to borrow still larger sums.

The day for the election came, and as Caesar's mother accompanied him to the door in tears, he kissed her and said : " Mother, to-day thou shalt see thy son either pontifex maximus or an exile." The contest was sharp, but when the vote was taken Caesar prevailed, and thereby made the senate and nobles afraid that he would lead the people on to every extreme of recklessness. Therefore Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for having spared Caesar when, in the affair of Catiline, he gave his enemies a hold upon him. Catiline, namely, had purposed not only to subvert the constitution, but to destroy the whole government and throw everything into confusion. He himself, however, was expelled from the city,²

¹ In 63 B.C. Cf. the *Cicero*, chapters x.-xxii.

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περιπταίσας ἐλάττοσιν ἐλέγχους πρὸ τοῦ τὰς
ἐσχάτας αὐτοῦ βουλὰς ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, Λέντλον
δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἐν τῇ πόλει διαδόχους ἀπέλιπτε
τῆς συνωμοσίας, οἵς εἰ μὲν κρύφα παρεῖχε τι
θάρσους καὶ δυνάμεως ὁ Καίσαρ ἄδηλόν ἐστιν,
ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ κατὰ κράτος ἔξελεγχθέντων καὶ
Κικέρωνος τοῦ ὑπάτου γνώμας ἐρωτῶντος περὶ
5 κολάσεως ἕκαστον, οἵς μὲν ἄλλοι μέχρι Καίσαρος
θανατοῦ ἐκέλευσον, δὲ Καίσαρ ἀναστὰς λόγον
διῆλθε πεφροντισμένον, ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἀκρί-
τους ἄνδρας ἀξιώματι καὶ γένει λαμπροὺς οὐ
δοκεῖ πάτριον οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι, μὴ μετὰ τῆς
ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης, εἰ δὲ φρουροῦντο δεθέντες ἐν
πόλεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀς ἀν αὐτὸς ἔληται Κικέρων,
μέχρι οὗ καταπολεμηθῇ Κατιλίνας, ὑστερον ἐν
εἰρήνῃ καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν περὶ ἔκαστου τῇ βουλῇ
γνῶναι παρέξει.

VIII. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς γνώμης φιλανθρώπου
φανείσης καὶ τοῦ λόγου δυνατῶς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ῥήθεν-
τος οὐ μόνον οἵς μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνιστάμενοι προσ-
ετίθεντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὰς
εἰρημένας γνώμας ἀπειπάμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνουν
μετέστησαν, ἔως ἐπὶ Κάτωνα τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ
Κάτλον περιῆλθε. τούτων δὲ νεανικῶς ἐναντιω-
θέντων, Κάτωνος δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἅμα τῷ
λόγῳ συνεπερέσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ συγκατεξανα-
2 στάντος ἐρρωμένως, οἵς μὲν ἄνδρες ἀποθανούμενοι
παρεδόθησαν, Καίσαρι δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξιόντι

¹ Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxii. 4 f

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having been overwhelmed by proofs of lesser iniquities before his most far reaching plans were discovered ; but he left Lentulus and Cethegus behind him in the city to promote the conspiracy in his place. Now, whether or not Caesar secretly gave these men any countenance and help, is uncertain ; but after they had been overwhelmingly convicted in the senate, and Cicero the consul asked each senator to give his opinion on the manner of their punishment, the rest, down to Caesar, urged that they be put to death, but Caesar rose in his place and delivered a long and studied speech against this. He pleaded that to put to death without legal trial men of high rank and brilliant lineage was not, in his opinion, traditional or just, except under extremest necessity ; but that if they should be bound and kept in custody, in such cities of Italy as Cicero himself might elect, until the war against Catiline had been brought to a successful end, the senate could afterwards, in a time of peace and at their leisure, vote upon the case of each one of them.

VIII. This opinion seemed so humane, and the speech in support of it was made with such power,¹ that not only those who rose to speak after Caesar sided with him, but many also of those who had preceded him took back the opinions which they had expressed and went over to his, until the question came round to Cato and Catulus. These warmly opposed Caesar's proposal, and Cato even helped to raise suspicion against Caesar by what he said.² As a result, the men were handed over to the executioner, and many of the young men who at that time formed a body-guard for Cicero ran together

² See the *Cato Minor*, chapter xxiii.

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πολλοὶ τῶν Κικέρωνα φρουρούντων τότε νέων γυμνὰ τὰ ἔιφη συνδραμόντες ἐπέσχον. ἀλλὰ Κουρίων τε λέγεται τῇ τηβέννῳ περιβαλὼν ὑπεξαγαγεῖν, αὐτός τε ὁ Κικέρων, ὡς οἱ νεανίσκοι προσέβλεψαν, ἀνανεῦσαι, φοβηθεὶς τὸν δῆμον, ἢ τὸν φόνον δλως ἄδικον καὶ παράνομον ἥγονύμενος.

- 3 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οἰδα ὅπως ὁ Κικέρων, εἰπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ὑπατείας οὐδὲ ἔγραψεν· αἰτίαν δὲ εἶχεν ὕστερον ὡς ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ τότε παρασχόντι κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος μὴ χρησάμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποδειλιώσας τὸν δῆμον ὑπερφυῶς περιεχόμενον τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὃς γε καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν Βουλὴν εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐν ὑποψίᾳς ἦν ἀπολογουμένου καὶ περιπέπτοντος θορύβους πονηροῖς, ἐπειδὴ πλείων τοῦ συνήθους ἐγίγνετο τῇ Βουλῇ καθεξούμενῃ χρόνος, ἐπῆλθε μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ περιέστη τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀπαιτῶν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύων ἀφέναι. διὸ καὶ Κάτων φοβηθεὶς μάλιστα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων νεώτερισμόν, οὐ τοῦ παντὸς ὑπέκκαυμα πλήθους ήσαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, ἐπεισε τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπονεῖμαι σιτηρέσιον αὐτοῖς ἔμμηνον, ἐξ οὐδαπάνης μὲν ἐπτακόσιαι πεντήκοonta μυριάδες ἐνιαύσιοι προσεγίνοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναλώμασι, τὸν μέντοι μέγαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φόβον ἔσβεσε περιφανῶς τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπέρρηξε τῆς Καίσαρος δυνάμεως καὶ

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with drawn swords and threatened Caesar as he was leaving the senate. But Curio, as we are told, threw his toga round Caesar and got him away, while Cicero himself, when the young men looked to him for a sign, shook his head, either through fear of the people, or because he thought the murder would be wholly contrary to law and justice.

Now, if this is true, I do not see why Cicero did not mention it in the treatise on his consulship;¹ however, he was afterwards blamed for not having improved that best of all opportunities for removing Caesar. Instead, he showed a cowardly fear of the people, who were extravagantly attached to Caesar; in fact, a few days afterward, when Caesar came into the senate and tried to defend himself in the matters wherein suspicion had been fixed upon him, and met with a tumult of disapproval, the people, seeing that the session of the senate was lasting a longer time than usual, came up with loud cries and surrounded the senate-house, demanding Caesar, and ordering the senate to let him go. It was for this reason, too, that Cato, fearing above all things a revolutionary movement set on foot by the poorer classes, who were setting the whole multitude on fire with the hopes which they fixed upon Caesar, persuaded the senate to assign them a monthly allowance of grain, in consequence of which an annual outlay of seven million five hundred thousand drachmas was added to the other expenditures of the state.² However, the great fear which prevailed at the time was manifestly quenched by this measure, and the greatest part of Caesar's power was broken down and dissipated.

¹ No longer extant.

² Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxvi. 1.

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διεσκέδασεν ἐν καιρῷ, στρατηγεῖν μέλλοντος καὶ φοβερωτέρου διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅντος.

IX. Οὐ μὴν ἀπέβη τι ταραχῶδες ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχη τις ἄχαρις τῷ Καίσαρι συνηνέχθη περὶ τὸν οἰκον. Πόπλιος Κλάδιος ἦν ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν εὐπατρίδης καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ λαμπρός, ὕβρει δὲ καὶ θρασύτητι τῶν ἐπὶ βδελυρίᾳ 2 περιβοήτων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος. οὗτος ἴρα Πομπηίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἀκούσης. ἀλλὰ φυλακαὶ τε τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀκριβεῖς ἦσαν, ἡ τε μῆτηρ τοῦ Καίσαρος Αὔρηλία, γυνὴ σώφρων, περιέπουσα τὴν νύμφην ἀεὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ παρακεκιυδυνευμένην αὐτοῖς ἐποίει τὴν ἔντευξιν.

3 "Εστι δὲ ᾿Ρωμαίοις θεὸς ἦν ᾿Αγαθὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὁσπερ ᾿Ελληνες Γυναικείαν. καὶ Φρύγες μὲν οἰκειούμενοι Μίδα μητέρα τοῦ βασιλέως γενέσθαι φασί, ᾿Ρωμαῖοι δὲ νύμφην Δρυάδα Φαύνῳ συνοικήσασαν, ᾿Ελληνες δὲ τῶν Διονύσου μητέρων τῇι ἄρρητον. δθεν ἀμπελίνοις τε τὰς σκηνὰς κλήμασιν ἔορτάζουσαι κατερέφουσι, καὶ δράκων ἵερὸς παρακαθίδρυται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον. ἄνδρα δὲ προσελθεῖν οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι τῶν ἵερῶν ὄργιαζομένων· αὐταὶ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὰς αἱ γυναικες πολλὰ τcsis Ὁρφικοῖς ὁμολογοῦντα δρᾶν λέγονται περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν.
4 δταν οὖν ὁ τῆς ἔορτῆς καθήκη χρόνος, ὑπατεύοντος ἡ στρατηγοῦντος ἀνδρός, αὐτὸς μὲν ἔξι-

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pated in the nick of time, since he was praetor elect,¹ and would be more formidable on account of his office.

IX. However, there were no disturbances in consequence of Caesar's praetorship, but an unpleasant incident happened in his family. Publius Clodius was a man of patrician birth, and conspicuous for wealth and eloquence, but in insolence and effrontery he surpassed all the notorious scoundrels of his time. This man was in love with Pompeia the wife of Caesar, and she was not unwilling. But close watch was kept upon the women's apartments, and Aurelia, Caesar's mother, a woman of discretion, would never let the young wife out of her sight, and made it difficult and dangerous for the lovers to have an interview.

Now, the Romans have a goddess whom they call Bona, corresponding to the Greek Gynaecia. The Phrygians claim this goddess as their own, and say that she was the mother of King Midas; the Romans say she was a Dryad nymph and the wife of Faunus; the Greeks that she was the unnameable one among the mothers of Dionysus. And this is the reason why the women cover their booths with vine-branches when they celebrate her festival, and why a sacred serpent is enthroned beside the goddess in conformity with the myth. It is not lawful for a man to attend the sacred ceremonies, nor even to be in the house when they are celebrated; but the women, apart by themselves, are said to perform many rites during their sacred service which are Orphic in their character. Accordingly, when the time for the festival is at hand, the consul or praetor at whose house it is to be held goes away, and every male with him,

¹ For the year 62 B.C.

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σταται καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν, ἥ δὲ γυνὴ τὴν οἰκίαν παραλαβοῦσα διακεῖται, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα πάντωρ τελεῖται, παιδιᾶς ἀναμεμιγμένης ταῖς πανυχίσι καὶ μουσικῆς ἄμα πολλῆς παρούσης.

Χ. Γάρτην τότε τὴν ἑρτὴν τῆς Πομπηίας ἐπιτελούσης, ὁ Κλαδίος οὕπω γενειῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λήσειν οἰόμενος ἐσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλτίας ἀναλαβὼν ἔχωρει, νέα γυναικὶ τὴν δψιν ἐοικώς, καὶ ταῖς δύραις ἐπιτυχὼν ἀνεψιγμέναις εἰσῆχθη μὲν ἀδεῶν ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδούσας θεραπαινίδος, ἐκείνης δὲ προδραμούσης ὡς τῇ Πομπηίᾳ φράσεις, καὶ γενομένης διατριβῆς, περιμένειν μὲν ὅπου κατελεύθη τῷ Κλαδίῳ μὴ καρτεροῦντι, πλανωμένῳ δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ περιφεύγοντι τὰ φῶτα προσπεσοῦσα τῆς Αὔρηλίας ἀκόλουθος ὡς δὴ γυνὴ γυναικὰ παίζειν προύκαλεντο, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς τὸ μέσον εἶλκε, καὶ τίς ἔστι καὶ πόθεν ἐπυνθάνετο. τοῦ δὲ Κλαδίου φήσαντος Ἀβραν περιμένεν Πομπηίας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο καλουμένην, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ γενομένου καταφανοῦς, ἥ μὲν ἀκόλουθος εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδησε κραυγῇ πρὸς τὰ φῶτα καὶ τὸν δχλον, ἀνδρα πεφωρακέναι βοῶσα, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν διαπτοηθεισῶν ἡ Αὔρηλία τὰ μὲν ὅργια τῆς θεοῦ κατέπαυσε καὶ συνεκάλυψεν, αὐτὴ δὲ τὰς θύρας ἀποκλεῖσται κελεύσασα περιήει τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπὸ λαμπάδων, 4 ζητοῦσα τὸν Κλαδίον. εὑρίσκεται δὲ εἰς οἰκημα παιδίσκης ἥ συνεισῆλθε καταπεφευγώς· καὶ γενόμενος φανερὸς ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔξελαύνεται διὰ τῶν θυρῶν. τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα καὶ νυκτὸς εὐθὺς αἱ γυναικες ἀπιοῦσαι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔφραζον

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while his wife takes possession of the premises and puts them in due array. The most important rites are celebrated by night, when mirth attends the revels, and much music, too, is heard.

X. At the time of which I speak, Pompeia was celebrating this festival, and Clodius, who was still beardless and on this account thought to pass unnoticed, assumed the dress and implements of a lute-girl and went to the house, looking like a young woman. He found the door open, and was brought in safely by the maid-servant there, who was in the secret; but after she had run on ahead to tell Pompeia and some time had elapsed, Clodius had not the patience to wait where he had been left, and so, as he was wandering about in the house (a large one) and trying to avoid the lights, an attendant of Aurelia came upon him and asked him to play with her, as one woman would another, and when he refused, she dragged him forward and asked who he was and whence he came. Clodius answered that he was waiting for Pompeia's Abra (this was the very name by which the maid was called), and his voice betrayed him. The attendant of Aurelia at once sprang away with a scream to the lights and the throng, crying out that she had caught a man. The women were panic stricken, and Aurelia put a stop to the mystic rites of the goddess and covered up the emblems. Then she ordered the doors to be closed and went about the house with torches, searching for Clodius. He was found where he had taken refuge, in the chamber of the girl who had let him into the house; and when they saw who he was, the women drove him out of doors. Then at once, and in the night, they went off and

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ἀνδράστι, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἔχώρει διὰ τῆς πόλεως λόγος ὡς ἀθέσμοις ἐπικεχειρηκότος τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ δίκην οὐ τοῖς ὑβρισμένοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 5 τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς δικείλοντος. ἐγράψατο μὲν οὖν τὸν Κλώδιον εἰς τῶν δημάρχων ἀσεβείας, καὶ συνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Βουλῆς, ἀλλας τε δεινὰς ἀσελγείας καταμαρτυροῦντες καὶ μοιχεύαν ἀδελφῆς, ἢ Λευκούλλῳ συνῳκήκει. πρὸς δὲ τὰς τούτων σπουδὰς ὁ δῆμος ἀντιτάξας ἑαυτὸν ἥμυνε τῷ Κλωδίῳ, καὶ 6 μέγα πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ὄφελος ἦν ἐκπεπληγμένους καὶ δεδοικότας τὸ πλῆθος. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρας ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν Πομπηίαν, μάρτυς δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίκην κληθεὶς οὐδὲν ἔφη τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου γυγνώσκειν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ λόγου παραδόξου φανέντος ὁ κατήγορος ἤρωτησε, “Πῶς οὖν ἀπεπέμψω τὴν γυναῖκα;” ““Οτι,” ἔφη, “τὴν ἐμὴν ἡξίουν μηδὲ ὑπονοηθῆναι.”

Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν οὕτω φρονοῦντα τὸν Καίσαρα λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν, οἱ δὲ τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενον ὡρ- 7 μημένῳ σώζειν τὸν Κλώδιον. ἀποφεύγει δ' οὖν τὸ ἔγκλημα τῶν πλείστων δικαστῶν συγκεχυμένους τοῖς γράμμασι τὰς γυνώμας ἀποδόντων, δπως μήτε παρακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς καταψηφισάμενοι μήτε ἀπολύσαντες ἀδοξήσωσι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις.

XI. ‘Ο δὲ Καίσαρας εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν λαβών, ὡς ἦν δυσδιά-

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told the matter to their husbands, and when day came a report spread through the city that Clodius had committed sacrilege and owed satisfaction, not only to those whom he had insulted, but also to the city and to the gods. Accordingly, one of the tribunes of the people indicted Clodius for sacrilege, and the most influential senators leagued themselves together and bore witness against him that, among other shocking abominations, he had committed adultery with his sister, who was the wife of Lucullus. But against the eager efforts of these men the people arrayed themselves in defence of Clodius, and were of great assistance to him with the jurors in the case, who were terror-stricken and afraid of the multitude. Caesar divorced Pompeia at once, but when he was summoned to testify at the trial, he said he knew nothing about the matters with which Clodius was charged. His statement appeared strange, and the prosecutor therefore asked, "Why, then, didst thou divorce thy wife?" "Because," said Caesar, "I thought my wife ought not even to be under suspicion."¹

Some say that Caesar made this deposition honestly; but according to others it was made to gratify the people, who were determined to rescue Clodius. At any rate, Clodius was acquitted of the charge, the majority of the jurors giving their verdicts in illegible writing, in order that they might neither risk their lives with the populace by condemning him, nor get a bad name among the nobility by acquitting him.¹

XI. Immediately after his praetorship Caesar received Spain as his province, and since he found it

¹ The sacrilege and trial of Clodius are described at length also in the *Cicero*, chapters xxviii. and xxix.

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θετον αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς ἐνοχλοῦντας
ἔξιόντι καὶ καταβοῶντας, ἐπὶ Κράσσου κατέφυγε
πλουσιώτατον ὄντα Ῥωμαίων, δεδμενον δὲ τῆς
Καίσαρος ἀκμῆς καὶ θερμότητος ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς
Πομπήιον ἀντιπολιτείαν. ἀναδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ
Κράσσου τοὺς μᾶλιστα χαλεπούς καὶ ἀπαραιτή-
τους τῶν δανειστῶν καὶ διεγγυήσαντος ὁκτακο-
σίων καὶ τριάκοντα ταλάντων, οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ¹
τὴν ἐπαρχίαν.

- 2 Λέγεται δέ, τὰς "Αλπεις ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ
καὶ πολλιχιόν τι βαρβαρικὸν οἰκούμενον ὑπὸ²
ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν ὀλίγων καὶ λυπρὸν παρερ-
χομένου, τοὺς ἑταίρους ἅμα γέλωτι καὶ μετὰ
παιδιᾶς "Ἡ που" φάναι "κάνταῦθά τινές εἰσιν
ὑπὲρ ἀρχῶν φιλοτιμίαι καὶ περὶ πρωτείων ἅμαλ-
λαι καὶ φθόνοι τῶν δυνατῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους;"
τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα σπουδάσαντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπένι,
"Ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβούλομην παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι μᾶλλον
3 πρώτος ἢ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους δεύτερος." ὁμοίως δὲ
πάλιν ἐν Ἱβηρίᾳ σχολῆς οὖσης ἀναγυνώσκοντά
τι τῶν περὶ Ἀλεξανδρού γεγραμμένων σφόδρα
γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτῷ πολὺν χρόνον, εἴτα καὶ δα-
κρύσαι τῶν δὲ φίλων θαυμασάντων τὴν αἰτίαν
εἰπεῖν. "Οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν ἄξιον εἶναι λύπης, εἰ τηλι-
κοῦτος μὲν ὁν Ἀλέξανδρος ἥδη τοσούτων ἐβασί-
λευεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὔπω πέπρακται;"
XII. Τῆς γοῦν Ἱβηρίας ἐπιβὰς εὐθὺς ἦν ἐνερ-
γός, ὕστερον δέκα σπείρας συνα-
γαγεῖν πρὸς τὰς πρότερον οὖσας εἴκοσι, καὶ
στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Καλλαΐκονς καὶ Λυσιτανοὺς κρα-

¹ Early in 61 B.C.

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hard to arrange matters with his creditors, who obstructed his departure and were clamorous, he had recourse to Crassus, the richest of the Romans, who had need of Caesar's vigour and fire for his political campaign against Pompey. And it was only after Crassus had met the demands of the most importunate and inexorable of these creditors and given surety for eight hundred and thirty talents, that Caesar could go out to his province.¹

We are told that, as he was crossing the Alps and passing by a barbarian village which had very few inhabitants and was a sorry sight, his companions asked with mirth and laughter, "Can it be that here too there are ambitious strifes for office, struggles for primacy, and mutual jealousies of powerful men?" Whereupon Caesar said to them in all seriousness, "I would rather be first here than second at Rome." In like manner we are told again that, in Spain, when he was at leisure and was reading from the history of Alexander, he was lost in thought for a long time, and then burst into tears. His friends were astonished, and asked the reason for his tears. "Do you not think," said he, "it is matter for sorrow that while Alexander, at my age, was already king of so many peoples, I have as yet achieved no brilliant success?"²

XII. At any rate, as soon as he reached Spain he set himself to work, and in a few days raised ten cohorts in addition to the twenty which were there before. Then he led his army against the Callaici

¹ Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 7) and Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 52, 2) connect this anecdote more properly with Caesar's quaestorship in Spain (67 B C.), when he was thirty-three years of age, the age at which Alexander died.

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- τῆσαι καὶ προελθεῖν ἄχρι τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης τὰ μὴ πρότερον ὑπακούοντα Ῥωμαίοις ἔθνη καταστρεφόμενος. Θέμενος δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καλῶς, οὐ χείρον ἐβράβευε τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὅμονοιάν τε ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστάς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τῶν χρεωφειλετῶν καὶ δανειστῶν ἵώμενος διαφοράς.
- 2 ἔταξε γάρ τῶν προσιόντων τοὺς ὀφείλουσι καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν δύο μὲν μέρη τὸν δανειστὴν ἀναιρέσθαι, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν δεσπότην, ἄχρι ἂν οὕτως ἐκλυθῇ τὸ δάνειον. ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐδοκιμῶν ἀπηλλάγῃ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, αὐτός τε πλούσιος γεγονὼς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀφεληκὼς ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν, καὶ προσηγορευμένος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν.
- XIII. Ἐπειδὲ τοὺς μὲν μυωμένους θρίαμβον ἔξω διατρίβειν ἔδει, τοὺς δὲ μετιόντας ὑπατείαν παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦτο πράττειν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ γεγονὼς ἀντινομίᾳ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς ὑπατικὰς ἀφιγμένους ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον αἰτούμενος αὐτῷ δοθῆναι παραγγέλλειν εἰς ὑπατείαν ἀπόντι διὰ τῶν φίλων. Κάτωνος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἴσχυριζομένου τῷ νόμῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν, εἴτα, ὡς ἔώρα πολλοὺς τεθεραπευμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐκκρούσαντος τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ λέγειν κατατρίψαντος, ἔγνω τὸν θρίαμβον ὀφεις ὁ Καίσαρ
- 2 ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὑπατείας. καὶ παρελθὼν εὐθὺς ὑποδύνεται πολίτευμά τι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔξαπατῆσαι πλὴν Κάτωνος. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο διαλλαγὴ Πομπηίου καὶ Κράσσου τῶν μέγιστους ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναμένων· οὓς συναγαγάγων ὁ Καίσαρ εἰς φιλίαν

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and Lusitani, overpowered them, and marched on as far as the outer sea, subduing the tribes which before were not obedient to Rome. After bringing the war to a successful close, he was equally happy in adjusting the problems of peace, by establishing concord between the cities, and particularly by healing the dissensions between debtors and creditors. For he ordained that the creditor should annually take two thirds of his debtor's income, and that the owner of the property should use the rest, and so on until the debt was cancelled. In high repute for this administration he retired from the province; he had become wealthy himself, had enriched his soldiers from their campaigns, and had been saluted by them as *Imperator*.

XIII. Now, since those who sued for the privilege of a triumph must remain outside the city, while those who were candidates for the consulship must be present in the city, Caesar was in a great dilemma, and because he had reached home at the very time for the consular elections, he sent a request to the senate that he might be permitted to offer himself for the consulship *in absentia*, through the agency of his friends. But since Cato began by insisting upon the law in opposition to Caesar's request, and then, when he saw that many senators had been won over by Caesar's attentions, staved the matter off by consuming the day in speaking, Caesar decided to give up the triumph and try for the consulship. So as soon as he entered the city he assumed a policy which deceived everyone except Cato. This policy was to reconcile Pompey and Crassus, the most influential men in the city. These men Caesar brought together in friendship after their quarrel, and by

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ἐκ διαφορᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν συνενεγκάμενος
ἰσχὺν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ἔργῳ φιλάνθρωπου ἔχοντι προσ-
3 ηγορίαν ἔλαβε μεταστήσας τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ .
γάρ, ὡς οἱ πλεῦστοι νομίζουσιν, ἡ Καίσαρος καὶ
Πομπηίου διαφορὰ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους ἀπειργάσατο
πολέμους, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φιλία, συστάντων ἐπὶ
καταλύσει τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας τὸ πρώτον, εἴτα
οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαστάντων. Κάτωνι
δὲ πολλάκις τὰ μέλλοντα προθεσπίζοντι περιῆν
δυσκόλουν μὲν ἀνθρώπουν τότε καὶ πολυπράγμονος,
ὕστερον δὲ φρονίμουν μέν, οὐκ εὔτυχοῦς δὲ συμ-
βούλου λαβεῖν δόξαν.

XIV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς
Κράσσου καὶ Πομπηίου φιλίας δορυφορούμενος
ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν κατήχθη· καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀνα-
γορευθεὶς μετὰ Καλπουρίου Βύβλου καὶ κατα-
στὰς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς εἰσέφερε νόμους οὐχ
ὑπάτῳ προσήκοντας, ἀλλὰ δημάρχῳ τινὶ θραυσ-
τάτῳ, πρὸς ἥδονὴν τῶν πολλῶν κληρουχίας τιὰς
2 χώρας καὶ διανομὰς εἰσηγούμενος. ἐν δὲ τῷ
βουλῇ τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀντικρουσάντων,
πάλαι δεόμενος προφάσεως, ἀνακραγὴν καὶ μαρ-
τυράμενος ὡς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἄκων ἐξελαύνοιτο
θεραπεύσων ἐκεῖνον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὕβρει καὶ χαλε-
πότητι τῆς βουλῆς, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξεπιήδησε· καὶ
περιστησάμενος ἔνθεν μὲν Κράσσου, ἔνθεν δὲ
Πομπηίου, ἡρώτησεν εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐπαινοῦνεν.
3 ἐπαινεῖν δὲ φασκόντων, παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἐνίστασθαι μετὰ ξιφῶν ἀπειλοῦντας. ἐκεῖνοι

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concentrating their united strength upon himself, succeeded, before men were aware of it, and by an act which could be called one of kindness, in changing the form of government. For it was not, as most men supposed, the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey that brought on the civil wars, but rather their friendship, since they worked together for the overthrow of the aristocracy in the first place, and then, when this had been accomplished, they quarrelled with one another. And Cato, who often foretold what was to come of their alliance, got the reputation of a morose and troublesome fellow at the time, but afterwards that of a wise, though unfortunate, counsellor.¹

XIV. Caesar, however, encompassed and protected by the friendship of Crassus and Pompey, entered the canvass for the consulship ; and as soon as he had been triumphantly elected, along with Calpurnius Bibulus, and had entered upon his office,² he proposed laws which were becoming, not for a consul, but for a most radical tribune of the people ; for to gratify the multitude he introduced sundry allotments and distributions of land. In the senate the opposition of men of the better sort gave him the pretext which he had long desired, and crying with loud adjurations that he was driven forth into the popular assembly against his wishes, and was compelled to court its favour by the insolence and obstinacy of the senate, he hastened before it, and stationing Crassus on one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them if they approved his laws. They declared that they did approve them, whereupon he urged them to give him their aid against those who threatened to oppose

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, xlvi. 1-5

² In 59 B.C.

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δὲ ὑπισχυοῦντο· Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ προσεπεῖπεν ὡς ἀφίξοιτο πρὸς τὰ ξέφη μετὰ τοῦ ξέφους καὶ θυρεὸν κομίζων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοὺς μὲν ἀριστοκρατικοὺς ἡνίασεν, οὐκ ἀξίαν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν αἰδοῦς, οὐδὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εὐλαβείας πρέπουσαν, ἀλλὰ μανικὴν καὶ μειρακιώδη φωνὴν ἀκούσαντας, ὃ δὲ δῆμος ἤσθη.

4 Καίσαρ δὲ μειζόνως ἔτι τῆς Πομπηίου δυνάμεως ὑποδρατόμενος, ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ Ἰουλίᾳ θυγάτηρ ἐγγεγυημένη Σερουιλίω Καιπίωνι, ταύτην ἐνεγγύησε Πομπηῖω, τὴν δὲ Πομπηίου τῷ Σερουιλίω δώσειν ἔφησεν, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν ἀνέγγυον οὐσαν, ἀλλὰ Φαύστῳ τῷ Σύλλα παιδὶ καθωμολογημένην.

5 ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Καίσαρ ἥγαγετο Καλπουρνίαν θυγατέρα Πείσωνος, τὸν δὲ Πείσωνα κατέστησεν ἥπατον εἰς τὸ μέλλον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ σφόδρα μαρτυρομένου Κάτωνος καὶ βοῶντος οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι, γάμοις διαμαστροπευομένης τῆς ἥγεμονίας καὶ διὰ γυναιών εἰς ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ δυνάμεις ἀλλήλους ἀντεισαγόντων.

6 ‘Ο μὲν οὖν συνάρχων τοῦ Καίσαρος Βύβλος, ἐπεὶ καλύνων τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲν ἐπέραυνεν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευε μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐγκλειστάμενος οἴκοι τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διετέλεσε. Πομπήιος δὲ γῆμας εὐθὺς ἐνέπλησε τὴν ἀγορὰν δόπλων καὶ συνεπεκύρου τῷ δῆμῳ τοὺς νόμους, Καίσαρι δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων καὶ τὴν ἔκτὸς ἄπασαν Κελτικήν, προσθεὶς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν μετὰ ταγμάτων τεσσάρων εἰς πενταετίαν. Κάτωνα μὲν οὖν ἐπιχειρήσαντα τούτους ἀντιλέγεν ἀπῆγεν εἰς φυλακὴν ὁ Καίσαρ, οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπικαλέσεσθαι τοὺς δημάρχους· ἐκείνου δὲ

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him with swords. They promised him such aid, and Pompey actually added that he would come up against swords with sword and buckler too. At this impulsive and mad speech, unworthy of the high esteem in which Pompey stood and unbecoming to the respect which was due to the senate, the nobility were distressed but the populace were delighted.

Moreover, Caesar tried to avail himself still more of the influence of Pompey. He had a daughter, Julia, who was betrothed to Servilius Caepio. This daughter he betrothed to Pompey, and said he would give Pompey's daughter in marriage to Servilius, although she too was not unbetrothed, but had been promised to Faustus, the son of Sulla. And a little while afterwards Caesar took Calpurnia to wife, a daughter of Piso, and got Piso made consul for the coming year, although here too Cato vehemently protested, and cried out that it was intolerable to have the supreme power prostituted by marriage alliances and to see men helping one another to powers and armies and provinces by means of women.

As for Caesar's colleague, Bibulus, since he availed nothing by obstructing Caesar's laws, but often ran the risk with Cato of being killed in the forum, he shut himself up at home for the remainder of his term of office. Pompey, however, immediately after his marriage, filled the forum with armed men and helped the people to enact Caesar's laws and give him as his consular province Gaul on both sides of the Alps for five years, together with Illyricum and four legions. Cato, of course, tried to speak against these measures, but Caesar had him led off to prison, supposing that he would appeal to the popular tribunes; but when Cato walked off without a word and Caesar

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ἀφώνου βαδίζοντος ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ μόνον τοὺς κρατίστους δυσφοροῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν αἰδοῦ τῆς Κάτωνος ἀρετῆς σιωπῆ καὶ μετὰ κατηφείας ἐπόμενου, αὐτὸς ἐδεήθη κρύφα τῶν δημάρχων ἐνδιάφελέσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα.

8 Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν διλίγοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ συνήεσαν εἰς βουλήν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκποδῶν ἥσαν. εἰπόντος δὲ Κουσιδίου τινὸς τῶν σφόδρα γερόντων ὡς φοβούμενοι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐ συνέρχοιντο, “Τί οὖν,” ἔφη ὁ Καῖσαρ, “οὐ καὶ σὺ ταῦτα δεδιώς οἴκουρεῖς;” καὶ ὁ Κουσιδίος εἶπεν “Οτι με ποιεῖ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ γῆρας· ὁ γάρ ἔτι λειπόμενος βίος οὐ πολλῆς διλίγος ὁν δεῖται προνοίας.”

9 αἰσχιστον δὲ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἔδοξεν ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος ὑπατείᾳ δήμαρχον αἰρεθῆναι Κλώδιου ἐκείνου, ὑφ' οὗ τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήτους παρενομήθη παννυχίδας. ἥρεθη δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ Κικέρωνος καταλύσει καὶ Καῖσαρ οὐ πρότερον ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ καταστασίασαι Κικέρωνα μετὰ Κλωδίου καὶ συνεκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

XV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν λέγεται γενέσθαι τὰ πρὸ τῶν Γαλατικῶν. ὁ δὲ τῶν πολέμων οὓς ἐπολέμησε μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν στρατειῶν αἷς ἡμερώσατο τὴν Κελτικήν, χρόνος, ὥσπερ ἄλλην ἀρχὴν λαβόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταστάντος εἰς ἐπέραν τινὰ βίου καὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν ὁδοίν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτου τῶν μάλιστα τεθαυμασμένων ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ μεγίστων γεγονότων ἀπολείποντα 2 πολεμιστὴν καὶ στρατηλάτην ἀπέδειξεν αὐτόν,

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saw not only that the most influential men were displeased, but also that the populace, out of respect for Cato's virtue, were following him in silence and with downcast looks, he himself secretly asked one of the tribunes to take Cato out of arrest.

Of the other senators, only a very few used to go with Caesar to the senate; the rest, in displeasure, stayed away. Considius, a very aged senator, once told Caesar that his colleagues did not come together because they were afraid of the armed soldiers. "Why, then," said Caesar, "dost thou too not stay at home out of the same fear?" To this Considius replied: "Because my old age makes me fearless; for the short span of life that is still left me does not require much anxious thought." But the most disgraceful public measure of the time was thought to be the election to the tribuneship, during Caesar's consulate, of the notorious Clodius, who had trespassed upon his rights as a husband, and upon the secret nocturnal vigils. He was elected, however, for the overthrow of Cicero; and Caesar did not go forth upon his campaign until, with the help of Clodius, he had raised a successful faction against Cicero and driven him out of Italy.¹

XV. Such, then, is said to have been the course of Caesar's life before his Gallic campaigns. But the period of the wars which he afterwards fought, and of the campaigns by which he subjugated Gaul, as if he had made another beginning and entered upon a different path of life and one of new achievements, proved him to be inferior as soldier and commander to no one soever of those who have won most admiration for leadership and shown themselves

¹ Cf. the *Cicero*, chapters xxx. and xxxi.

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ἀλλ' εἴτε Φαβίους καὶ Σκηπίωνας καὶ Μετέλλους
καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἡ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ,
Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριου ἀμφοτέρους τε Λευκούλλους
ἡ καὶ Πομπήιον αὐτόν, οὐ κλέος ὑπουράνιον ἦνθει
τότε παντοίας περὶ πόλεμον ἀρετῆς, παραβάλοι
τις, αἱ Καίσαρος ὑπερβάλλουσι πράξεις τὸν μὲν
χαλεπότητι τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐπολέμησε, τὸν δὲ μεγέ-
θει χώρας ἦν προσεκτήσατο, τὸν δὲ πλήθει καὶ
3 βίᾳ πολεμίων οὖς ἐνίκησε, τὸν δὲ ἀτοπίαις καὶ
ἀπιστίαις ἥθῶν ἀ καθωμίλησε, τὸν δὲ ἐπιεικείᾳ
καὶ πρᾳότητι πρὸς τοὺς ἀλισκομένους, τὸν δὲ
δώροις καὶ χάρισι πρὸς τοὺς συστρατευομένους,
πάντας δὲ τῷ πλείστας μεμαχῆσθαι μάχας καὶ
πλείστους ἀνηρηκέναι τῶν ἀντιταχθέντων. ἔτη
γὰρ οὐδὲ δέκα πολεμήσας περὶ Γαλατίαν πόλεις
μὲν ὑπὲρ ὁκτακοσίας κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν, ἔθνη δὲ
ἐχειρώσατο τριακόσια, μυριάσι δὲ παραταξάμε-
νος κατὰ μέρος τριακοσίαις ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐν χερσὶ³
διέφθειρεν, ἄλλας δὲ τοσαύτας ἐξώγρησεν.

XVI. Εὔνοίᾳ δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν
ἐχρήσατο τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν ὥστε τοὺς ἐτέρων
μηδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις στρατείαις διαφέροντας
ἀμάχους καὶ ἀνυποστάτους φέρεσθαι πρὸς πᾶν
δεινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος δόξης. οὗτος ἦν τούτο
μὲν Ἀκίλιος, διὸ ἐν τῇ περὶ Μασσαλίαν ναυμαχίᾳ
νεώς πολεμίας ἐπιβεβηκὼς τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἀπε-
κόπη χεῖρα μαχαίρᾳ, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τὸν θυρεὸν οὐκ
ἀφῆκεν, ἄλλὰ τύπτων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τοὺς

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greatest therein. Nay, if one compare him with such men as Fabius and Scipio and Metellus, and with the men of his own time or a little before him, like Sulla, Marius, the two Luculli, or even Pompey himself, whose fame for every sort of military excellence was at this time flowering out and reaching to the skies, Caesar will be found to surpass them all in his achievements. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the regions where he waged his wars; another in the great extent of country which he acquired; another in the multitude and might of the enemies over whom he was victorious; another in the savage manners and perfidious dispositions of the people whom he conciliated; another in his reasonableness and mildness towards his captives; another still in the gifts and favours which he bestowed upon his soldiers; and all in the fact that he fought the most battles and killed the most enemies. For although it was not full ten years that he waged war in Gaul, he took by storm more than eight hundred cities, subdued three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three million men, of whom he slew one million in hand to hand fighting and took as many more prisoners.

XVI. His soldiers showed such good will and zeal in his service that those who in their previous campaigns had been in no way superior to others were invincible and irresistible in confronting every danger to enhance Caesar's fame. Such a man, for instance, was Acilius, who, in the sea-fight at Massalia,¹ boarded a hostile ship and had his right hand cut off with a sword, but clung with the other hand to his shield, and dashing it into the faces of

¹ Described by Caesar in *Bell. Cw.* ii 4-7.

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πολεμίους ἀπέστρεψε πάντας καὶ τοῦ σκάφους
2 ἐπεκράτησε τοῦτο δὲ Κάσσιος Σκεύας, ὃς ἐν τῇ
περὶ Δυρράχιον μάχῃ τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν ἔκκοπτεις
τοξεύματι, τὸν δὲ ὡμον ὑσσῷ καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἐτέρῳ
διεληλαμένος, τῷ δὲ θυρεῷ βελῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
τριάκοντα πληγὰς ἀναδεδεγμένος, ἐκάλει τοὺς
πολεμίους ως παραδώσων ἑαυτόν. δυεῖν δὲ
προσιόντων, τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκοψε τὸν ὡμον τῇ
μαχαίρᾳ, τὸν δὲ κατὰ τὸν προσώπου πατάξας
ἀπέστρεψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διεσώθη τῶν οἰκείων περι-
3 σχόντων. ἐν δὲ Βρετταιίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τόπον
ἐλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὑδάτων ἐμπεσούσι τοὺς πρώ-
τους ταξιάρχοις ἐπιθεμένων στρατιώτης, Καί-
σαρος αὐτοῦ τὴν μάχην ἐφορῶντος, ὥστα μενος εἰς
μέσους καὶ πολλὰ καὶ περιόπτα τόλμης ἀποδει-
ξάμενος ἔργα τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους ἔσωσε, τῶν
βαρβάρων φυγόντων, αὐτὸς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι
διαβαίνων ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς φεύματα τελματώδη,
καὶ μόλις ἄνευ τοῦ θυρεοῦ, τὰ μὲν νηχόμενος, τὰ
4 δὲ βαδίζων, διεπέρασε. Θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν
περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ κραυγῆς
ἀπαντώντων, αὐτὸς εὖ μάλα κατηφῆς καὶ δεδα-
κρυμένος προσέπεσε τῷ Καίσαρι, συγγρυώμην αἰ-
τούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ προέσθαι τὸν θυρέον. ἐν δὲ
Λιβύῃ ναῦν ἐλόντες οἱ περὶ Σκηπίωνα Καίσαρος,
ἐν ἦ Γράνιος Πέτρων ἐπέπλει ταμίας ἀποδει-
γμένος, τὸν μὲν ἄλλους ἐποιοῦντο λείαν, τῷ δὲ
ταμίᾳ διδόναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔφασαν. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν
ὅτι τοῖς Καίσαρος στρατιώταις οὐ λαμβάνειν,
ἄλλα διδόναι σωτηρίαν ἔθος ἐστίν, ἑαυτὸν τῷ
ξίφει πατάξας ἀνεῖλε.

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his foes, routed them all and got possession of the vessel. Such a man, again, was Cassius Scaeva, who, in the battle at Dyrrhachium, had his eye struck out with an arrow, his shoulder transfixed with one javelin and his thigh with another, and received on his shield the blows of one hundred and thirty missiles. In this plight, he called the enemy to him as though he would surrender. Two of them, accordingly, coming up, he lopped off the shoulder of one with his sword, smote the other in the face and put him to flight, and came off safely himself with the aid of his comrades.¹ Again, in Britain, when the enemy had fallen upon the foremost centurions, who had plunged into a watery marsh, a soldier, while Caesar in person was watching the battle, dashed into the midst of the fight, displayed many conspicuous deeds of daring, and rescued the centurions, after the Barbarians had been routed. Then he himself, making his way with difficulty after all the rest, plunged into the muddy current, and at last, without his shield, partly swimming and partly wading, got across. Caesar and his company were amazed and came to meet the soldier with cries of joy; but he, in great dejection, and with a burst of tears, cast himself at Caesar's feet, begging pardon for the loss of his shield. Again, in Africa, Scipio captured a ship of Caesar's in which Granius Petro, who had been appointed quaestor, was sailing. Of the rest of the passengers Scipio made booty, but told the quaestor that he offered him his life. Granius, however, remarking that it was the custom with Caesar's soldiers not to receive but to offer mercy, killed himself with a blow of his sword.

¹ Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Cor.* iii. 53

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- XVII. Τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα λήματα καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας αὐτὸς ἀνέθρεψε καὶ κατεσκεύασε Καῖσαρ, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν ἀφειδῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι τὸν πλοῦτον οὐκ εἰς τρυφὴν ἰδίαν οὐδέ τινας ἡδυπαθείας ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἀθροίζει, κοινὰ δὲ ἀθλα τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας παρ' αὐτῷ φυλασσόμενα ἀπόκειται, καὶ μέτεστιν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ πλουτεῖν ὅσα τοῖς ἀξίοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν δίδωσιν ἔπειτα τῷ πάντα μὲν κίνδυνον ἑκὰν ὑφίστασθαι, πρὸς μηδένα δὲ τῶν πόνων ὑπαγορεύειν.
- 2 τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλοκίνδυνον οὐκ ἔθαύμαζον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν· ἡ δὲ τῶν πόνων ὑπομονὴ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν ἐγκαρτερέν δοκούντος ἔξεπληττεν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἔξιν ὀν ἵσχυνδι καὶ τὴν σάρκα λευκὸς καὶ ἀπαλὸς καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν νοσώδης καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιληπτικοῖς ἔνοχος, ἐν Κιρδύβῃ πρῶτον αὐτῷ τοῦ πάθους, ὡς λέγεται, τούτου προσπεσόντος, οὐ μαλακίας
- 3 ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἄρρωστίαν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θεραπείαν τῆς ἄρρωστίας τὴν στρατείαν, ταῖς ἀτρύτοις ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ταῖς εἰ τελέσι διαιταῖς καὶ τῷ θυραυλεῖν ἐνδελεχώς καὶ ταλαιπωρεῦν ἀπομαχόμενος τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ σῶμα τηρῶν δυσάλωτον. ἐκοιμάτο μέν γε τοὺς πλείστους ὕπνους ἐν δχήμασιν ἢ φορέους, εἰς πρᾶξιν τὴν ἀνάπτωσιν κατατιθέμενος, ὡχεῖτο δὲ μεδ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς χάρακας, ἐνὸς αὐτῷ συγκαθημένου παιδὸς τῶν ὑπογράφειν ἄμα διώκοντος εἰθισμένων, ἐνὸς δ' ἔξόπισθεν ἐφεστηκότος στρατιώτους ξίφος ἔχοντος. συντόνως δὲ ἥλαυνεν οὕτως ὥστε τὴν πρώτην ἔξοδον ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ποιησάμενος ὁγδοαῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ἐλθεῖν.
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XVII. Such spirit and ambition Caesar himself created and cultivated in his men, in the first place, because he showed, by his unsparing bestowal of rewards and honours, that he was not amassing wealth from his wars for his own luxury or for any life of ease, but that he treasured it up carefully as a common prize for deeds of valour, and had no greater share in the wealth than he offered to the deserving among his soldiers; and in the second place, by willingly undergoing every danger and refusing no toil. Now, at his love of danger his men were not astonished, knowing his ambition; but that he should undergo toils beyond his body's apparent power of endurance amazed them, because he was of a spare habit, had a soft and white skin, suffered from distemper in the head, and was subject to epileptic fits, a trouble which first attacked him, we are told, in Corduba. Nevertheless, he did not make his feeble health an excuse for soft living, but rather his military service a cure for his feeble health, since by wearisome journeys, simple diet, continuously sleeping in the open air, and enduring hardships, he fought off his trouble and kept his body strong against its attacks. Most of his sleep, at least, he got in cars or litters, making his rest conduce to action, and in the day-time he would have himself conveyed to garrisons, cities, or camps, one slave who was accustomed to write from dictation as he travelled sitting by his side, and one soldier standing behind him with a sword. And he drove so rapidly that, on his first journey from Rome to Gaul, he reached the Rhone in seven days.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἵππεύειν ἐκ παιδὸς ἦν αὐτῷ ράφδιον· εἴθιστο γὰρ εἰς τούπισω τὰς χεῖρας ἀπάγων καὶ τῷ νώτῳ περιπλέκων ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνειν τὸν ἵππον. ἐν ἑκείνῃ δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ προσεξῆσκησεν ἵππαζόμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὑπαγορεύειν καὶ δυσὶν ὁμοῦ γράφουσιν ἔξαρκεῖν, ὡς δὲ "Οππιός
5 φῆσι, καὶ πλείοσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ διὰ γραμμάτων τοῖς φίλοις ὁμιλεῖν Καίσαρα πρῶτον μηχανήσασθαι, τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔντευξιν ὑπέρ τῶν ἐπειγόντων τοῦ καιροῦ διά τε πλῆθος ἀσχολιῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος μὴ περιμένοντος. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐκολίας κάκενο ποιοῦνται σημεῖον, ὅτι τοῦ δειπνίζοντος αὐτὸν ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ ξένον Οὐαλλερίου Λέοντος παραθέντος ἀσπάραγον καὶ μύρον ἀντ' ἐλαίου καταχέαντος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφελῶς ἔφαγε, τοὺς δὲ φίλοις δυσχεραίνονται στημένοι, ἔφη, "Ἡρκει γάρ," ἔφη, "τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀπαρέσκουσιν ὁ δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἄγροικίαν ἔξελέγχων αὐτὸς ἐστιν ἄγροικος." ἐν δόῳ δέ ποτε συνέλασθεὶς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς ἔπαυλιν ἀνθρώπου πένητος, ὡς οὐδὲν εὑρε πλέον οἰκήματος ἐνὸς γλίσχρως ἔνα δέξασθαι δυναμένου, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐντίμων παραχωρητέον εἶη τοῖς κρατίστοις, τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις, "Οππιον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπαύσασθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ τῷ προστεγίῳ τῆς θύρας ἐκάθευδεν.

XVIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτῷ τῶν Κελτικῶν πολέμων πρὸς Ἐλβηττίους συνέστη καὶ Τιγρύνους, οἱ τὰς αὐτῶν δώδεκα πόλεις καὶ κώμας τετρακοσίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἔχώρουν πρόσω

CAESAR

Horsemanship, moreover, had been easy for him from boyhood; for he was wont to put his hands behind his back and, holding them closely there, to ride his horse at full speed. And in the Gallic campaigns he practised dictating letters on horseback and keeping two scribes at once busy, or, as Oppius says, even more. We are told, moreover, that Caesar was the first to devise intercourse with his friends by letter, since he could not wait for personal interviews on urgent matters owing to the multitude of his occupations and the great size of the city. Of his indifference in regard to his diet the following circumstance also is brought in proof. When the host who was entertaining him in Mediolanum, Valerius Leo, served up asparagus dressed with myrrh instead of olive oil, Caesar ate of it without ado, and rebuked his friends when they showed displeasure. "Surely," said he, "it were enough not to eat what you don't like; but he who finds fault with ill-breeding like this is ill-bred himself." Once, too, upon a journey, he and his followers were driven by a storm into a poor man's hut, and when he found that it consisted of one room only, and that one barely able to accommodate a single person, he said to his friends that honours must be yielded to the strongest, but necessities to the weakest, and bade Oppius lie down there, while he himself with the rest of his company slept in the porch.

XVIII. But to resume, the first of his Gallic wars was against the Helvetii and Tigurini,¹ who had set fire to their twelve cities and four hundred villages and were advancing through that part of Gaul which

¹ Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 2-29

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

διὰ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους Γαλατίας, ὥσπερ πάλαι
Κίμβροι καὶ Τεύτονες, οὔτε τόλμαν ἐκείνων ὑπο-
δεέστεροι δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ πλῆθος ὄμαλῶς
τριάκοντα μὲν αἱ πᾶσαι μυριάδες ὅντες, εἴκοσι δὲ
2 αἱ μαχόμεναι μᾶς δέουσαι. τούτων Τυγχρίνους
μὲν οὐκ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ Λαβιηνὸς πεμφθεὶς ὑπ’
αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἀραρα ποταμὸν συνέτριψεν,
Ἐλβηττίων δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τινα πόλιν φίλην
ἀγοντι τὴν στρατιὰν καθ’ ὁδὸν ἀπροσδοκήτως
ἐπιθεμένων φθάσας ἐπὶ χωρίον καρτερὸν κατέ-
φυγε. κὸκει συναγαγὼν καὶ παρατάξας τὴν
δύναμιν, ὡς ἵππος αὐτῷ προσήχθη, “Τούτῳ
μέν,” ἔφη, “νικήσας χρήσομαι πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν,
νῦν δὲ ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,” καὶ πεζὸς
3 ὄρμήσας ἐνέβαλε. χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ χαλεπῷς
ώστιμενος τὸ μάχιμον περὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις καὶ
τῷ χάρακι τὸν πλεῖστον ἔσχε πόνον, οὐκ αὐτῶν
μονῶν ὑφισταμένων ἐκεὶ καὶ μαχομένων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ παῖδες αὐτῶν καὶ γυναικες ἀμυνόμενοι μέχρι
θανάτου συγκατεκόπησαν, ὥστε τὴν μάχην μόλις
4 εἰς μέσας νύκτας τελευτῆσαι. καλῷ δὲ τῷ τῆς
νίκης ἔργῳ κρείττον ἐπέθηκε τὸ συνοικίσαι τοὺς
διαφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῶν περιόντων βαρ-
βάρων, καὶ καταναγκάσαι τὴν χώραν ἀναλαβεῖν
ἢν ἀπέλιπον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀς διέφθειραν, ὅντας
ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο δεδίως
μὴ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον γενομένην οἱ Γερμανοὶ δια-
βάντες κατάσχωσι.

XIX. Δεύτερον δὲ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ἄντικρυς
ὑπὲρ Κελτῶν ἐπολέμησε, καίτοι τὸν βασιλέα
πρότερον αὐτῶν Ἀριόβιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ σύμμαχον

CAESAR

was subject to the Romans, as once the Cimbri and Teutones had done. To these they were thought to be not inferior in courage and of equal numbers, being three hundred thousand in all, of whom one hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. The Tigurini were crushed at the river Arar, not by Caesar himself, but by Labienus, his deputy; the Helvetii, however, unexpectedly attacked Caesar himself on the march, as he was leading his forces towards a friendly city, but he succeeded in reaching a strong place of refuge. Here, after he had collected and arrayed his forces, a horse was brought to him. "This horse," said he, "I will use for the pursuit after my victory; but now let us go against the enemy," and accordingly led the charge on foot. After a long and hard struggle he routed the enemy's fighting men, but had the most trouble at their rampart of waggons, where not only did the men themselves make a stand and fight, but also their wives and children defended themselves to the death and were cut to pieces with the men. The battle was hardly over by midnight. To the noble work of victory Caesar added a nobler still, that of settling those of the Barbarians who had escaped alive from the battle (there were more than one hundred thousand of them), and compelling them to resume the territory which they had abandoned and the cities which they had destroyed. He did this because he feared that if the territory became vacant the Germans would cross the Rhine and occupy it.

XIX. His second war, directly in defence of the Gauls, was against the Germans,¹ although previously, in Rome, he had made their king Ariovistus

¹ Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* i. 30-53.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

πεποιημένος ἀλλ' ἡσαν ἀφόρητοι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις
αὐτοῦ γείτονες, καὶ καιροῦ παραδόντος οὐκ ἀν
ἔδόκουν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀτρεμήσειν, ἀλλ'
2 ἐπινεμήσεσθαι καὶ καθέξειν τὴν Γαλατίαν. ὁρῶν
δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀποδειλιώντας, καὶ μάλιστα
ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ νέων αὐτῷ συνεξῆλθον ὡς
δὴ τρυφῇ χρησόμενοι καὶ χρηματισμῷ τῇ μετὰ
Καίσαρος στρατείᾳ, συναγαγὸν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
ἐκέλευσεν ἀπέναι καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν παρὰ γνώ-
μην οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καὶ μαλακῶς ἔχοντας, αὐτὸς
δὲ ἔφη τὸ δέκατον τάγμα μόνον παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ
τοὺς βαρβάρους πορεύσεσθαι, μήτε κρείττονι
μέλλων Κίμβρων μάχεσθαι πολεμίους μήτε αὐτὸς
3 ὃν Μαρίου χείρων στρατηγός. ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν
δέκατον τάγμα πρεσβευτὰς ἔπειμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν
χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογοῦντες, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοὺς ἑα-
τῶν ἑκάκιζον ἡγεμόνας, ὅρμης δὲ καὶ προθυμίας
γειγόμενοι πλήρεις ἅπαντες ἡκολούθουν ὅδὸν ἡμε-
ρῶν πολλῶν, ἔως ἐν διακοσίοις τῶν πολεμίων
σταδίοις κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.

"⁴ Ήν μὲν οὖν ὅ τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτὴν
ἐτέθραυστο τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου. Γερ-
μανοῖς γὰρ ἐπιθήσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ὃν ἐπερχομέ-
νων οὐκ ἀν ἔδόκουν ὑποστῆναι, μὴ προσδοκήσας
ἐθαύμαζε τὴν Καίσαρος τόλμαν καὶ τὸν στρα-
τὸν ἑώρα τεταραγμένον. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς
ἡμβλυνε τὰ μαντεύματα τῶν ιερῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ
ποταμῶν δίναις προσβλέπουσαι καὶ ῥευμάτων
ἐλιγμοῖς καὶ ψόφοις τεκμαιρόμεναι προεθέσπιζον,

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an ally.¹ But they were intolerable neighbours of Caesar's subjects, and if an opportunity presented itself it was thought that they would not remain quietly in their present homes, but would encroach upon and occupy Gaul. Seeing that his officers were inclined to be afraid, and particularly all the young men of high rank who had come out intending to make the campaign with Caesar an opportunity for high living and money-making, he called them together² and bade them be off, since they were so unmanly and effeminate, and not force themselves to face danger; as for himself, he said he would take the tenth legion alone and march against the Barbarians; the enemy would be no better fighters than the Cimbri, and he himself was no worse a general than Marius. Upon this the tenth legion sent a deputation to him, expressing their gratitude, while the other legions reviled their own commanders, and all the army, now full of impetuous eagerness, followed Caesar on a march of many days, and at last encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Now, the very approach of Caesar somewhat shattered the purpose of Ariovistus. For he did not expect that the Romans would attack the Germans, whose onset he thought they could not withstand. and he was amazed at the boldness of Caesar; besides, he saw that his own army was disturbed. Still more, too, was the spirit of the Germans blunted by the prophecies of their holy women, who used to foretell the future by observing the eddies in the rivers and by finding signs in the whirlings and

¹ Acting as consul, in 59 B.C.

² Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* i. 40.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

οὐκ ἔωσαι μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὶν ἐπὶ λάμψαι νέαν σελήνην. ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι πυνθανομένῳ καὶ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἡσυχάζοντας ὄρῶντι καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν ἀπροθύμοις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναμένοντα καιρὸν καθῆσθαι.
5 καὶ προσβολὰς ποιούμενος τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ λόφοις ἐφ' ὧν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ἔξηγρίανε καὶ παρώξυνε καταβάντας πρὸς ὁργὴν διαγωνίσασθαι. γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς τροπῆς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ σταδίους τετρακοσίους ἄχρι τοῦ Ῥήνου διώξας κατέπληστε τοῦτο πᾶν νεκρῶν τὸ πεδίον καὶ λαφύρων. Ἀριόβιστος δὲ φθάσας μετ' ὀλίγων διεπέρασε τὸν Ῥήνον ἀριθμὸν δὲ νεκρῶν μυριάδας ὅκτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι.

XX. Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐν Σηκουανοῖς ἀπέλιπε διαχειμάσουσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ προσέχειν βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν περὶ Πάδον Γαλατίαν κατέβη, τῆς αὐτῷ δεδομένης ἐπαρχίας οὖσαν· ὁ γὰρ καλούμενος Ῥουβίκων ποταμὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ ταῖς "Αλπεσι
2 Κελτικῆς ὁρίζει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. ἐνταῦθα καθήμενος ἐδημαγώγει, πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων, διδοὺς ὧν ἔκαστος δεηθείη, καὶ πάντας ἀποπέμπων τὰ μὲν ἔχοντας ἥδη παρ' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐλπίζοντας. καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον δὲ πάντα τῆς στρατείας χρόνον ἐλάνθανε τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν μέρει νῦν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν δόπλοις καταστρεφόμενος, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων χρήμασιν αἵρων τοὺς πολίτας καὶ χειρούμενος.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βέλγας ἤκουσε δυνατωτάτους Κελτῶν καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἀπάσης τῆς Κελτικῆς νεμομένους

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splashings of the waters, and now forbade joining battle before a new moon gave its light. When Caesar learned this, and saw that the Germans kept quiet, he decided that it was a good plan to engage them while they were out of heart, rather than to sit still and wait for their time. So, by attacking their entrenchments and the hills on which they were encamped, he irritated them and incited them to come down in anger and fight the issue out. They were signally routed, and Caesar pursued them a distance of four hundred furlongs, as far as the Rhine, and filled all the intervening plain with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus, with a few followers, succeeded in crossing the Rhine, his dead are said to have been eighty thousand in number.

XX. After this achievement, Caesar left his forces among the Sequani to spend the winter,¹ while he himself, desirous of giving attention to matters at Rome, came down to Gaul along the Po,² which was a part of the province assigned to him; for the river called Rubicon separates the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. Here he fixed his quarters and carried on his political schemes. Many came to see him, and he gave each one what he wanted, and sent all away in actual possession of some of his favours and hoping for more. And during all the rest of the time of his campaigns in Gaul, unnoticed by Pompey, he was alternately subduing the enemy with the arms of the citizens, or capturing and subduing the citizens with the money which he got from the enemy.

But when he heard that the Belgae, who were the most powerful of the Gauls and occupied the third

¹ The winter of 58-57 B.C.

² Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* 1. 54. ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀφεστάναι, πολλὰς δή τινας μυριάδας ἐνόπλων
ἀνδρῶν ἡθροικότας, ἐπιστρέψας εὐθὺς ἔχώρει
τάχει πολλῷ· καὶ πορθοῦσι τοὺς συμμάχους
Γαλάτας ἐπιπεσὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις τοὺς μὲν
ἀθρουστάτους καὶ πλείστους αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνι-
σταμένους τρεψάμενος διέφθειρεν, ὥστε καὶ λίμανας
καὶ ποταμοὺς βαθεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις νεκρῶν
4 πλήθει περατοὺς γενέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀποστάντων οἱ
μὲν παρωκεάνιοι πάντες ἀμαχεὶ προσεχώρησαν·
ἔπι δὲ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν
τῆδε, Νερβίους, ἐστράτευσεν, οὕτερ εἰς συμμιγεῖς
δρυμοὺς κατῳκημένοι, γενεὰς δὲ καὶ κτήσεις ἐν
τινὶ βυθῷ τῆς Ὂλης ἀπωτάτω θέμενοι τῶν πολε-
μίων, αὐτὸὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ποιουμένῳ χάρακα καὶ
μὴ προσδεχομένῳ τηνικαῦτα τὴν μάχην ἔξακισμύ-
ροι τὸ πλήθος ὄντες αἰφνιδίως προσέπεσον, καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἵππεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων
τὸ δωδέκατον καὶ τὸ ἔβδομον περισχόντες ἀπαν-
5 τας ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ταξιάρχους. εἰ δὲ μὴ Καίσαρ
ἀρπασας τὸν θυρὸν καὶ διασχὼν τοὺς πρὸ⁴
αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἐνέβαλε τοὺς βαρβάροις, καὶ
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὸ δέκατον κινδυνεύοντος αὐτοῦ
κατέδραμε καὶ διέκοψε τὰς τάξεις τῶν πολεμίων,
οὐδεὶς ἀν δοκεῖ περιγενέσθαι· οὐν δὲ τῇ Καίσαρος
τόλμῃ τὴν λεγομένην ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μάχην ἀγω-
νισάμενοι τρέπονται μὲν οὐδὲ ὡς τοὺς Νερβίους,
κατακόπτονται δὲ ἀμυνομένους· πεντακόσιοι γὰρ
ἀπὸ μυριάδων ἐξ σωθῆναι λέγονται, βουλευταὶ
δὲ τρεῖς ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων.

CAESAR

part of all their country, had revolted, and had assembled unknown myriads of armed men, he turned back at once and marched thither with great speed.¹ He fell upon the enemy as they were plundering the Gauls that were in alliance with Rome, and so routed and destroyed the least scattered and most numerous of them, after a disgraceful struggle on their part, that the Romans could cross lakes and deep rivers for the multitude of dead bodies in them.² All the rebels who dwelt along the ocean submitted without a battle; against the Nervi, however, the most savage and warlike of the people in these parts, Caesar led his forces. The Nervii, who dwelt in dense woods, and had placed their families and possessions in a recess of the forest at farthest remove from the enemy, at a time when Caesar was fortifying a camp and did not expect the battle, fell upon him suddenly, sixty thousand strong. They routed his cavalry, and surrounded the seventh and twelfth legions and slew all their centurions, and had not Caesar snatched a shield,² made his way through the combatants in front of him, and hurled himself upon the Barbarians; and had not the tenth legion, at sight of his peril, run down from the heights and cut the ranks of the enemy to pieces, not a Roman, it is thought, would have survived. As it was, however, owing to Caesar's daring, they fought beyond their powers, as the saying is, and even then did not rout the Nervii, but cut them down as they defended themselves; for out of sixty thousand only five hundred are said to have come off alive, and only three of their senators out of four hundred.

¹ Caesar's campaign against the Belgae, in 57 B.C., is described by himself in *B.G.* ii. 1-33.

² *Scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto* (*B.G.* ii. 25, 2).

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XXI. Ταῦτα ἡ σύγκλητος πυθομένη πεντεκαιδεκάτη ἡμέρας ἐψηφίσατο θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ σχολάζειν ἔορτάζοντας, ὅσας ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ νίκην πρότερον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος ἐφάνη μέγας, ἔθνῶν ἄμμα τοσούτων ἀναρραγέντων, καὶ τὸ νίκημα λαμπρότερον, ὅτι Καῖσαρ ἦν ὁ νικῶν, ἡ πρὸς ἑκείνον εὔνοια τῶν πολλῶν ἐποίει. Καῖσαρ δὲ αὐτὸς¹ εὖθεμειος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν πάλιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πάδον χωρίοις διεχείμαζε συσκευα-
 2 ζόμενος τὴν πόλιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς παραγγέλλοντες ἑκείνῳ χρώμενοι χορηγῷ καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἑκείνου χρήμασι διαφθείροντες τὸν δῆμον ἀνηγορεύοντο, καὶ πᾶν ἐπραττον ὃ τὴν ἑκείνου δύναμιν αὔξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγίστων οἱ πλεῖστοι συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Λοῦκαν, Πομπήιος τε καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἀππιος ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνος ἡγεμὼν καὶ Νέπως ὁ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀνθύπατος, ὥστε ραβδούχους μὲν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι γενέσθαι, συγκλητικοὺς δὲ πλείονας ἢ διακοσίους.
 3 Βουλὴν δὲ θέμενοι διεκρίθησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔδει Πομπήιον μὲν καὶ Κρασσὸν ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι, Καίσαρι δὲ χρήματα καὶ πεντεετίαν ἄλλην ἐπιμετρηθῆναι τῆς στρατηγίας, ὃ καὶ παραλογώτατον ἐφαίνετο τοῖς νοῦν ἔχονσιν. οἱ γὰρ τοσαῦτα χρήματα παρὰ Καίσαρος λαμβάνοντες ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντι διδόναι τὴν βουλὴν ἐπειθον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡνάγκαζον ἐπιστένουσαν οἵς ἐψηφίζοντο, Κάτω-
 4 νος μὲν οὐ παρόντος, ἐπίτηδες γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς

¹ Καῖσαρ δ' αὐτὸς Sint.²; αὐτὸς δ' Bekker; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς MSS., Sint.¹, and Coraes.

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XXI. The Roman senate, on learning of these successes, decreed sacrifices to the gods and cessation from business, with festival, for fifteen days, a greater number than for any victory before.¹ For the danger was seen to have been great when so many nations at once had broken out in revolt, and because Caesar was the victor, the good will of the multitude towards him made his victory more splendid. Caesar himself, after settling matters in Gaul, again spent the winter² in the regions along the Po, carrying out his plans at Rome. For not only did the candidates for office there enjoy his assistance, and win their elections by corrupting the people with money from him, and do everything which was likely to enhance his power, but also most of the men of highest rank and greatest influence came to see him at Luca,³ including Pompey, Crassus, Appius the governor of Sardinia, and Nepos the proconsul of Spain, so that there were a hundred and twenty lictors in the place and more than two hundred senators.

They held a council and settled matters on the following basis. Pompey and Crassus were to be elected consuls for the ensuing year, and Caesar was to have money voted him, besides another five years in his provincial command. This seemed very strange to men of understanding. For those who were getting so much money from Caesar urged the senate to give him money as if he had none, nay rather, they forced it to do so, though it groaned over its own decrees. Cato, indeed, was not there, for he had purposely been sent out of the way on a

¹ Quod ante id tempus accidit nulli (Caesar, *B.G.* ii. 35, 4).

² 57-56 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, l. 3 f.

³ In April of 56 B.C.

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**Κύπρον ἀπεδιοπομπήσαντο, Φαωνίου δέ, ὃς
ἥν ζηλωτὴς Κάτωνος, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν ἀντι-
λέγων, ἔξαλλομένου διὰ θυρῶν καὶ βοῶντος εἰς
τὸ πλῆθος. ἀλλὰ προσεῖχεν οὐδείς, τῶν μὲν
Πομπήιον αἰδουμένων καὶ Κράστον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖ-
στοι Καίσαρι χαριζόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ'
ἐκείνους ξώντες ἐλπίδας ήσύχαζον.**

XXII. Τραπόμενος δὲ αὐθὶς ὁ Καίσαρ επὶ τὰς
ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ δυνάμεις πολὺν καταλαμβάνει
πόλεμον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, δύο Γερμανικῶν ἔθνων
μεγάλων ἐπὶ κατακτήσει γῆς ἄρτι τὸν Ρήνον
διαβεβηκότων¹. Οὐσίτας καλοῦσι τοὺς ἑτέρους,
2 τοὺς δὲ Τευτερίτας, περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τούτους
γενομένης μάχης ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι
γέγραφεν ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι διαπρεσβευόμενοι πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐν σπουδαῖς ἐπιθοίντο καθ' ὅδον, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο τρέψαντο τοὺς αὐτοῦ πεντακισχιλίους
ὄντας ἵππεῖς ὀκτακοσίοις τοῖς ἐκείνων μὴ προσδο-
κῶντας· εἴτα πέμψειαν ἑτέρους πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐθὶς
ἔξαπατῶντας, οὓς κατασχὼν ἐπαγάγοι τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν πρὸς οὕτως ἀπίστοντος
καὶ παρασπόνδους πίστιν εὐήθειαν ήγούμενος.
3 Τανύσιος δὲ λέγει Κάτωνα, τῆς Βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ
νίκῃ ψηφιζομένης ἕορτὰς καὶ θυσίας, ἀποφή-
νασθαι γνώμην ὡς ἐκδοτέον ἐστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα
τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀφοσιουμένους τὸ παρασπόνδημα
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἀρὰν εἰς τὸν αἵτιον
τρέποντας.

Τῶν δὲ διαβάντων αἱ μὲν κατακοπεῖσαι τεσσα-
ράκοντα μυριάδες ησαν, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς ἀπο-

¹ Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxxiv.

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mission to Cyprus,¹ and Favonius, who was an ardent follower of Cato, finding himself unable to accomplish anything by his opposition, bounded out of doors and clamoured to the populace. But no one gave heed to him, for some were in awe of Pompey and Crassus, and most wanted to please Caesar, lived in hopes of his favours, and so kept quiet.

XXII. On returning to his forces in Gaul,² Caesar found a considerable war in the country, since two great German nations had just crossed the Rhine to possess the land, one called the Usipes,³ the other the Tenteritae.³ Concerning the battle which was fought with them Caesar says in his "Commentaries"⁴ that the Barbarians, while treating with him under a truce, attacked on their march and therefore routed his five thousand cavalry with their eight hundred, since his men were taken off their guard; that they then sent other envoys to him who tried to deceive him again, but he held them fast and led his army against the Barbarians, considering that good faith towards such faithless breakers of truces was folly. But Tanusius says that when the senate voted sacrifices of rejoicing over the victory, Cato pronounced the opinion that they ought to deliver up Caesar to the Barbarians, thus purging away the violation of the truce in behalf of the city, and turning the curse therefor on the guilty man.

Of those who had crossed the Rhine into Gaul four hundred thousand were cut to pieces, and the

² In 55 B.C. Plutarch passes over Caesar's campaign of 56 B.C. in Gaul, following the conference at Luca. Caesar describes it in *B.G.* iii.

³ Caesar calls them Usipetes and Tencteri (*B.G.* iv. 1).

⁴ *B.G.* iv. 13

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περάσαντας αὐθις ὑπεδέξαντο Σούγαμβροι, Γερ-
μανικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ ταῦτην λαβὼν αἰτίαν ἐπ'-
αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἄλλως δὲ δόξης ἐφιέμενος καὶ
τοῦ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων στρατῷ διαβῆναι τὸν
Ῥήνον, ἐγεφύρου πλάτος τε πολὺν ὅντα καὶ κατ'
ἔκεινο τοῦ πόρου μάλιστα πλημμυροῦντα καὶ
τραχὺν καὶ ρώδη καὶ τοῖς καταφερομένοις στε-
λέχεσι καὶ ξύλοις πληγὰς καὶ σπαραγμοὺς
ἐνδιδόντα κατὰ τῶν ἐρειδόντων τὴν γέφυραν.
5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα προβόλοις ξύλων μεγάλων διὰ τοῦ
πόρου καταπεπηγότων ἀναδεχόμενος, καὶ χαλι-
νώσας τὸ προσπίπτον ῥεῦμα τῷ ζεύγματι, πίστεως
πάσης θέιμα κρείττον ἐπεδείξατο τὴν γέφυραν
ἡμέραις δέκα συντελεσθεῖσαν.

XXIII. Περαιώσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, οὐδενὸς
ὑπαντῆσαι τολμήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονι-
κωτάτων τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Σούηβων εἰς βαθεῖς
καὶ ὑλώδεις αὐλῶνας ἀνασκευυσαμένων, πυρπο-
λήσας μὲν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, θαρρύνας δὲ τοὺς
ἀεὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀσπαζομένους, ἀνεχώρησεν αὐθις
εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν, εἴκοσι δυεῖν δεούσας ἡμέρας
ἐν τῇ Γερμανικῇ διατετριφώσ.

2 Ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατείᾳ τὴν μὲν
τόλμαν εἶχεν ὀνομαστήν πρῶτος γὰρ εἰς τὸν
ἐσπέριον Ὁκεανὸν ἐπέβη στόλῳ, καὶ διὰ τῆς
Ἀτλαντικῆς θαλάττης στρατὸν ἐπὶ πόλεμον κο-
μίζων ἐπλευσε· καὶ νῆσον ἀπιστουμένην ὑπὸ με-
γέθους καὶ πολλὴν ἔριν παμπόλλοις συγγραφεῦσι
παρασχοῦσαν, ὡς δύςμα καὶ λόγος οὐ γενομένης
οὐδὲ οὔσης πέπλασται, κατασχεῖν ἐπιθέμενος
προήγαγεν ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν Ῥωμαίων

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few who succeeded in making their way back were received by the Sugambri, a German nation. This action Caesar made a ground of complaint against the Sugambri, and besides, he coveted the fame of being the first man to cross the Rhine with an army. He therefore began to bridge the river,¹ although it was very broad, and at this point in its course especially swollen, rough, and impetuous, and with the trunks and branches of trees which it bore down stream kept smiting and tearing away the supports of his bridge. But Caesar caught up these trunks and branches with bulwarks of great timbers planted across the stream, and having thus bridled and yoked the dashing current, he brought his bridge—sight beyond all credence—to completion in ten days.

XXIII. He now threw his forces across the river. No one ventured to oppose him, but even the Suevi, who were the foremost nation of the Germans, bestowed themselves and their belongings in deep and woody defiles. Caesar ravaged the country of the enemy with fire, gave encouragement to the constant friends of Rome, and then retired again into Gaul, having spent eighteen days in Germany.

His expedition against the Britanni was celebrated for its daring. For he was the first to launch a fleet upon the western ocean and to sail through the Atlantic sea carrying an army to wage war. The island was of incredible magnitude, and furnished much matter of dispute to multitudes of writers, some of whom averred that its name and story had been fabricated, since it never had existed and did not then exist; and in his attempt to occupy it he carried the Roman supremacy beyond the confines of

¹ *B G.* iv. 16-19

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3 ἡγεμονίαν. διὸς δὲ διαπλεύσας εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπέρας Γαλατίας, καὶ μάχαις πολλαῖς κακώσας τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἴδεον ὥφελήσας, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι καὶ λαβεῖν ἦν ἄξιον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων καὶ πενήτων, οὐχ οὐν ἔβούλετο τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλ' ὁμῆρους λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ταξάμενος φόρους ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου.

4 Καὶ καταλαμβάνει γράμματα μέλλοντα διαπλεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων, δηλοῦντα τὴν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τελευτήν¹ τελευτᾶ ὅτε τίκτουσα παρὰ Πομπήιῳ. καὶ μέγα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔσχε Πομπήιον, μέγα δὲ Καίσαρα πένθος, οἱ δὲ φίλοι συνεταράχθησαν ὡς τῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὄμονοίᾳ τάλλα νοσοῦσαν τὴν πολιτείαν φυλαττούσης οἰκειότητος λελυμένης· καὶ γὰρ τὸ βρέφος εἰνθὺς οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν μητέρα διαζῆσαν ἐτελεύτησε. τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἰουλίαν βίᾳ τῶν δημάρχων ὄραμενον τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ Ἀρειον ἥμερυκε πεδίον, κάκεν κηδευθεῖσα κεῖται.

XXIV. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος μεγάλην ἥδη τὴν δύναμιν οὖσαν εἰς πολλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην χειμάδια διελόντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τραπομένου, πάντα μὲν αὐθις ἀνερρήγνυτο τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν, καὶ στρατὸν μεγάλοι περιιόντες ἐξέκοπτον τὰ χειμάδια καὶ προσεμάχουντο τοὺς χαρακώμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀποστάντων μετὰ Ἀβριόρυγος Κόπταν μὲν αὐτῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ Τιτύριον διέ-

¹ Once in 55 B.C. (*B.G.* iv 20-36); again in 54 B.C. (*B.G.* v. 1-22).

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the inhabited world. After twice¹ crossing to the island from the opposite coast of Gaul and in many battles damaging the enemy rather than enriching his own men—for there was nothing worth taking from men who lived in poverty and wretchedness—he brought the war to an end which was not to his liking, it is true; still, he took hostages from the king, imposed tributes, and then sailed away from the island.

In Gaul he found letters which were about to be sent across to him. They were from his friends in Rome, and advised him of his daughter's death; she died in child-birth at Pompey's house. Great was the grief of Pompey, and great the grief of Caesar, and their friends were greatly troubled too; they felt that the relationship which alone kept the distempered state in harmony and concord was now dissolved. For the babe also died presently, after surviving its mother a few days. Now Julia, in spite of the tribunes, was carried by the people to the Campus Martius, where her funeral rites were held, and where she lies buried.²

XXIV. Caesar's forces were now so large that he was forced to distribute them in many winter-quarters, while he himself, as his custom was, turned his steps towards Italy. Then all Gaul once more broke out in revolt,³ and great armies went about attacking the entrenchments and trying to destroy the winter-quarters of the Romans. The most numerous and powerful of the rebels, under Abriorix,⁴ utterly destroyed Titurius and Cotta, together with

² Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter lxi

³ Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* v. 24–51

⁴ Caesar calls him Ambiorix

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2 φθειραν, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ Κικέρωνι τάγμα μυριάσιν ἔξ
τερισχόντες ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέλιπον
ἥρηκέναι κατὰ κράτος, συντετρωμένων ἀπάντων
καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἀμυνομένων.

‘Ως δὲ ἡγγέλθη ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι μακρὰν
δύντι, ταχέως ἐπιστρέψας καὶ συναγαγὼν ἐπτακισ-
χελίους τοὺς σύμπαντας ἥπεινετο τὸν Κικέρωνα
τῆς πολιορκίας ἔξαιρησόμενος. τοὺς δὲ πολι-
ορκοῦντας οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπήντων ώς ἀναρπα-
3 σόμενοι, τῆς ὀλιγότητος καταφρονήσαντες. κά-
κεννος ἔξαπατῶν ὑπέφευγεν ἀεί, καὶ χωρία λαβὼν
ἐπιτιηδείως ἔχοντα πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχομένῳ μετ’
ὀλίγων φράγμαται στρατόπεδον, καὶ μάχης ἔσχε
τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πάσης, ἀναγαγεῖν δὲ τὸν χάρακα καὶ
τὰς πύλας ἀνοικοδομεῖν ώς δεδοικότας ἡνάγκας,
καταφρονθῆναι στρατηγῶν, μέχρι οὖν σποράδην
ὑπὸ θράσους προσβάλλοντας ἐπεξελθῶν ἐτρέψατο
καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε.

XXV. Τούτο τὰς πολλὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν ἐν-
ταῦθα Γαλατῶν κατεστόρεσε, καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος
αὐτὸς ἐπιφοιτῶν τε πανταχόσε καὶ προσέχων
δξέως τοῖς νεωτερισμοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἦκεν ἔξ 'Ιτα-
λίας ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ τρία τάγματα,
Πομπηίου μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ δύο χρήσαντος, ἐν
δὲ νεοσύλλεκτον ἐκ τῆς περὶ Πάδου Γαλατίας.
2 πόρρω δὲ τούτων αἱ πάλαι καταβεβλημέναι κρύ-
φα καὶ νεμόμεναι διὰ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν

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their army, while the legion under Cicero was surrounded and besieged by sixty thousand of them, and narrowly escaped having its camp taken by storm, although all were wounded and went beyond their powers in the ardour of their defence.

When tidings of these things reached Caesar, who was far on his journey, he turned back quickly, got together seven thousand men in all, and hurried on to extricate Cicero from the siege. But the besiegers became aware of his approach, and went to meet him with the purpose of cutting his forces off at once, despising their small numbers. Caesar deceived them by avoiding battle continually, and when he had found a place suitable for one who was fighting against many with few, fortified a camp, where he kept his men altogether from fighting and forced them to increase the height of their ramparts and the defences of their gates as though they were afraid. His strategy thus led the enemy to despise him, until at last, when their boldness led them to attack in scattered bands, he sallied out, routed them, and destroyed many of them.

XXV. The numerous revolts of the Gauls in those parts were quieted by this success, as well as by the fact that Caesar himself, during the winter, went about in all directions and kept close watch on the disturbers of the peace. For there had come from Italy three legions to replace the men that he had lost, Pompey having lent two of those under his command, and one having been newly levied in Gaul about the Po. But in remoter regions¹ the germs of the greatest and most dangerous of the wars waged in

¹ Plutarch here passes over the events of the year 53 B.C., described by Caesar in *B.G.* vi. The seventh book is wholly taken up with the war now to be described (52 B.C.).

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ἐν τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις γένεσιν ἀρχαὶ τοῦ μεγίστου
καὶ κινδυνωδεστάτου τῶν ἐκεῖ πολέμων ἀνεφαί-
νοντο, ῥωσθεῖσαι πολλῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ παντα-
χόθεν ὅπλοις ἀθροισθείσῃ,¹ μεγάλοις δὲ πλούτοις
εἰς ταῦτὸ συνενεχθεῖσιν, ἵσχυραις δὲ πόλεσι,
3 δυσεμβόλοις δὲ χώραις. τότε δὲ καὶ χειμῶνος
ῷρᾳ πάγοι ποταμῶν καὶ νιφετοῦς ἀποκεκρυμμένοι
δρυμοὶ καὶ πεδία χειμάρροις ἐπιλειμνασμένα,
καὶ πῆ μὲν ἀτέκμαρτοι βάθει χιόνος ἀτραποί, πῆ
δὲ δι' ἐλῶν καὶ ῥευμάτων παρατρεπομένων ἀσά-
φεια πολλὴ τῆς πορείας παντάπασιν ἔδοκουν ἀν-
επιχείρηστα Καίσαρι τὰ τῶν ἀφισταμένων ποιεῖν.
ἀφειστήκει μὲν οὖν πολλὰ φῦλα, πρόσχημα δὲ
ἡσαν Ἀρβέροις καὶ Καρνουστῖνοι, τὸ δὲ σύμπταν
αἱρεθεὶς κράτος εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου Οὐεργεντόριξ,
οὗ τὸν πατέρα Γαλάται τυραννίδα δοκοῦντα πράτ-
τειν ἀπέκτειναν.

XXVI. Οὗτος οὖν εἰς πολλὰ διελῶν τὴν δύνα-
μιν μέρη καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπιστήσας ἡγεμόνας φίκει-
ούτο τὴν πέριξ ἄπασαν ἄχρι τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀραρα-
κεκλιμένων, διανοούμενος ἥδη τῶν ἐν Ρώμῃ συνι-
σταμένων ἐπὶ Καίσαρα σύμπτασαν ἐγείρειν τῷ
πολέμῳ Γαλατίαν. ὅπερ εὶ μικρὸν ὑστερον ἐπρα-
ξε, Καίσαρος εἰς τὸν ἐμφύλιον ἐμπεσόντος πό-
λεμον, οὐκ ἀν ἐλαφρότεροι τῶν Κιμβρικῶν ἐκεί-
2 νων φόβοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατέσχον. νυνὶ δὲ ὁ πάσι
μὲν ἄριστα χρῆσθαι τοῖς πρὸς πόλεμον, μάλιστα
δὲ καιρῷ πεφυκὼς Καίσαρ ἀμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν
ἀπόστασιν ἄρας ἔχώρει ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀς

¹ Ἀδροισθείσῃ Sint. with the MSS.; Coraes and Bekker
read ἀθροισθεῖσι (arms collected from all sides) with the
Aldine ed

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those parts began to show themselves. They had for a long time been secretly sown and cultivated by the most influential men among the most warlike tribes, and derived strength from large bodies of young men assembled from all sides in arms, from great riches brought together, from strong cities, and from countries which were hard to invade. At that season of winter, too, frozen rivers, forests buried in snow, plains converted into lakes by winter torrents, in some parts paths obliterated by deep snow, and in others the great uncertainty of a march through swamps and streams diverted from their courses, all seemed to make it wholly impossible for Caesar to oppose the plans of the rebels. Accordingly, many tribes had revolted, but the head and front of the revolt were the Arverni and Carnuntini,¹ and Ver-
gentorix¹ was chosen to have the entire authority in the war. His father the Gauls had put to death because they thought he was aiming at a tyranny.

XXVI. This leader, then, after dividing his forces into many parts and putting many officers in command of them, was winning over all the country round about as far as the water-shed of the Arar. He purposed, now that there was a coalition at Rome against Caesar, at once to rouse all Gaul to war. If he had done this a little later, when Caesar was involved in the civil war, Italy would have been a prey to terrors no less acute than those aroused by the Cimbri of old. But as it was, the man endowed by nature to make the best use of all the arts of war, and particularly of its crucial moments, namely Caesar, as soon as he learned of the revolt, set out and marched by the same roads over which

¹ In Caesar's *B.C.* the names are Carnutes and Ver-
gentorix.

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διῆλθε, καὶ βίᾳ καὶ τάχει τῆς πορείας διὰ τοσούτου χειμῶνος ἐπιδειξάμενος τοῖς βαρβάροις ὡς ἄμαχος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀήττητος ἔπεισι στρατός. ὅπου γὰρ ἄγγελον ἡ γραμματοφόρον διαδῦναι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἦν ἀπιστον, ἐνταῦθα μετὰ πάσης ἑωρᾶτο τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄμα χώρας λυμανόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκκόπτων τὰ χωρία,
3 καταστρεφόμενος πόλεις, ἀναλαμβάνων τοὺς μεταπιθεμένους, μέχρι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἐδούων ἔθνος ἐξεπολεμώθη πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀδελφοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες αὐτοὺς Ρωμαίων καὶ τιμώμενοι διαπρεπῶς, τότε δὲ τοὺς ἀποστάταις προσγευόμενοι πολλὴν τῇ Καίσαρος στρατιῷ περιέστησαν ἀθυμίαν. διόπερ καὶ κινήσας ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερέβαλε τὰ Λιγγονικά, βουλόμενος ἄψασθαι τῆς Σηκουανῶν φίλων ὄντων καὶ προκειμένων τῆς 4 Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Γαλατίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ περισχόντων μυριάσι πολλαῖς, ὁρμήσας διαγωνίσασθαι τοὺς μὲν ὅλοις καταπολεμῶν ἐκράτησε, χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ φόνῳ καταβιασάμενος τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔδοξε δὲ κατ' ἀρχάς τι καὶ σφαλῆναι, καὶ δεικνύουσιν Ἀρβέροις ξιφίδιον πρὸς ἵερῷ κρεμάμενον, ὡς δὴ Καίσαρος λάφυρον. ὃ θεασάμενος αὐτὸς ὑστερον ἐμειδίασε, καὶ τῶν φίλων καθελεῖν κελευόντων οὐκ εἴασεν, ἵερὸν ἡγούμενος.

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε τῶν διαφυγόντων οἱ πλεῖστοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς πόλιν Ἀλησίαν συνέφυγον. καὶ πολιορκοῦντι ταύτην Καί-

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he had previously come, and by the vigour and speed of his passage in so severe a winter showed the Barbarians that an unconquered and invincible army was coming against them. For where it was incredible that one of his messengers or letter-carriers could make his way in a long time, there he was seen with his whole army, at once ravaging their lands and destroying their strongholds, subduing cities, and receiving those who came over to his side, until the nation of the Aedui also entered the war against him. These up to this time had called themselves brethren of the Romans and had been conspicuously honoured, but now, by joining the rebels, they caused great dejection in Caesar's army. In consequence of this Caesar removed from those parts and passed across the territory of the Lingones, wishing to reach the country of the Sequani, who were friends, and stood as a bulwark between Italy and the rest of Gaul. There the enemy fell upon him and surrounded him with many tens of thousands, so that he essayed to fight a decisive battle. In the main he got the best of the struggle, and after a long time and much slaughter over-powered the Barbarians ; but it appears that at first he met with some reverse, and the Arverni show a short-sword hanging in a temple, which they say was captured from Caesar. When Caesar himself saw it, at a later time, he smiled, and though his friends urged him to have it taken down, he would not permit it, considering it sacred.

XXVII. However, the most of the Barbarians who escaped at that time took refuge with their king in the city of Alesia. And while Caesar was besieging

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- σαρι δοκοῦσαν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι μεγέθει τε τειχῶν καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀπομαχομένων ἐπιπίπτει παντὸς λόγου μείζων κίνδυνος ἔξωθεν. δὲ γὰρ ήν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ κράτιστον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων ἀθροισθέν, ἐν δῆποις ήκουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλησίαν τριάκοντα μυριάδες² αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν μαχομένων οὐκ ἐλάττονες ἦσαν ἐπτακαίδεκα μυριάδων, ὥστε ἐν μέσῳ πολέμου τοσούτου τὸν Καίσαρα κατειλημμένον καὶ πολιορκούμενον ἀναγκασθῆναι διττά τείχη προβαλέσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπεληλυθότων, ὡς, εἰ συνέλθοιεν αἱ δυνάμεις, κομιδῇ διαπεπραγμένων τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν.
- 3 Διὰ πολλὰ μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ὁ πρὸς Ἀλησίᾳ κίνδυνος ἔσχε δόξαν, ὡς ἕργα τόλμης καὶ δεινότητος οὐλα τῶν ἄλλων ἀγώνων οὐδεὶς παρασχόμενος, μάλιστα δὲ ἄν τις θαυμάσειε τὸ λαθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Καίσαρα τοσαύτας μυριάσι ταῦτα ἔξω συμβαλόντα καὶ περιγενόμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων τοὺς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει τεῖχος φυλάττοντας. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἤσθοντο τὴν νίκην ἢ κλαυθμὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλησίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ κοπετὸν γυναικῶν ἀκούσθηναι, θεασαμένων ἄρα κατὰ θάτερα μέρη πολλοὺς μὲν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένους θυρεούς, πολλοὺς δὲ αἵματι πεφυρμένους θώρακας, ἔτι δὲ ἑκπώματα καὶ σκηνὰς Γαλατικὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κομιζομένας. οὔτως δξέως ἡ τοσαύτη δύναμις, ὥσπερ εἴδωλον ἡ δυνειρον, ἡφάνιστο καὶ διεπεφόρητο, τῶν πλείστων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων. οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀλησίαν ἔχοντες οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα παρασχόντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ Καίσαρι τέλος παρέ-

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this city, which was thought to be impregnable by reason of the great size of its walls and the number of their defenders, there fell upon him from outside the city a peril too great for words to depict. For all that was mightiest among the nations of Gaul assembled and came in arms to Alesia, three hundred thousand strong; and the number of fighting men inside the city was not less than a hundred and seventy thousand. Thus Caesar, caught between so large hostile forces and besieged there, was compelled to build two walls for his protection, one looking towards the city, and the other towards those who had come up to relieve it; he felt that if the two forces should unite his cause was wholly lost.

For many reasons, then, and naturally, Caesar's peril at Alesia was famous, since it produced more deeds of skill and daring than any of his other struggles; but one must be amazed above all that he engaged and conquered so many tens of thousands outside the city without the knowledge of those inside, nay more, without the knowledge even of the Romans who were guarding the wall that faced the city. For these did not learn of the victory until the wailing of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women were heard, as they beheld in the quarters of the enemy many shields adorned with gold and silver, many corselets smeared with blood, and also drinking cups and tents of Gallic fashion carried by the Romans into their camp. So quickly did so great a force, like a phantom or a dream, disperse and vanish out of sight, the greater part of them having fallen in the battle. Those who held Alesia, too, after giving themselves and Caesar no small trouble, finally surrendered.

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δοσαν ἔαυτούς. ὁ δὲ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡγεμὸν πολέμου Οὐεργεντόριξ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὅπλων τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν ἵππον ἐξιππάσατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καθεξόμενον ἐλάστας, εἶτα ἀφαλόμενος τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μὲν πανοπλίαν ἀπέρριψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καθίσας ὑπὸ πόδας τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἄχρι οὐ παρεδόθη φρουρησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

XXVIII. Καίσαρι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐδέδοκτο καταλύειν Πομπήιον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει κάκείνῳ τοῦτον· Κράσσου γὰρ ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπολωλότος, διὰ τὴν ἔφεδρος ἀμφοῖν, ἀπελείπετο τῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενέσθαι μεγίστῳ τὸν δόντα καταλύειν, τῷ δέ, ἵνα 2 μὴ πάθῃ τοῦτο, προαναιρεῖν διν ἐδεδοίκει. τοῦτο δὲ Πομπήϊῳ μὲν ἐξ ὀλίγου φοβεῖσθαι παρέστη τέως ὑπερορῶντι Καίσαρος, ὡς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔργον διν αὐτὸς ηὗξησε καταλυθῆναι πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Καίσαρ δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην πεποιημένος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς ἔαυτὸν ἀποστήσας μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς ἐγγυμνασάμενος πολέμοις ἐπήσκησε μὲν τὴν δύνα- 3 μιν, ηὗξησε δὲ τὴν δόξαν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰς ἀντίταλον ἀρθεῖς τοῖς Πομπηίον κατυρθώμασι, λαμβάνων προφάσεις τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ Πομπηίον, τὰς δὲ τῶν καιρῶν ἐνδιδόντων καὶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κακοπολιτείας, δι᾽ οὐ οἱ μὲν ἀρχὰς μετιόντες ἐν μέσῳ θέμενοι τραπέζας ἐδέκαζον ἀναισχύντως τὰ πλήθη, κατήγει δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἔμμισθος, οὐ ψήφοις

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And the leader of the whole war, Vergentorix, after putting on his most beautiful armour and decorating his horse, rode out through the gate. He made a circuit round Caesar, who remained seated, and then leaped down from his horse, stripped off his suit of armour, and seating himself at Caesar's feet remained motionless, until he was delivered up to be kept in custody for the triumph.

XXVIII. Now, Caesar had long ago decided to put down Pompey, just as, of course, Pompey also had decided to put Caesar down. For now that Crassus, who was only waiting for the issue of their struggle to engage the victor,¹ had perished among the Parthians, it remained for him who would be greatest to put down him who was, and for him who was greatest, if he would not be put down, to take off in time the man he feared. This fear had only recently come upon Pompey, who till then despised Caesar, feeling that it was no hard task to put down again the man whom he himself had raised on high. But Caesar had from the outset formed this design, and like an athlete had removed himself to a great distance from his antagonists, and by exercising himself in the Gallic wars had practised his troops and increased his fame, lifting himself by his achievements to a height where he could vie with the successes of Pompey. He laid hold of pretexts which were furnished partly by Pompey himself, and partly by the times and the evil state of government at Rome,² by reason of which candidates for office set up counting-tables in public and shamelessly bribed the multitudes, while the people went down into the forum under pay, contending in behalf of their

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lin. 6. ² Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter liv.

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νπὲρ τοῦ δεδωκότος, ἀλλὰ τόξοις καὶ ξίφεσι καὶ
σφευδόναις ἀμιλλώμενος. αἵματι δὲ καὶ νεκροῖς
πολλάκις αἰσχύναντες τὸ βῆμα διεκρίθησαν, ἀναρ-
χίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ ἀκυβέρνητον ναῦν¹ ὑποφερο-
μένην ἀπολιπόντες, ὡστε τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ἀγα-
πᾶν εἰ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς χείρον, ἀλλὰ μοναρχίαν
ἐκ τοιαύτης παραφροσύνης καὶ τοσούτου κλυδω-
νος ἐκπεσεῖται τὰ πράγματα. πολλοὶ δὲ ἥσαν οἱ
καὶ λέγειν ἐν μέσῳ τολμῶντες ἥδη πλήν ὑπὸ⁵
μοναρχίας ἀνήκεστον εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸ
φάρμακον τοῦτο χρῆναι τοῦ πραφοτάτου τῶν ια-
τρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι προσφέροντος, ὑποδηλοῦντες
τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεὶ δὲ κἀκενὸς λόγῳ παραιτεῖ-
σθαι καλλωπιζόμενος ἔργῳ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐπέ-
ραινεν ἔξ ὀν ἀναδειχθῆσοιτο δικτάτωρ, συμφρο-
νήσαντες οἱ περὶ Κάτωνα πείθουσι τὴν γερουσίαν
ὑπατον αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι μόνον, ὡς μὴ βιάσαιτο
δικτάτωρ γενέσθαι, νομιμωτέρᾳ μοναρχίᾳ παρη-
γορθείσ. οἱ δὲ καὶ χρόνον ἐπεψηφίσαντο τῶν
ἐπαρχιῶν δύο δὲ εἰχεν, Ἰθηρίαν καὶ Λιβύην
σύμπασαν, ἀς διώκει πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστέλλων
καὶ στρατεύματα τρέφων, οἷς ἐλάμβανεν ἐκ τοῦ
δημοσίου ταμείου χίλια τάλαντα καθ' ἕκαστον
ἔνιαυτόν.

XXIX. Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ ὑπατείαν ἐμνᾶτο
πέμπων, καὶ χρόνον ὁμοίως τῶν ἴδιων ἐπαρχιῶν.
τὸ μὲν οὖν πρώτου Πομπήιου σιωπῶντος οἱ περὶ²
Μάρκελλον καὶ Δέντλον ἡγαντιοῦντο, μισοῦντες
ἄλλως Καίσαρα καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους οὐκ ἀναγ-
καῖα προστιθέντες εἰς ἀτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προ-
πηλακισμόν. Νεοκωμίτας γάρ ἔναγχος ὑπὸ

¹ ναῦν supplied by Coraes and Bekker, after Reiske.

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paymaster, not with votes, but with bows and arrows, swords, and slings. Often, too, they would defile the rostra with blood and corpses before they separated, leaving the city to anarchy like a ship drifting about without a steersman, so that men of understanding were content if matters issued in nothing worse for them than monarchy, after such madness and so great a tempest. And there were many who actually dared to say in public that nothing but monarchy could now cure the diseases of the state, and that this remedy ought to be adopted when offered by the gentlest of physicians, hinting at Pompey. And when even Pompey, although in words he affected to decline the honour, in fact did more than any one else to effect his appointment as dictator, Cato saw through his design and persuaded the senate to appoint him sole consul, solacing him with a more legal monarchy that he might not force his way to the dictatorship. They also voted him additional time in which to hold his provinces; and he had two, Spain and all Africa, which he managed by sending legates thither and maintaining armies there, for which he received from the public treasury a thousand talents annually.¹

XXIX. Consequently, Caesar canvassed by proxy for a consulship, and likewise for an extension of time in which to hold his own provinces. At first, then, Pompey held his peace, while Marcellus and Lentulus opposed these plans; they hated Caesar on other grounds, and went beyond all bounds in their efforts to bring dishonour and abuse upon him. For instance, the inhabitants of Novum Comum, a

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, iv. 7

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Καίσαρος ἐν Γαλατίᾳ κατφυισμένους ἀφηροῦντο
 τῆς πολιτείας· καὶ Μάρκελλος ὑπατεύων ἔνα
 τῶν ἐκεῖ βουλευτῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενον
 ἥκιστο ράβδοις, ἐπιλέγων ὡς ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ
 Ρωμαίον εἶναι παράσημα προστίθησιν αὐτῷ,
 καὶ δεικνύειν ἀπίοντα Καίσαρι ἐκέλευε.¹ μετὰ
 δὲ Μάρκελλον, ἥδη Καίσαρος τὸν Γαλατικὸν
 πλοῦτον ἀρύεσθαι ρύδην ἀφεικότος πᾶσι τοῖς
 πολιτευομένοις, καὶ Κουρίωνα μὲν δημαρχοῦντα
 3 πολλῶν ἐλευθερώσαντος δανείων, Παύλῳ δὲ ὑπα-
 τεύοντι χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δόντος,
 ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκεῖνος, ὄνομαστὸν
 ἀνάθημα, τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσεκόσμησεν ἀντὶ τῆς
 Φουλβίας οἰκοδομηθείσαν, οὕτω δὴ φοβηθεὶς τὴν
 σύστασιν δὲ Πομπήιος ἀναφανδὸν ἥδη δί' ἕαντοῦ
 καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐπραττεν ἀποδειχθῆναι διάδοχον
 Καίσαρι τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ πέμπων ἀπῆτει τοὺς
 στρατιώτας οὓς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Κελ-
 τικοὺς ἀγώνας. ὃ δὲ ἀποτέμπει, δωρησάμενος
 4 ἔκαστον ἄνδρα πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις δραχ-
 μαῖς, οἱ δὲ τούτους Πομπήιος κομίσαντες εἰς μὲν
 τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπιεικέis οὐδὲ χρηστοὺς κατέ-
 σπειραν λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος, αὐτὸν δὲ
 Πομπήιον ἐλπίσι κεναῖς διέφθειραν, ὡς ποθού-
 μενον ὅπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος στρατιᾶς καὶ τὰ μὲν
 ἐνταῦθα διὰ φθόνον πολιτείας ὑπούλον μόλις
 ἔχοντα, τῆς δὲ ἐκεῖ δυνάμεως ἐτοίμης ὑπαρχού-
 σης αὐτῷ, καὶ μόνον ὑπερβάλωσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν
 εὐθὺς ἐσομένης πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οὕτως γεγονέναι τὸν

¹ So Coraes and Bekker with the MSS.; Sint.² corrects to κελεύει

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colony recently established by Caesar in Gaul, were deprived of citizenship by them; and Marcellus, while he was consul, beat with rods a senator of Novum Comum who had come to Rome, telling him besides that he put these marks upon him to prove that he was not a Roman, and bade him go back and show them to Caesar. But after the consulship of Marcellus, Caesar having now sent his Gallic wealth for all those in public life to draw from in copious streams, and having freed Curio the tribune from many debts, and having given Paulus the consul fifteen hundred talents, out of which he adorned the forum with the Basilica,¹ a famous monument, erected in place of the Fulvia,—under these circumstances Pompey took fright at the coalition, and openly now, by his own efforts and those of his friends, tried to have a successor appointed to Caesar in his government, and sent a demand to him for the return of the soldiers whom he had lent him for his Gallic contests.² Caesar sent the soldiers back, after making a present to each man of two hundred and fifty drachmas. But the officers who brought these men to Pompey spread abroad among the multitude stories regarding Caesar which were neither reasonable nor true, and ruined Pompey himself with vain hopes. They told him that Caesar's army yearned for him, and that while he was with difficulty controlling affairs in the city owing to the disease of envy which festered in the body politic, the forces in Gaul were ready to serve him, and had but to cross into Italy when they would at once be on his side; so obnoxious to

¹ The Basilica Pauli Aemilii, called also Regia Pauli. It took the place of the Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia, erected in 179 B.C. ² See chapter xxv. 1.

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*Καίσαρα πλήθει στρατειῶν λυπηρὸν αὐτοῦς καὶ
5 φόβῳ μοναρχίας ὑποπτον.* ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομ-
πήιος ἔχανοῦτο· καὶ παρασκευῆς μὲν ἡμέλει
στρατιωτῶν, ὡς μὴ δεδοικώσ, λόγοις δὲ καὶ γνώ-
μαις κατεπολιτεύετο τῷ δοκεῖν Καίσαρα, κατα-
ψηφιζόμενος ὃν ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν· ἀλλὰ
καὶ λέγεται τινα τῶν ἀφιγμένων παρ' αὐτοῦ
ταξιάρχων ἐστῶτα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ
πυθόμενον ὡς οὐ δίδωσιν ἡ γερουσία Καίσαρι
χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς, “’Αλλ’ αὔτῃ” φάναι “δώσει,”
κρούσαντα τῇ χειρὶ τὴν λαβὴν τῆς μαχαίρας.

XXX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ᾧ γε παρὰ Καίσαρος
ἀξίωσις τὸ πρόσχῆμα τῆς δικαιολογίας λαμπρὸν
εἶχεν. ἡξίου γὰρ αὐτός τε καταθέσθαι τὰ δπλα,
καὶ Πομπηίου ταῦτὸ πράξαντος ἀμφοτέρους
ἰδιώτας γενομένους εὑρίσκεσθαι τι παρὰ τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀγαθόν, ὡς τοὺς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀφαιρου-
μένους, ἐκεῖνῷ δὲ ἦν εἶχε βεβαιοῦντας δύναμιν,
ἕτεροι διαβάλλοντας ἕτερον κατασκευάζειν τύραν-
2 νον. ταῦτα προκαλούμενος ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ Κουρίων
ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐκροτεῦντο λαμπρῶς· οἱ δὲ καὶ
στεφάνους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν ἀνθοβολοῦν-
τες ἡφίεσαν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ δημαρχῶν Καίσαρος
ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιστολὴν κομισθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ πλῆ-
θος ἐξήνεγκε καὶ ἀνέγνω βίᾳ τῶν ὑπάτων. ἐν δὲ
τῇ βουλῇ Σκηπίων μὲν ὁ Πομπηῖον πενθερὸς

¹ Cf. the Pompey, lxxii. 2.

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them had Caesar become by reason of the multitude of his campaigns, and so suspicious of him were they made by their fear of a monarchy. All this fed Pompey's vanity, and he neglected to provide himself with soldiers, as though he had no fears; while with speeches and resolutions of the senate he was carrying the day against Caesar, as he supposed, although he was merely getting measures rejected about which Caesar cared naught. Nay, we are told that one of the centurions sent to Rome by Caesar, as he stood in front of the senate-house and learned that the senate would not give Caesar an extension of his term of command, slapped the handle of his sword and said: "But this will give it."¹

XXX. However, the demands which came from Caesar certainly had a striking semblance of fairness. He demanded, namely, that if he himself laid down his arms, Pompey should do the same, and that both, thus become private men, should find what favour they could with their fellow citizens; arguing that if they took away his forces from him, but confirmed Pompey in the possession of his, they would be accusing one of seeking a tyranny and making the other a tyrant. When Curio laid these proposals before the people in behalf of Caesar, he was loudly applauded, and some actually cast garlands of flowers upon him as if he were a victorious athlete. Antony, too, who was a tribune, brought before the people a letter of Caesar's on these matters which he had received, and read it aloud, in defiance of the consuls. But in the senate, Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey,² introduced a motion

¹ Pompey had married Cornelia, the young widow of Publius Crassus (*Pompey*, iv 1).

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εἰσηγήσατο γνώμην, ἀν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῆ μὴ κατά-
θηται τὰ ὅπλα Καίσαρ, ἀποδειχθῆναι πολέμου
3 αὐτόν. ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰ δοκεῖ Πομ-
πύον ἀφεῖναι τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάλιν, εἰ
δοκεῖ Καίσαρα, τῇ μὲν ὀλίγοι παντάπασι, τῇ δὲ
πάντες παρ' ὀλίγους προσέθεντο· τῶν δὲ περὶ¹
'Αντώνιον πάλιν ἀξιούντων ἀμφοτέρους τὴν ἀρ-
χὴν ἀφεῖναι, πάντες ὁμαλῶς προσεχώρησαν.
ἀλλὰ ἐκβιαζομένου Σκηπίωνος, καὶ Λέντλου τοῦ
ὑπάτου βοῶντος ὅπλων δεῖν πρὸς ἄνδρα ληστήν,
οὐ ψήφων, τότε μὲν διελύθησαν καὶ μετεβάλοντο
τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπὶ πένθει διὰ τὴν στάσιν.

XXXI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ Καίσαρος ἥκον ἐπι-
στολαὶ μετριάζειν δοκούντος (ἢξιον γὰρ ἀφεῖς
τὰ ἀλλὰ πάντα τὴν ἐντὸς "Αλπεων καὶ τὸ Ιλλυ-
ρικὸν μετὰ δυεῦν ταγμάτων αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, μέχρι
οὗ τὴν δευτέραν ὑπατείαν μέτεισι), καὶ Κικέρων ὁ
ῥήτωρ ἄρτι παρὼν ἐκ Κιλικίας καὶ διαλλαγὰς
πράττων ἐμάλαπτε τὸν Πομπῆον, ὁ δὲ τάλλα
συγχωρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀφήρει· καὶ Κικέρων
μὲν ἔπειθε τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους συνενδόντας
ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἐπαρχίαις καὶ στρατιώταις
μόνοις ἔξακισχιλίοις ποιεῦσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις,
2 Πομπῆον δὲ καμπτομένου καὶ διδόντος οἱ περὶ²
Λέντλον οὐκ εἴων ὑπατεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
Βουλῆς Ἀντώνιον καὶ Κουρίωνα προπηλακίσαν-
τες ἔξήλασαν ἀτίμως, τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην Καί-
σαρι τῶν προφάσεων αὐτὸι μηχανησάμενοι, καὶ
δι' ἣς μάλιστα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρώξυνεν, ἐπι-

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that if by a fixed day Caesar did not lay down his arms he should be declared a public enemy. And when the consuls put the question whether Pompey should dismiss his soldiers, and again whether Caesar should, very few senators voted for the first, and all but a few for the second; but when Antony again demanded that both should give up their commands, all with one accord assented. Scipio, however, made violent opposition, and Lentulus the consul cried out that against a robber there was need of arms, not votes; whereupon the senate broke up, and the senators put on the garb of mourning in view of the dissension.

XXXI. But presently letters came from Caesar in which he appeared to take a more moderate position, for he agreed to surrender everything else, but demanded that Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum together with two legions should be given him until he stood for his second consulship. Cicero the orator, too, who had just returned from Cilicia and was busy with a reconciliation, tried to mollify Pompey, who yielded everything else, but insisted on taking away Caesar's soldiers. Cicero also tried to persuade the friends of Caesar to compromise and come to a settlement on the basis of the provinces mentioned and only six thousand soldiers, and Pompey was ready to yield and grant so many. Lentulus the consul, however, would not let him, but actually heaped insults upon Antony and Curio and drove them disgracefully from the senate,¹ thus himself contriving for Caesar the most specious of his pretexts, and the one by means of which he most of all incited his soldiers, showing them men of repute

¹ January 7, 49 B.C.

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δεικνύμενός ἄνδρας ἐλλογίμους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ μισθίων ζευγῶν πεφευγότας ἐν ἐσθῆσιν οἰκετικαῖς. οὕτω γάρ ἀπὸ Ρώμης σκευάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ φόβουν ὑπεξήσαν.

XXXII. Ἡσαν μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλείους ἵππέων τριακοσίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ὄπλιτῶν τὸ γάρ ἄλλο στράτευμα πέραν "Αλπεων ἀπολελειμμένουν ἔμελλον ἀξεῖν οἱ πεμφθέντες. ὥρῶν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃν ἐνίστατο πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον οὐ πολυχειρίας δεομένην ἐν τῷ παρόντι μᾶλλον ἢ θάρβει τε τόλμης καὶ τάχει καιροῦ

2 καταληπτέαν οὖσαν, ἐκπλήξειν γάρ ἀπιστούμενος ῥῶν ἢ βιάσεσθαι μετὰ παρασκευῆς ἐπελθών, τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας καὶ ταξιάρχους ἐκέλευσε μαχάριας ἔχοντας ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων κατασχεῖν Ἀρίμινον τῆς Κελτικῆς μεγάλην πόλιν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα φειταμένους φόνου καὶ ταραχῆς, Ὅρτησίφ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν παρέδωκεν.

3 Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν διῆγεν ἐν φανερῷ μονομάχοις ἐφεστὼς γυμναζομένοις καὶ θεώμενος· μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ ἐσπέρας θεραπεύσας τὸ σῶμα καὶ παρελθών εἰς τὸν ἄνδρων καὶ συγγενόμενος βραχέα τοῖς παρακεκλημένοις ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἥδη συσκοτάζοντος ἔξανέστη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους φίλοφρονθεῖς καὶ κελεύσας περιμένειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπανελευσόμενον, ὀλίγοις δὲ τῶν φίλων προείρητο μὴ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλῃ διώκειν.

4 αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν μισθίων ζευγῶν ἐπιβᾶς ἐνδὸς ἥλαυνυεν ἐτέραν τινὰ πρώτου ὄδόν, εἴτα πρὸς τὸ Ἀρίμινον ἐπιστρέψας, ὡς ἥλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν διορίζοντα τὴν ἐντὸς "Αλπεων Γαλατίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας

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and high office who had fled the city on hired carts and in the garb of slaves. For thus they had arrayed themselves in their fear and stolen out of Rome.

XXXII. Now, Caesar had with him not more than three hundred horsemen and five thousand legionaries ; for the rest of his army had been left beyond the Alps, and was to be brought up by those whom he had sent for the purpose. He saw, however, that the beginning of his enterprise and its initial step did not require a large force at present, but must take advantage of the golden moment by showing amazing boldness and speed, since he could strike terror into his enemies by an unexpected blow more easily than he could overwhelm them by an attack in full force. He therefore ordered his centurions and other officers, taking their swords only, and without the rest of their arms, to occupy Ariminum, a large city of Gaul, avoiding commotion and bloodshed as far as possible ; and he entrusted this force to Hortensius.

He himself spent the day in public, attending and watching the exercises of gladiators ; but a little before evening he bathed and dressed and went into the banqueting hall. Here he held brief converse with those who had been invited to supper, and just as it was getting dark rose and went away, after addressing courteously most of his guests and bidding them await his return. To a few of his friends, however, he had previously given directions to follow him, not all by the same route, but some by one way and some by another. He himself mounted one of his hired carts and drove at first along another road, then turned towards Ariminum. When he came to the river which separates Cisalpine Gaul from the

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ποταμόν ('Ρουβίκων καλεῖται), καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσγίει μᾶλλον ἐγγίζοντα τῷ δεινῷ καὶ περιφερόμενον τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τολμωμένων, 5 ἔσχετο δρόμου· καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήσας πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ διήνεγκε σιγῇ τὴν γνώμην ἐπ' ἀμφότερα μεταλαμβάνων, καὶ τροπὰς ἔσχεν αὐτῷ τότε τὸ βούλευμα πλείστας· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὡν ἦν καὶ Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος, συνδιηπόρησεν, ἀναλογιζόμενος ἡλίκων κακῶν ἄρξει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἡ διάβασις, ὅσου 10 τε λόγον αὐτῆς τοῦς αὐθίς ἀπολείψουσι. τέλος δὲ μετὰ θυμοῦ τινος ὥσπερ ἀφεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν τοὺς εἰς τύχας ἐμβαίνοντας ἀπόρους καὶ τόλμας προοίμιον ὑπειπών, “’Ανερρίφθω κύβος,” ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ δρόμῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἥδη χρώμενος εἰσέπεσε πρὸ δημέρας εἰς τὸ Ἀρίμινον καὶ κατέσχε. λέγεται δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ τῆς διαβάσεως ὄναρ ἴδεν ἔκθεσμον· ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ μίγνυσθαι τὴν ἄρρητον μῆξιν.

XXXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελήφθη τὸ Ἀρίμινον, ὥσπερ ἀνεψημένου τοῦ πολέμου πλατείας πύλαις ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ συγκεχυμένων ἄμα τοὺς ὄροις τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῶν νόμων τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἄνδρας ἀν τις φήθη καὶ γυναῖκας, ὥσπερ ἀλλοτε, σὺν ἐκπλήξει διαφοιτᾶν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς πολεις αὐτὰς ἀνισταμενας

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rest of Italy (it is called the Rubicon), and began to reflect, now that he drew nearer to the fearful step and was agitated by the magnitude of his ventures, he checked his speed. Then, halting in his course, he communed with himself a long time in silence as his resolution wavered back and forth, and his purpose then suffered change after change. For a long time, too, he discussed his perplexities with his friends who were present, among whom was Asinius Pollio, estimating the great evils for all mankind which would follow their passage of the river, and the wide fame of it which they would leave to posterity. But finally, with a sort of passion, as if abandoning calculation and casting himself upon the future, and uttering the phrase with which men usually prelude their plunge into desperate and daring fortunes, "Let the die be cast," he hastened to cross the river; and going at full speed now for the rest of the time, before daybreak he dashed into Ariminum and took possession of it.¹ It is said, moreover, that on the night before he crossed the river he had an unnatural dream; he thought, namely, that he was having incestuous intercourse with his own mother.²

XXXIII. After the seizure of Ariminum, as if the war had opened with broad gates to cover the whole earth and sea alike, and the laws of the state were confounded along with the boundaries of the province, one would not have thought that men and women, as at other times, were hurrying through Italy in consternation, but that the very cities had

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lx. 1-2.

² According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 7), Caesar had this dream while he was quaestor in Spain (67 B.C.). The interpreters of dreams told him that his *mother* meant the Earth, the universal parent, which was to become subject to him

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- 2 φυγῇ διαφέρεσθαι δι' ἀλλήλων, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ὡσπερ ὑπὸ ῥευμάτων πιμπλαμένην φυγαῖς τῶν πέριξ δήμων καὶ μεταστάσειν, οὔτε ἄρχοντι πεῖσαι ῥᾳδίαν οὖσαν οὔτε λόγῳ καθεκτην, ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι καὶ σάλῳ μικρὸν ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς ἀνατετράφθαι. πάθη γὰρ ἀντίπαλα
3 καὶ βίαια κατένχει κινήματα πάντα τόπον. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ χαῖρον ἡσυχίαν ἥγειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δεδοικότι καὶ λυπουμένῳ κατὰ πολλὰ συμπίπτον ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ θρασυνόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος δι' ἐρίδων ἦν, αὐτόν τε Πομπήιον ἐκπεπληγμένον ἄλλος ἄλλαχόθεν ἐτάραπτε, τοῖς μέν, ὡς ηὗξησε Καίσαρα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εὐθύνας ὑπέχοντα, τῶν δέ, διτὶ παρείκοντα καὶ προτεινόμενον εὐγνώμονας διαλύσεις ἐφῆκε τοῖς περὶ
4 Λέντλον ὑβρίσαι, κατηγορούντων. Φαώνιος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε τῷ ποδὶ κτυπεῖν τὴν γῆν, ἐπεὶ μεγαληγορῶν ποτε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον οὐδὲν εἴα πολυνπραγμούνειν οὐδὲ φρουτίζειν ἐκείνους τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς· αὐτὸς γάρ, δταν ἐπίη, κρούσας τὸ ἔδαφος τῷ ποδὶ στρατευμάτων ἐμπλήσειν τὴν Ἰταλίαν.
5 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ τότε πλήθει δυνάμεως ὑπερβαλλεν δ Πομπήιος τὴν Καίσαρος· εἴασε δ' οὐδὲν τὸν ἄνδρα χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς, ἀλλὰ ὑπ' ἀγγελμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ φόβων, ὡς ἐφεστώτος ἥδη τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πάντα κατέχοντος, εἴξας καὶ συνεκκρουσθεὶς τῇ πάντων φορᾷ ψηφίζεται ταραχὴν ὅραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπε κελεύσας ἐπεσθαι τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ μηδένα μένειν τῶν πρὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ἥρημένων τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

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risen up in flight and were rushing one through another; while Rome herself, deluged as it were by the inhabitants of the surrounding towns who were fleeing from their homes, neither readily obeying a magistrate nor listening to the voice of reason, in the surges of a mighty sea narrowly escaped being overturned by her own internal agitations. For conflicting emotions and violent disturbances prevailed everywhere. Those who rejoiced did not keep quiet, but in many places, as was natural in a great city, encountered those who were in fear and distress, and being filled with confidence as to the future came into strife with them; while Pompey himself, who was terror-stricken, was assailed on every side, being taken to task by some for having strengthened Caesar against himself and the supreme power of the state, and denounced by others for having permitted Lentulus to insult Caesar when he was ready to yield and was offering reasonable terms of settlement. Favonius bade him stamp on the ground; for once, in a boastful speech to the senate, he told them to take no trouble or anxious thought about preparations for the war, since when it came he had but to stamp upon the earth to fill Italy with armies.¹

However, even then Pompey's forces were more numerous than Caesar's; but no one would suffer him to exercise his own judgement; and so, under the influence of many false and terrifying reports, believing that the war was already close at hand and prevailed everywhere, he gave way, was swept along with the universal tide, issued an edict declaring a state of anarchy, and forsook the city, commanding the senate to follow, and forbidding any one to remain who preferred country and freedom to tyranny.

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lvii. 5.

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XXXIV. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπατοὶ μηδὲ ἂ νόμος ἐστὶ πρὸ ἔξοδου θύσαντες ἔφυγον ἔφευγον δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν οἱ πλεῦστοι, τρόπον τινὰ δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἴδιων ὃ τι τύχοιεν ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων λαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ σφόδρα τὰ Καίσαρος γῆρημένοι πρότερον ἔξέπεσον ὑπὸ Θάμβους τότε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ συμπαρηγέχθησαν οὐδέν δεό-

2 μενοι τῷ ρεύματι τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνης. οἰκτρότατον δὲ τὸ θεαμα τῆς πόλεως ἦν, ἐπιφερομένου τοσούτου χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ νεώς ὑπὸ κυβερνητῶν ἀπαγορευόντων πρὸς τὸ συντυχὸν ἐκπεσεῖν κομιζομένης. ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω τῆς μεταστάσεως οἰκτρᾶς οὔσης, τὴν μὲν φυγὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποι πατρίδα διὰ Πομπήιον ἤγοντο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ὡς Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον ἔξέλειπον ὅπου καὶ Λαβιηνός, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλοις Καίσαρος καὶ πρεσβευτῆς γεγονὼς καὶ συνηγωνισμένος ἐν πᾶσι προθυμότατα τοῖς Κελτικοῖς πολέμοις, τότ' ἐκείνον ἀποδρᾶς ἀφίκετο πρὸς Πομπήιον.

3 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἀπέπεμψεν ὁ Καίσαρ. Δομετίῳ δὲ ἡγουμένῳ σπειρῶν τριάκοντα καὶ κατέχοντι Κορφίνοις ἐπελθῶν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπογονὸς τὰ καθ' ἕαυτὸν ὑγῆσε τὸν ἰατρὸν οἰκέτην ὅντα φάρμακον καὶ λαβὼν τὸ δοθὲν ἔπιεν ὡς

4 τεθνηξόμενος. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Καίσαρα θαυμαστῇ τινὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαλωκότας, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεθρήνει καὶ τὴν δξύτητα τοῦ βουλεύματος γῆτιάτο. τοῦ δὲ ἰατροῦ θαρρύναντος αὐτόν, ὡς ὑπινωτικόν, οὐ θανάσιμον, πεπωκότα, περιχαρής ἀναστὰς ἀπήει πρὸς Καί-

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XXXIV. Accordingly, the consuls fled, without even making the sacrifices usual before departure; most of the senators also fled, after seizing, in a sort of robbery, whatever came to hand of their own possessions, as though it were the property of others. Some, too, who before this had vehemently espoused the cause of Caesar, were now frightened out of their wits, and were carried along, when there was no need of it, by the sweep of the great tide. But most pitiful was the sight of the city, now that so great a tempest was bearing down upon her, carried along like a ship abandoned of her helmsmen to dash against whatever lay in her path. Still, although their removal was so pitiful a thing, for the sake of Pompey men considered exile to be their country, and abandoned Rome with the feeling that it was Caesar's camp.¹ For even Labienus, one of Caesar's greatest friends, who had been his legate and had fought most zealously with him in all his Gallic wars, now ran away from him and came to Pompey.

But Caesar sent to Labienus his money and his baggage; against Domitius, however, who was holding Corfinium with thirty cohorts under his command, he marched, and pitched his camp near by. Domitius, despairing of his enterprise, asked his physician, who was a slave, for a poison; and taking what was given him, drank it, intending to die. But after a little, hearing that Caesar showed most wonderful clemency towards his prisoners, he bewailed his fate, and blamed the rashness of his purpose. Then his physician bade him be of good cheer, since what he had drunk was a sleeping-potion and not deadly; whereupon Domitius rose up overjoyed and went to Caesar,

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxi. 4.

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σαρα, καὶ λαβὼν δεξιὰν αὐθις διεξέπεσε πρὸς Πομπήϊου, ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ἀράμην ἀπαγγελλόμενα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡδίους ἐποίει, καὶ τινες φυγόντες ἀνέστρεψαν.

XXXV. ‘Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ τὴν τε τοῦ Δομετίου στρατιὰν παρέλαβε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι Πομπηίῳ στρατολογούμενους ἔφθασε καταλαβών, πολὺς δὲ γεγονὼς ἥδη καὶ φοβερὸς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἤλαυνε Πομπήϊου. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ’ εἰς Βρεντέσιον φυγὼν τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους πρότερον ἔστειλε μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς Δυρράχιον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπελθόντος Καίσαρος ἐξέπλευσεν, ως ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφησομένοις τὰ καθ’ ἔκαστον δηλωθήσεται.
2 Καίσαρι δὲ βουλομένῳ μὲν εὐθὺς διώκειν ἀπορίᾳ νεῶν ἦν εἰς τὴν Ἀράμην ἀνέστρεψε, γεγονὼς ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα πάσης ἀναιμωτὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας κύριος.

‘Ἐπει δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν εὑρε μᾶλλον ἢ προσεδόκα καθεστώσαν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐν αὐτῇ συχνούς, τούτους μὲν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ δημοτικὰ διελέχθη, παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς Πομπήϊου ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας ἐπὶ συμβάσεσι πρεπούσαις. ὑπῆκουσε δὲ οὐδείς, εἴτε φοβούμενοι Πομπήϊου ἐγκαταλειμμένοι, εἴτε μὴ νομίζοντες οὕτω Καίσαρα φρουρεῖν, ἀλλ’ εὐπρεπείᾳ λόγων χρῆσθαι.
3 τοῦ δὲ δημάρχου Μετέλλου κωλύοντος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων χρήματα λαμβάνειν καὶ νόμους τινὰς προφέροντος, οὐκ ἔφη τὸν αὐτὸν ὅπλων καὶ νόμων καιρὸν εἶναι. “Σὺ δὲ εἰ τοῖς πραττομένοις δυσκολαίνεις, μὲν ἐκποδῶν ἄπιθι παρησίας

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the pledge of whose right hand he received, only to desert him and go back to Pompey. When tidings of these things came to Rome, men were made more cheerful, and some of the fugitives turned back.

XXXV. Caesar took over the troops of Domitius, as well as all the other levies of Pompey which he surprised in the various cities. Then, since his forces were already numerous and formidable, he marched against Pompey himself. Pompey, however, did not await his approach, but fled to Brundisium, sent the consuls before him with an army to Dyrrhachium, and shortly afterwards, as Caesar drew near, sailed off himself, as shall be set forth circumstantially in his *Life*.¹ Caesar wished to pursue him at once, but was destitute of ships; so he turned back to Rome, having in sixty days and without bloodshed become master of all Italy.

He found the city more tranquil than he was expecting, and many senators in it. With these, therefore, he conferred in a gentle and affable manner,² inviting them even to send a deputation to Pompey proposing suitable terms of agreement. But no one would listen to him, either because they feared Pompey, whom they had abandoned, or because they thought that Caesar did not mean what he said, but was indulging in specious talk. When the tribune Metellus tried to prevent Caesar's taking money from the reserve funds of the state, and cited certain laws, Caesar said that arms and laws had not the same season. "But if thou art displeased at what is going on, for the present get out

¹ Chapter lxii.

² Caesar gives a summary of his speech to the senators in *B.C.* i. 32.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

γάρ οὐ δεῖται πόλεμος· ὅταν δὲ κατάθωμαι τὰ
ὅπλα συμβάσεων γενομένων, τότε παριὼν δημα-
γωγήσεις. καὶ ταῦτα,” ἔφη, “λέγω τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ
δικαιῶν ὑφίμενος· ἐμὸς γάρ εἰ καὶ σὺ καὶ πάντες
ὅσους εἴληφα τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ στασιασάντων.”
4 ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον εἰπὼν ἐβάδιζε πρὸς
τὰς θύρας τοῦ ταμιείου, μὴ φαινομένων δὲ τῶν
κλειδῶν χαλκεῖς μεταπεμφάμενος ἐκκόπτειν ἐκέ-
λευεν· αὐθις δὲ ἐνισταμένου τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ
τινῶν ἐπανούντων, διατεινάμενος ἡπείλησεν ἀπο-
κτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ παύσαστο παρενοχλῶν. “Καὶ
τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “μειράκιον, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι μοι
δυσκολώτερον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι.” οὗτος ὁ
λόγος τότε καὶ Μέτελλον ἀπελθεῖν ἐποίησε κατα-
δείσαντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ῥάδίως αὐτῷ καὶ ταχέως
ὑπηρετεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

XXXVI. Ἐστράτευε δ' εἰς Ἰβηρίαν πρότερον
ἐγνωκώς τοὺς περὶ Ἀφράνιον καὶ Βάρρωνα Πομ-
πῆιον πρεσβευτὰς ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ δυνά-
μεις καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιησάμενος
οὕτως ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ἐλαύνειν, μηδένα κατὰ νώτου
τῶν πολεμίων ὑπολειπόμενος, κινδυνεύσας δὲ
καὶ τῷ σώματι πολλάκις κατ' ἐνέδρας καὶ τῷ
στρατῷ μάλιστα διὰ λιμόν, οὐκ ἀνήκε πρότερον
διώκων καὶ προκαλούμενος καὶ περιταφρεύων
τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ κύριος βίᾳ γενέσθαι τῶν στρατο-
πέδων καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες φέρουστο
πρὸς Πομπήιον φεύγοντες.

XXXVII. Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην Κα-
σαρα Πείσων μὲν ὁ πενθερὸς παρεκάλει πρὸς
Πομπήιον ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως,

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of the way, since war has no use for free speech ; when, however, I have come to terms and laid down my arms, then thou shalt come before the people with thy harangues. And in saying this I waive my own just rights ; for thou art mine, thou and all of the faction hostile to me whom I have caught."

After this speech to Metellus, Caesar walked towards the door of the treasury, and when the keys were not to be found, he sent for smiths and ordered them to break in the door. Metellus once more opposed him, and was commanded by some for so doing ; but Caesar, raising his voice, threatened to kill him if he did not cease his troublesome interference. "And thou surely knowest, young man," said he, "that it is more unpleasant for me to say this than to do it." Then Metellus, in consequence of this speech, went off in a fright, and henceforth everything was speedily and easily furnished to Caesar for the war.¹

XXXVI. So he made an expedition into Spain,² having resolved first to drive out from there Afranius and Varro, Pompey's legates, and bring their forces there and the provinces into his power, and then to march against Pompey, leaving not an enemy in his rear. And though his life was often in peril from ambuscades, and his army most of all from hunger, he did not cease from pursuing, challenging, and besieging the men until he had made himself by main force master of their camps and their forces. The leaders, however, made their escape to Pompey.

XXXVII. When Caesar came back to Rome, Piso, his father-in-law, urged him to send a deputation to Pompey with proposals for a settlement ; but

¹ Cf. the *Pompey* lxxii 1. ² Cf. Caesar, *B C* i. 34-36

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Ίσαυρικὸς δὲ Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἀντεῖπεν.
αἱρεθεὶς δὲ δικτάτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φυγάδας τε
κατήγαγε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα δυστυχησάντων
τοὺς παιδὰς ἐπιτίμους ἐποίησε, καὶ σεισαχθείᾳ
τινὶ τόκων ἐκούφιζε τοὺς χρεωφειλέτας, ἀλλων
τε τοιούτων ἦψατο πολιτευμάτων οὐ πολλῶν,
ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἔνδεκα τὴν μὲν μοναρχίαν ἀπει-
πάμενος, ὑπατον δὲ ἀναδείξας ἐαυτὸν καὶ Σερου-
λιον Ἰσαυρικόν, εἴχετο τῆς στρατείας.

2 Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας δυνάμεις καθ' ὁδὸν ἐπειγό-
μενος παρῆλθεν, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἔχων λογάδας ἔξα-
κοσίους καὶ πέντε τάγματα, χειμῶνος ἐν τροπαῖς
ὅντος, ἴσταμένουν Ἰαννουαρόν μηνὸς (οὗτος δ' ἀν
εἶη Ποσειδεῶν· Ἀθηναίοις) ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος·
καὶ διαβαλὼν τὸν Ἰόνιον· Ὡρικον καὶ Ἀπολλω-
νίαν αἱρεῖ, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα πάλιν ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς
Βρευτέσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστερήσαντας τῇ πορείᾳ
3 στρατιώτας. οἱ δὲ ἄχρι μὲν καθ' ὁδὸν ἥσαν, ἀτέ
δὴ καὶ παρηκμακότες ἥδη τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πρὸς
τὰ πλήθη τῶν πολέμων ἀπειρηκότες, ἐν αἰτίαις
εἶχον τὸν Καίσαρα. “Ποι δὴ καὶ πρὸς τί πέρας
ἥμᾶς οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ καταθήσεται περιφέων καὶ
χρώμενος ὡσπερ ἀτρύτοις καὶ ἀψύχοις ἥμνῳ; καὶ
σιδηρος ἔξεκαμε πληγαῖς, καὶ θυρεοῦ τίς ἔστι
4 φειδῶ ἐν χρόνῳ τοσούτῳ καὶ θώρακος. οὐδὲ ἀπὸ
τῶν τραυμάτων ἄρα λογίζεται Καίσαρ ὅτι θυητῶν
μὲν ἄρχει, θυητὰ δὲ πεφύκαμεν πάσχειν καὶ ἀλ-
γεῖν; ὡραν δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ πνεύματος ἐν θαλάτ-
τῃ καιρὸν οὐδὲ θεῷ βιάζεσθαι δυνατόν· ἀλλ'
οὗτος παραβάλλεται καθάπερ οὐ διώκων πολε-
μίους, ἀλλὰ φεύγων.” τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἐπορεύ-

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Isauricus, to please Caesar, opposed the project. So, having been made dictator by the senate, he brought home exiles, restored to civic rights the children of those who had suffered in the time of Sulla, relieved the burdens of the debtor-class by a certain adjustment of interest, took in hand a few other public measures of like character, and within eleven days abdicated the sole power, had himself declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and entered upon his campaign.

The rest of his forces he passed by in a forced march, and with six hundred picked horsemen and five legions, at the time of the winter solstice, in the early part of January¹ (this month answers nearly to the Athenian Poseideon), put to sea, and after crossing the Ionian gulf took Oricum and Apollonia, and sent his transports back again to Brundisium for the soldiers who had been belated on their march. These, as long as they were on the road, since they were now past their physical prime and worn out with their multitudinous wars, murmured against Caesar. "Whither, pray, and to what end will this man bring us, hurrying us about and treating us like tireless and lifeless things? Even a sword gets tired out with smiting, and shield and breastplate are spared a little after so long a time of service. Will not even our wounds, then, convince Caesar that he commands mortal men, and that we are mortal in the endurance of pain and suffering? Surely the wintry season and the occasion of a storm at sea not even a god can constrain; yet this man takes risks as though he were not pursuing, but flying from, enemies." With such words as these they

¹ 48 B.C. The Roman calendar, at this time, was much in advance of the solar seasons.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

5 οντο σχολαίως εἰς τὸ Βρευτέσιον. ὡς δὲ ἐλθόντες εὑρου ἀνηγμένον τὸν Καίσαρα, ταχὺ πάλιν αὖ μεταβαλόντες ἐκάκιζον ἑαυτούς προδότας ἀποκαλοῦντες τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐκάκιζον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὐκ ἐπιταχύναντας τὴν πορείαν. καθήμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὴν "Ηπειρον ἀπεσκόπουν τὰς ναῦς ἐφ' ὧν ἔμελλον περαιοῦσθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

XXXVIII. Ἐν δὲ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔχων ἀξιόμαχον τὴν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, βραδυνούσης δὲ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν, ἀπορούμενος καὶ περιπαθῶν, δεινὸν ἐβούλευσε βούλευμα, κρύφα πάντων εἰς πλοίον ἐμβὰς τὸ μέγεθος δωδεκάσκαλμον ἀναχθῆναι πρὸς τὸ Βρευτέσιον, τηλικούτοις στόλοις περιεχομένου τοῦ πελάγους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμών.

2 μυκτός οὖν ἐσθῆτι θεράποντος ἐπικρυψάμενος ἐνέβη, καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ὡς τινα τῶν παρημελημένων ἡσύχαζε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀώνου ποταμοῦ τὴν ναῦν ὑποφέροντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τὴν μὲν ἐωθινὴν αὔραν, ἥ παρεῖχε τηνικαῦτα περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς γαλήνην ἀπωθοῦσα πόρρω τὸ κῦμα, πολὺς πινέύσας πελάγιος διὰ μυκτὸς ἀπέσβεσε.

3 πρὸς δὲ τὴν πλημμύραν τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τὴν ἀντίβασιν τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀγριαίνων ὁ ποταμός, καὶ τραχὺς ἄμα καὶ κτύπω μεγάλω καὶ σκληραῖς ἀνακοπτόμενος δίναις, ἅπορος ἦν βιασθῆναι τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ναύτας ὡς ἀποστρέψων τὸν πλοῦν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναδείκνυσιν ἑαυτόν, καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκπεπληγμένου πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν, “Ἔθι, ἔφη, γειναῖς, τόλμα καὶ δέδιθι

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marched in a leisurely way to Brundisium. But when they got there and found that Caesar had put to sea, they quickly changed their tone and reviled themselves as traitors to the Imperator; they reviled their officers, too, for not having quickened their march. Then, sitting on the cliffs, they looked off towards the open sea and Epirus, watching for the ships which were to carry them across to their commander.

XXXVIII. At Apollonia, since the force which he had with him was not a match for the enemy and the delay of his troops on the other side caused him perplexity and distress, Caesar conceived the dangerous plan of embarking in a twelve-oared boat, without any one's knowledge, and going over to Brundisium, though the sea was encompassed by such large armaments of the enemy. At night, accordingly, after disguising himself in the dress of a slave, he went on board, threw himself down as one of no account, and kept quiet. While the river Aous was carrying the boat down towards the sea, the early morning breeze, which at that time usually made the mouth of the river calm by driving back the waves, was quelled by a strong wind which blew from the sea during the night; the river therefore chafed against the inflow of the sea and the opposition of its billows, and was rough, being beaten back with a great din and violent eddies, so that it was impossible for the master of the boat to force his way along. He therefore ordered the sailors to come about in order to retrace his course. But Caesar, perceiving this, disclosed himself, took the master of the boat by the hand, who was terrified at sight of him, and said: "Come, good man, be bold

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μηδένι Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην
4 συμπλέουσαν.” ἐλάθοντο τοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ ναῦ-
ται, καὶ ταῖς κώπαις ἐμφύντες ἐβιάζοντο πάσῃ
προθυμίᾳ τὸν ποταμόν. ὡς δὲ ἦν ἄπορα, δεξά-
μενος πολλὴν θάλατταν καὶ κινδυνεύσας ἐν τῷ
στόματι συνεχώρησε μάλα ἄκων τῷ κυβερνήτῃ
μεταβαλεῖν. ἀνιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ πλῆθος
ἀπήντων οἱ στρατιώται, πολλὰ μεμφόμενοι καὶ
δυσπαθοῦντες εἰς μὴ πέπεισται καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς
μόνους ἴκανὸς εἶναι νικᾶν, ἀλλ’ ἄχθεται καὶ παρα-
βάλλεται διὰ τοὺς ἀπόντας ὡς ἀπιστῶν τοὺς
παροῦσιν.

XXXIX. Ἐκ τούτου κατέπλευσε μὲν Ἀντώ-
νιος ἀπὸ Βρευτεσίου τὰς δυνάμεις ἅγων θαρρή-
σας δὲ Καίσαρ προύκαλεντο Πομπήιον ἰδρυμένον
ἐν καλῷ καὶ χορηγούμενον ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάτ-
της ἀποχρώντως, αὐτὸς ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις διάγων
κατ’ ἀρχάς, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ σφόδρα πιεσθεὶς
ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἀλλὰ ῥίζαν τινὰ κό-
πτοντες οἱ στρατιώται καὶ γάλακτι φυρῶντες
2 προσεφέροντο. καὶ ποτε καὶ διαπλάσαντες ἔξ
αὐτῆς ἄρτους καὶ ταῖς προφυλακαῖς τῶν πολε-
μίων ἐπιδραμόντες ἔβαλλον εἴσω καὶ διερρίπτουν,
ἐπιλέγοντες ὡς, ἄχρι ἀνὴρ γῆ τοιαύτας ἐκφέρῃ
ῥίζας, οὐ παύσονται πολιορκοῦντες Πομπήιον. ὃ
μέντοι Πομπήιος οὔτε τοὺς ἄρτους οὔτε τοὺς λό-
γους εἴσα τούτους ἐκφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος.
ἡθύμουν γάρ οἱ στρατιώται, τὴν ἀγριότητα καὶ
τὴν ἀπάθειαν τῶν πολεμίων ὥσπερ θηρίων ὁρ-
ρωδοῦντες.

3 Ἀεὶ δέ τινες περὶ τοὺς ἑρύμασι τοῖς Πομπήιον
μάχαι σποράδες ἐγήγοντο· καὶ περιῆν πάσαις ὁ

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and fear naught ; thou carryest Caesar and Caesar's fortune in thy boat." ¹ The sailors forgot the storm, and laying to their oars, tried with all alacrity to force their way down the river. But since it was impossible, after taking much water and running great hazard at the mouth of the river, Caesar very reluctantly suffered the captain to put about. When he came back, his soldiers met him in throngs, finding much fault and sore displeased with him because he did not believe that even with them alone he was able to conquer, but was troubled, and risked his life for the sake of the absent as though distrusting those who were present.

XXXIX. After this, Antony put in from Brundisium with his forces, and Caesar was emboldened to challenge Pompey to battle. Pompey was well posted and drew ample supplies both from land and sea ; while Caesar had no great abundance at first, and afterwards was actually hard pressed for want of provisions. But his soldiers dug up a certain root, mixed it with milk, and ate it.² Once, too, they made loaves of it, and running up to the enemy's outposts, threw the loaves inside or tossed them to one another, adding by way of comment that as long as the earth produced such roots, they would not stop besieging Pompey. Pompey, however, would not allow either the loaves or these words to reach the main body of his army. For his soldiers were dejected, fearing the ferocity and hardiness of their enemies, who were like wild beasts in their eyes.

There were constant skirmishings about the fortifications of Pompey, and in all of them Caesar got

¹ Cf. Dion Cassius, xli. 46. 3.

² Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 48.

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Καίσαρ πλὴν μᾶς, ἐν ᾧ τροπῆς μεγάλης γενομένης ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀπολέσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον. Πομπήιον γὰρ προσβάλλοντος οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάφροι κατεπίμπλαντο κτεινομένων, καὶ περὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν χαρακώμασι καὶ περιτειχίσμασιν ἔπιπτον ἐλαυνόμενοι προτροπάδην. Καίσαρ δὲ ὑπαντιάζων ἐπειρᾶτο μὲν ἀναστρέφειν τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐπέραινε δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιλαμβανομένουν τῶν σημείων ἀπερρίπτουν οἱ κομίζοντες, ὅστε δύο καὶ τριάκοντα λαβεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους. αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἥλθεν ἀποθανεῖν. ἀνδρὶ γὰρ μεγάλῳ καὶ ῥωμαλέῳ φεύγοντι παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐπιβαλλὼν τὴν χεῖρα μένειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ στρέφεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ δὲ μεστὸς ὀνταραχῆς παρὰ τὸ δεινὸν ἐπήρατο τὴν μάχαιραν ὡς καθιξόμενος, φθάνει δὲ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπασπιστῆς ἀποκόφας αὐτὸν τὸν ὄμονον. οὕτω δὲ ἀπέγνω τὰ καθ’ αὐτὸν ὕστε, ἐπεὶ Πομπήιος ὑπὲνλαβείας τινὸς ἡ τύχης ἔργῳ μεγάλῳ τέλοις οὐκ ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλὰ καθείρξας εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνεχώρησεν, εἶτεν ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπιών ὁ Καίσαρ, “Σήμερον ἀνὴρ νίκη παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, εἰ τὸν οἰκῶντα εἶχον.”
6 αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ κατακλιθεὶς νύκτα πασῶν ἐκείνην ἀνιαροτάτην διήγαγεν ἐν ἀπόροις λογισμοῖς, ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκώς, ὅτι καὶ χώρας ἐπικειμένης βαθείας καὶ πόλεων εὑδαιμόνων τῶν Μακεδονικῶν καὶ Θετταλικῶν, ἐάσας ἐκεῖ περιστάσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐνταῦθα καθέξοιτο πρὸς θαλάττη, ναυκρατούντων τῶν πολεμίων, πολιορκούμενος τοὺς ἀναγκαίους μᾶλ-

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the better except one, where there was a great rout of his men and he was in danger of losing his camp. For when Pompey attacked not one of Caesar's men stood his ground, but the moats were filled with the slain, and others were falling at their own ramparts and walls, whither they had been driven in headlong flight. And though Caesar met the fugitives and tried to turn them back, he availed nothing, nay, when he tried to lay hold of the standards the bearers threw them away, so that the enemy captured thirty-two of them. Caesar himself, too, narrowly escaped being killed. For as a tall and sturdy man was running away past him, he laid his hand upon him and bade him stay and face about upon the enemy; and the fellow, full of panic at the threatening danger, raised his sword to smite Caesar, but before he could do so Caesar's shield-bearer lopped off his arm at the shoulder. So completely had Caesar given up his cause for lost that, when Pompey, either from excessive caution or by some chance, did not follow up his great success, but withdrew after he had shut up the fugitives within their entrenchments, Caesar said to his friends as he left them: "To-day victory had been with the enemy, if they had had a victor in command."¹ Then going by himself to his tent and lying down, he spent that most distressful of all nights in vain reflections, convinced that he had shown bad generalship. For while a fertile country lay waiting for him, and the prosperous cities of Macedonia and Thessaly, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and had posted himself here by the sea, which his enemies controlled with their fleets, being thus held in siege by lack of

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxxv. 5.

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7 λον ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις πολιορκῶν. οὕτω δὴ ριπτασθεὶς καὶ ἀδημονήσας πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ χαλεπότητα τῶν παρόντων ἀνίστη τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ Σκηπίωνα προάγειν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐγνωκώς· ἢ γὰρ ἐπισπάσεσθαι Πομπήιον ὅπου μαχεῖται μὴ χορηγούμενος ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἢ περιέσεσθαι μεμονωμένον Σκηπίωνος.

XL. Τούτο τὴν Πομπήιον στρατιὰν ἐπῆρε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας ὡς ἡττημένους καὶ φεύγοντος ἔχεσθαι Καίσαρος. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ εὐλαβῶς εἶχε Πομπήιος ἀναρρῖψαι μάχην περὶ τηλικούτων, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος ἄριστα πᾶσι πρὸς τὸν χρόνον ἦξιον τρίβειν καὶ μαραίνειν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀκμὴν βραχεῖαν οὖσαν. τὸ γάρ τοι μαχιμώτατον τῆς Καίσαρος δυνάμεως ἐμπειρίαν μὲν εἶχε καὶ τόλμαν ἀνυπόστατον πρὸς τοὺς 2 ἀγῶνας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πλάναις καὶ ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις καὶ τειχομαχοῦντες καὶ νυκτεγερτοῦντες ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ γήρως, καὶ βαρεῖς ἥσαν τοῖς σώμασι πρὸς τοὺς πόνους, δι’ ἀσθένειαν ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν προθυμίαν. τότε δὲ καὶ τι νόσημα λοιμῶδες ἐλέχθη, τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς διαίτης ποιησάμενον ἀρχήν, ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ περιφέρεσθαι τῇ Καίσαρος. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὔτε χρήμασιν ἐρωμένος οὔτε τροφῆς εὐπορῶν χρόνου βραχέος ἐδόκει περὶ αὐτῷ καταλυθήσεσθαι.

XLΙ. Διὰ ταῦτα Πομπήιον μάχεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενον μόνος ἐπῆγνει Κάτων φειδοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν·

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provisions rather than besieging with his arms. Thus his despondent thoughts of the difficulty and perplexity of his situation kept him tossing upon his couch, and in the morning he broke camp, resolved to lead his army into Macedonia against Scipio; for he would then either draw Pompey after him to a place where he would give battle without drawing his supplies as he now did from the sea, or Scipio would be left alone and he would overwhelm him.

XL. This emboldened the soldiers of Pompey and the leaders by whom he was surrounded to keep close to Caesar, whom they thought defeated and in flight. For Pompey himself was cautious about hazarding a battle for so great a stake, and since he was most excellently provided with everything necessary for a long war, he thought it best to wear out and quench the vigour of the enemy, which must be short-lived. For the best fighting men in Caesar's army had experience, it is true, and a daring which was irresistible in combat; but what with their long marches and frequent encampments and siege-warfare and night-watches, they were beginning to give out by reason of age, and were too unwieldy for labour, having lost their ardour from weakness. At that time, too, a kind of pestilential disease, occasioned by the strangeness of their diet, was said to be prevalent in Caesar's army. And what was most important of all, since Caesar was neither strong in funds nor well supplied with provisions, it was thought that within a short time his army would break up of itself.

XLI. For these reasons Pompey did not wish to fight, but Cato was the only one to commend his course, and this from a desire to spare the lives

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ὅς γε καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς χιλίους τὸ πλῆθος γενομένους ἕδων ἀπῆλθεν ἐγκαλυψάμενος καὶ καταδακρύσας. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐκάκιζον τὸν Πομπήιον φυγομάχούντα, καὶ παρώξυνον Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ βασιλέα βασιλέων ἀποκαλοῦντες, ὡς δὴ μὴ βουλόμενον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαλλόμενον ἥγεμόνων τοσούτων ἔξηρτημένων αὐτοῦ καὶ φοι-

² τώντων ἐπὶ σκηνήν. Φαώνιος δὲ τὴν Κάτωνος παρρησίαν ὑποποιούμενος, μανικῶς ἐσχετλίαζεν εἰς μηδὲ τῆτες ἔσται τῶν περὶ Τουσκλάνον ἀπολαῦσαι σύκων διὰ τὴν Πομπήιον φιλαρχίαν. Ἀφράνιος δὲ (νεωστὶ γάρ ἐξ Ἰθηρίας ἀφίκτο κακῶς στρατηγήσας) διαβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ χρήμασι προδοῦναι τὸν στρατόν, ἥρωτα διὰ τί πρὸς τὸν ἔμπορον οὐ μάχονται τὸν ἐωνημένον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαρχίας. ἐκ τούτων ἀπάντων συνελαυνόμενος ἄκων εἰς μάχην ὁ Πομπήιος ἔχωρει τὸν Καίσαρα διώκων.

³ Οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πορείαν χαλεπῶς ἥνυσσεν, οὐδενὸς παρέχοντος ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταφρονούντων διὰ τὴν ἔναγχος ἥτταν· ὡς δὲ εἶλε Γόμφους, Θεσσαλικὴν πόλιν, οὐ μόνον ἔθρεψε τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ νοσήματος ἀπῆλλαξε παραλόγως. ἀφθόνῳ γάρ ἐνέτυχον οἴνῳ, καὶ πιόντες ἀνέδην, εἴτα χρώμενοι κώμοις καὶ βακχεύοντες ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐκ μέθης διεκρούσαντο καὶ παρῆλλαξαν τὸ πάθος, εἰς ἔξιν ἐτέραν τοῖς σώμασι μεταπεσόντες.

XLII. Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὴν Φαρσαλίαν ἐμβαλόντες ἀμφότεροι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος

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of his fellow citizens ; for when he saw even those of the enemy who had fallen in the battle, to the number of a thousand, he burst into tears, muffled up his head, and went away. All the rest, however, reviled Pompey for trying to avoid a battle, and sought to goad him on by calling him Agamemnon and King of Kings, implying that he did not wish to lay aside his sole authority, but plumed himself on having so many commanders dependent upon him and coming constantly to his tent. And Favonius, affecting Cato's boldness of speech, complained like a mad man because that year also they would be unable to enjoy the figs of Tusculum because of Pompey's love of command.¹ Afranius, too, who had lately come from Spain, where he had shown bad generalship, when accused of betraying his army for a bribe, asked why they did not fight with the merchant who had bought the provinces from him.¹ Driven on by all these importunities, Pompey reluctantly sought a battle and pursued Caesar.

Caesar accomplished most of his march with difficulty, since no one would sell him provisions, and everybody despised him on account of his recent defeat ; but after he had taken Gomphi, a city of Thessaly, he not only provided food for his soldiers, but also relieved them of their disease unexpectedly. For they fell in with plenty of wine, and after drinking freely of it, and then revelling and rioting on their march, by means of their drunkenness they drove away and got rid of their trouble, since they brought their bodies into a different habit.

XLII. But when both armies entered the plain of Pharsalus and encamped there, Pompey's mind

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxvii. 3.

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ανθις εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀνεκρούετο λογισμὸν τὴν γνῶμην, ἔτι καὶ φασμάτων οὐκ αἰσίων προσγενομένων καὶ καθ' ὑπνου δψεως. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἔαυτὸν ὅραν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κροτούμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, . . .¹ οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω θρασεῖς ἦσαν καὶ τὸ νίκητρα ταῖς ἐλπίσι προειληφότες ὅστε φιλοιεικὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης Δομίτιον καὶ Σπινθῆρα καὶ Σκηπίωνα διαμιλλωμένους ἀλλὰ λήγοις, πέμπειν δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην μισθούμενους καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας οἰκίας ὑπατεύουσι καὶ στρατηγοῦσιν ἐπιτηδείους, ὡς εὐθὺς ἄρξοντες μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον. μάλιστα δὲ ἐσφάδαζον οἱ ἵππεις ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἡσκημένοι περιττῶς ὅπλων λαμπρότησι καὶ τροφαῖς ἵππων καὶ κάλλει σωμάτων, μέγα φρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπτακισχίλιοι πρὸς χιλίους τοὺς Καίσαρος ὄντες. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν πεζῶν πλῆθος οὐκ ἀγχώμαλον, ἀλλὰ τετρακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι παρετάττοντο δισμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις.

XLIII. Οἱ δὲ Καίσαρ τοὺς στρατιώτας συναγαγών, καὶ προειπὼν ὡς δύο μὲν αὐτῷ τάγματα Κορφίνιος ἄγων ἐγγύς ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα σπείραι μετὰ Καληνοῦ κάθηται περὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἥρωτησεν εἴτε βούλονται περιμένειν ἐκείνους, εἴτε αὐτοὶ διακινδυνεύσαι καθ' ἔαυτούς. οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν δεόμενοι μὴ περιμένειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅπως τάχιστα συνίασιν εἰς χειρας τοὺς πολεμίους, τεχνάζεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν. ποιουμένῳ δὲ καθαρμὸν αὐτῷ τῆς δυνά-

¹ The substance of what has fallen from the text here may be found in the *Pompey*, lxvii. 2. Sintenis brackets the sentence as an intrusion here from marginal notes

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reverted again to its former reasoning, and besides, there befell him unlucky appearances and a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that he saw himself in his theatre applauded by the Romans, . . Those about him, however, were so confident, and so hopefully anticipated the victory, that Domitius and Spinther and Scipio disputed earnestly with one another over Caesar's office of Pontifex Maximus, and many sent agents to Rome to hire and take possession of houses suitable for praetors and consuls, assuming that they would immediately hold these offices after the war.¹ And most of all were his cavalry impatient for the battle, since they had a splendid array of shining armour, well-fed horses, and handsome persons, and were in high spirits too on account of their numbers, which were seven thousand to Caesar's one thousand. The numbers of the infantry also were unequal, since forty-five thousand were arrayed against twenty-two thousand.

XLIII. Caesar called his soldiers together, and after telling them that Corfinius² was near with two legions for him, and that fifteen cohorts besides under Calenus were stationed at Athens and Megara, asked them whether they wished to wait for these troops, or to hazard the issue by themselves. Then the soldiers besought him with loud cries not to wait for the troops, but rather to contrive and manoeuvre to come to close quarters with the enemy as soon as possible. As he was holding a lustration

¹ Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 82 f.; Plutarch, *Pompey*, lxvii. 5.

² An error for Cornificius.

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μεως καὶ θύσαντι τὸ πρῶτον ἱερεῖνον εὐθὺς ὁ μάντις
ἔφραξε τριῶν ἡμερῶν μάχῃ κριθῆσεσθαι πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰ
καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέλους ἐνορᾶ τι τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὔσημον,
“Αὐτὸς ἄν,” ἔφη, “σὺ τοῦτο βέλτιον ὑποκρίναιο
σαυτῷ. μεγάλην γάρ οἱ θεοὶ μεταβολὴν καὶ μετά-
πτωσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν καθεστώτων δηλοῦσιν,
ώστε εἰ μὲν εὐνόην πράττειν ἥγη σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ
παρόντι, τὴν χείρονα προσδόκα τύχην· εἰ δὲ κα-
3 κώς, τὴν ἀμεινονα.” τῇ δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης νικῆτὶ³
τὰς φυλακὰς ἐφοδεύοντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ μεσο-
νύκτιον ὥφθη λαμπάς οὐρανίου πυρός, ἦν ὑπερ-
ενεχθέσαν τὸ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον λαμπρᾶν
καὶ φλογώδη γενομένην ἔδοξεν εἰς τὸ Πομπήον
καταπεσεῖν. ἐώθινής δὲ φυλακῆς καὶ πανικὸν
τάραχον ἥσθιοντο γυγνόμενον παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις.
οὐ μὴν μαχεῖσθαι γε κατ’ ἐκείνην προσεδόκα τὴν
ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐπὶ Σκοτούσσης ὁδεύων ἀνε-
ζεύγνυεν.

XLIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν σκηνῶν ἥδη καταλευ-
μένων οἱ σκοποὶ προσίππευσαν αὐτῷ τοὺς πο-
λεμίους ἐπὶ μάχῃ καταβαίνειν ἀπαγγέλλοντες,
περιχαρής γενομένος καὶ προσευξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς
παρέταττε τὴν φάλαγγα, τὴν τάξιν τριπλῆν
ποιῶν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν μέσοις ἐπέστησε Καλβίνον
Δομύτιον, τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν εἶχεν Ἀντώνιος,
αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεξιόν, ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τάγματι μέλλων
2 μάχεσθαι. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων
ἰππεῖς ἀντιπαρατατομένους ὄρῶν, καὶ δεδοικώς
τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐσχάτης τάξεως ἀδήλως ἐκέλευσε περιελθεῖν πρὸς
εαυτὸν ἔξι σπείρας καὶ κατόπιν ἔστησε τοῦ δεξιοῦ,

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and review of his forces and had sacrificed the first victim, the seer at once told him that within three days there would be a decisive battle with the enemy. And when Caesar asked him whether he also saw in the victims any favourable signs of the issue, "Thou thyself," said the seer, "canst better answer this question for thyself. For the gods indicate a great change and revolution of the present status to the opposite. Therefore, if thou thinkest thyself well off as matters stand, expect the worse fortune; if badly off, the better." Moreover, on the night before the battle, as Caesar was making the round of his sentries about midnight, a fiery torch was seen in the heavens, which seemed to be carried over his camp, blazing out brightly, and then to fall into Pompey's. And during the morning watch it was noticed that there was actually a panic confusion among the enemy.¹ However, Caesar did not expect to fight on that day,² but began to break camp for a march to Scotussa.

XLIV. But just as the tents had been struck, his scouts rode up to him with tidings that the enemy were coming down into the plain for battle. At this he was overjoyed, and after prayers and vows to the gods, drew up his legionaries in three divisions. Over the centre he put Domitius Calvinus, while of the wings Antony had one and he himself the right, where he intended to fight with the tenth legion. But seeing that the enemy's cavalry were arraying themselves over against this point, and fearing their brilliant appearance and their numbers, he ordered six cohorts from the furthermost lines to come round to him unobserved, and stationed them behind his right

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxviii. 3.

² August 9, 48 B.C.

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- διδάξας ἂ χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅταν οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῖς προσφέρωνται. Πομπήιος δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν κεράτων, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Δομίτιος, τοῦ 3 δὲ μέσου Σκηπίων ἥρχεν ὁ πενθερός. οἱ δὲ ἵππεῖς ἄπαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ἔβρισαν ὡς τὸ δεξιὸν κυκλωσόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ λαμπρὰν περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα ποιησόμενοι τροπήν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνθέξειν βάθος ὁπλιτικῆς φάλαγγος, ἀλλὰ συντρίψεσθαι καὶ καταρράξεσθαι πάντα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιβολῆς ἄμα τοσούτων ἵππων γενομένης.
- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ σημαίνειν ἔμελλον ἀμφότεροι τὴν ἔφοδον, Πομπήιος μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἑστῶτας ἐν προβολῇ καὶ μένοντας ἀραρότως δέχεσθαι τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν πολεμίων, μέχρι ἀνύσσοντος βολῆς ἐντὸς γένωνται. Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διαμαρτεῖν φησιν αὐτὸν, ἀγνοήσαντα τὴν μετὰ δρόμου καὶ φορᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ γινομένην σύρραξιν, ὡς ἐν τε ταῖς πληγαῖς βίᾳν προστίθησι καὶ συνεκκαλεῖ τὸν 5 θυμὸν ἐκ πάντων ἀναρριπιζόμενον. αὐτὸς δὲ κινεῖν τὴν φάλαγγα μέλλων καὶ προὶών ἐπ' ἔργον ἥδη πρῶτον ὄρῳ τῶν ταξιάρχων ἄνδρα πιστὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμων ἔμπειρον, ἐπιθαρσύνοντα τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῷ καὶ προκαλούμενον εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἀλκῆς. τούτον ὄνομαστὶ προσαγορεύσας, “Τί ἐλπίζομεν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Γάιε Κρασσίνε, καὶ πῶς τι θάρσους 6 ἔχομεν;” ὁ δὲ Κρασσίνιος ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ μέγα βοήσας, “Νικήσομεν,” ἔφη, “λαμπρῶς, ὦ Καῖσαρ· ἐμὲ δὲ ἡ ζῶντα τήμερον ἡ τεθυηκότα ἐπαινέσεις.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν πρῶτος ἐμβάλλει τοὺς

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wing, teaching them what they were to do when the enemy's horsemen attacked. Pompey had one of his wings himself, and Domitius the left, while Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, commanded the centre. But his horsemen all crowded to the left wing, intending to encircle the enemy's right and make a complete rout about the commander himself; for they thought that no legionary array, however deep, could resist them, but that when so many horsemen made an onset together the enemy would be utterly broken and crushed.¹

When both sides were about to sound the charge, Pompey ordered his legionaries to stand with arms at the ready and await in close array the onset of the enemy until they were within javelin cast. But Caesar says² that here too Pompey made a mistake, not knowing that the initial clash with all the impetus of running adds force to the blows and fires the courage, which everything then conspires to fan. As Caesar himself was about to move his lines of legionaries, and was already going forward into action, he saw first one of his centurions, a man experienced in war and faithful to him, encouraging his men and challenging them to vie with him in prowess. Him Caesar addressed by name and said: "Caius Crassinius,³ what are our hopes, and how does our confidence stand?" Then Crassinius, stretching forth his right hand, said with a loud voice: "We shall win a glorious victory, O Caesar, and thou shalt praise me to-day, whether I am alive or dead." So saying, he plunged foremost into the enemy at full

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxix. 1-3 ² *B.C.* iii. 92.

³ In Caesar's version of this episode (*B.C.* iii. 91 and 99), the name is Crastinus.

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πολεμίους δρόμῳ, συνεπισπασάμενος τοὺς περὶ
έαντὸν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι στρατιώτας. διακόψας
δὲ τοὺς πρώτους καὶ πρόσω χωρῶν φόνῳ πολλῷ
καὶ βιαζόμενος ἀνακόπτεται ξίφει πληγεὶς διὰ
τοῦ στόματος, ὥστε καὶ τὴν αἰχμὴν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὑπόν
ἀνασχέν.

XLV. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πεζῶν κατὰ τὸ μέσον
συρραγέντων καὶ μαχομένων, ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατος οἱ
Πομπήιοι ἵππεῖς σοβαρῶς ἐπήλαυνον εἰς κύκλω-
σιν τοῦ δεξιοῦ τὰς Ἰλας ἀναχεόμενοι· καὶ πρὶν
ἢ προσβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκτρέχουσιν αἱ σπεῖραι
παρὰ Καίσαρος, οὐχ, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀκον-
2 τίσμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς ὑστοῖς, οὐδὲ μηροὺς παί-
οντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ κνήμας τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ
τῶν ὅψεων ἐφίέμενοι καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα συντιτρώ-
σκοντες, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δεδιδαγμένοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν,
ἐλπίζοντος ἄνδρας οὐ πολλὰ πολέμοις οὐδὲ
τραύμασιν φιλητικότας, νέους δὲ καὶ κομῶντας
ἐπὶ κάλλει καὶ ὥρᾳ, μάλιστα τὰς τοιαύτας
πληγὰς ὑπόψεσθαι καὶ μὴ μενεῖν, τὸν ἐν τῷ
παρόντι κίνδυνον ἄμα καὶ τὴν αὐθις αἰσχύνην
3 δεδοικότας. ὃ δὴ καὶ συνέβαινεν οὐ γάρ ἡμεί-
χοντο τῶν ὑστῶν ἀναφερομένων, οὐδὲ ἐτόλμων
ἐν δόθαλμοῖς τὸν σίδηρον ὄρωντες, ἀλλ' ἀπεστρέ-
φοντο καὶ συνεκαλύπτοντο φειδόμενοι τῶν προσ-
ώπων· καὶ τέλος οὕτως ταράξαντας ἔαντοὺς
ἐτράποντο φεύγειν αἰσχιστα, λυμηνύμενοι τὸ
σύμπαν. εὐθὺς γάρ οἱ μὲν νενικηκότες τούτους
ἐκυκλοῦντο τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ κατὰ οώτου προσπί-
πτοντες ἔκοπτον.

4 Πομπήιος δὲ ὡς κατεῖδεν ἀπὸ θατέρου τοὺς

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speed, carrying along with him the one hundred and twenty soldiers under his command. But after cutting his way through the first rank, and while he was forging onwards with great slaughter, he was beaten back by the thrust of a sword through his mouth, and the point of the sword actually came out at the back of his neck.¹

XLV. When the infantry had thus clashed together in the centre and were fighting, Pompey's cavalry rode proudly up from the wing and deployed their squadrons to envelop the enemy's right; and before they could attack, the cohorts ran out from where Caesar was posted, not hurling their javelins, as usual, nor yet stabbing the thighs and legs of their enemies with them, but aiming them at their eyes and wounding their faces. They had been instructed to do this by Caesar, who expected that men little conversant with wars or wounds, but young, and pluming themselves on their youthful beauty, would dread such wounds especially, and would not stand their ground, fearing not only their present danger, but also their future disfigurement. And this was what actually came to pass; for they could not endure the upward thrust of the javelins, nor did they even venture to look the weapon in the face, but turned their heads away and covered them up to spare their faces. And finally, having thus thrown themselves into confusion, they turned and fled most shamefully, thereby ruining everything. For the conquerors of the horsemen at once encircled the infantry, fell upon their rear, and began to cut them to pieces.

When Pompey, on the other wing, saw his horse-

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxxi. 1-3.

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ιππεῖς φυγῆ σκεδασθέντας, οὐκέτι ἥν ὁ αὐτὸς οὐδὲ ἐμέμνητο Πομπήιος δὲ Μάγνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ μᾶλιστα βλαπτομένω τὴν γυνώμην ἔοικὼς ἄφθογγος φύχετο ἀπιών ἐπὶ σκηνήν, καὶ καθεξόμενος ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον, ἄχρι οὗ τροπῆς ἀπάντων γενομένης ἐπέβαινον οἱ πολέμιοι τοῦ χάρακος καὶ διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς φυλάττοντας.
5 τότε δὲ ὁσπερ ἔνιοις γενόμενος, καὶ ταύτην μόνην, ᾧς φασι, φωὴν ἀφείς, “Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβόλην;” ἀπεδύσατο μὲν τὴν ἐναγώνιον καὶ στρατηγικὴν ἐσθῆτα, φεύγοντι δὲ πρέπουσαν μεταλαβὼν ὑπεξῆλθεν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οἵας ὕστερον χρησάμενος τύχαις δπως τε παραδοὺς ἐαυτὸν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνδράσιν ἀνηρέθη, δηλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γράμμασιν.

XLVI. Ό δὲ Καΐσαρ ὡς ἐν τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Πομπήιου γενόμενος τούς τε κειμένους νεκροὺς ἥδη τῶν πολεμίων εἶδε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι κτεινομένους, εἰπεν ἄρα στενάξας· “Τοῦτο ἐβουλήθησαν, εἰς τοῦτό με ἀνάγκης ὑπηγάγοντο, ἵνα Γάιος Καΐσαρ ὁ μεγίστους πολέμους κατορθώσας, εἰ προηκάμην 2 τὰ στρατεύματα, κανὶ κατεδικάσθην.” ταῦτά φησι Πολλίων Ἀσίννιος τὰ ῥήματα Ρωμαίστη μὲν ἀναφθέγξασθαι τὸν Καΐσαρα παρὰ τὸν τότε καιρόν, Ἐλληνιστὴ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων τοὺς πλείστους οἰκέτας γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ χάρακος ἀναιρεθέντας, στρατιώτας δὲ μὴ πλείους ἑξακισχιλίων πεσεῖν. τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἀλόντων κατέμεξε τοὺς πλείστους ὁ Καΐσαρ εἰς τὰ τάγματα πολλοῦς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἄδειαν ἔδωκεν, δὲν καὶ Βροῦτος ἦν ὁ κτείνας αὐτὸν ὕστερον, ἐφ' ὃ λέγεται μὴ φαινο-

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men scattered in flight, he was no longer the same man, nor remembered that he was Pompey the Great, but more like one whom Heaven has robbed of his wits than anything else, he went off without a word to his tent, sat down there, and awaited what was to come, until his forces were all routed and the enemy were assailing his ramparts and fighting with their defenders. Then he came to his senses, as it were, and with this one ejaculation, as they say, “What, even to my quarters?” took off his fighting and general’s dress, put on one suitable for a fugitive, and stole away. What his subsequent fortunes were, and how he delivered himself into the hands of the Egyptians and was murdered, I shall tell in his Life.¹

XLVI. But Caesar, when he reached Pompey’s ramparts and saw those of the enemy who were already lying dead there and those who were still falling, said with a groan: “They would have it so; they brought me to such a pass that if I, Caius Caesar, after waging successfully the greatest wars, had dismissed my forces, I should have been condemned in their courts.”² Asinius Pollio says that these words, which Caesar afterwards wrote down in Greek, were uttered by him in Latin at the time; he also says that most of the slain were servants who were killed at the taking of the camp, and that not more than six thousand soldiers fell. Most of those who were taken alive Caesar incorporated in his legions, and to many men of prominence he granted immunity. One of these was Brutus, who afterwards slew him. Caesar was distressed, we are told, when

¹ Chapters lxxvii.-lxxx.

² Hoc voluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem (Suetonius, *Div. Jul.* 30).

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μένῳ μὲν ἀγωνιᾶσαι, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ παραγεον-
μένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθῆναι διαφερόντως.

XLVII. Σημείων δὲ πολλῶν γενομένων τῆς
νίκης ἐπιφανέστατον ἵστορεῖται τὸ περὶ Τράλλεις.
ἐν γὰρ ἴερῷ Νίκης ἀνδριάς εἰστήκει Καίσαρος,
καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῷ χωρίον αὐτῷ τε στερεὸν φύσει
καὶ λίθῳ σκληρῷ κατεστρωμένου ἦν ἄνωθεν ἐκ
τούτου λέγουσιν ἀνατεῖλαι φοίνικα παρὰ τὴν
βάσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος. ἐν δὲ Παταβίῳ Γάιος
Κορηνήλιος, ἀνὴρ εὐδόκιμος ἐπὶ μαντικῇ, Διβίου
τοῦ συγγραφέως πολίτης καὶ γυνώριμος, ἐτύγχανεν
2 ἐπ' οἰωνοῖς καθήμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ήμέραν. καὶ
πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς Διβίος φησι, τὸν καιρὸν ἔγνω τῆς
μάχης, καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρόντας εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ δὴ
περαίνεται τὸ χρήμα καὶ συνίασιν εἰς ἔργον οἱ
ἄνδρες. αὐθίς δὲ πρὸς τῇ θέᾳ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ
σημεῖα κατιδὼν ἀνήλατο μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ βοῶν,
“Νικᾶς, ὁ Καίσαρ.” ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν
παραπομόντων περιελῶν τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς
κεφαλῆς ἐνωμότως ἔφη μὴ πρὶν ἐπιθήσεσθαι
πάλιν ἢ τῇ τέχνῃ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ὁ Διβίος οὕτως γενέσθαι καταβεβαιοῦται.

XLVIII. Καίσαρ δὲ τῷ Θετταλῶν ἔθνει τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν ἀναθεὶς νικητήριον ἔδιώκει Πομπήιον·
ἀψάμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Κινδίους τε Θεοπόμπῳ
τῷ συναγαγόντι τοὺς μύθους χαριζόμενος ἥλευ-
θέρωσε, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦσι
2 τὸ τρίτον τῶν φόρων ἀνῆκεν. εἰς δὲ Ἀλεξάν-
δρειαν ἐπὶ Πομπήιῳ τεθνηκότι καταχθεὶς Θεό-
δοτον μὲν ἀπεστράφη τὴν Πομπήιου κεφαλὴν
προσφέροντα, τὴν δὲ σφραγίδα δεξάμενος τοῦ

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Brutus was not to be found, but when he was brought into his presence safe and sound, was pleased beyond measure.

XLVII. There were many portents of the victory, but the most remarkable one on record is that which was seen at Tralles. In that city's temple of Victory there stood a statue of Caesar, and the ground around it was itself naturally firm, and was paved with hard stone; yet from this it is said that a palm-tree shot up at the base of the statue.¹ Moreover, at Patavium, Caius Cornelius, a man in repute as a seer, a fellow citizen and acquaintance of Livy the historian, chanced that day to be sitting in the place of augury. And to begin with, according to Livy, he discerned the time of the battle, and said to those present that even then the event was in progress and the men were going into action. And when he looked again and observed the signs, he sprang up in a rapture crying: "Thou art victorious, O Caesar!" The bystanders being amazed, he took the chaplet from his head and declared with an oath that he would not put it on again until the event had borne witness to his art. At any rate, Livy insists that this was so.²

XLVIII. Caesar gave the Thessalians their freedom, to commemorate his victory, and then pursued Pompey; when he reached Asia he made the Cnidians also free, to please Theopompus the collector of fables, and for all the inhabitants of Asia remitted a third of their taxes. Arriving at Alexandria just after Pompey's death, he turned away in horror from Theodotus as he presented the head of Pompey, but he accepted Pompey's seal-ring, and shed tears over

¹ Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* iii 105 *ad fin.*

² In Book iii., which is lost.

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ἀνδρὸς κατεδάκρυσεν· δσοι δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ·
καὶ συνήθων πλανώμενοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐαλώ-
κεσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, πάντας εὐεργέτησε καὶ
προστηγάγετο. τοὺς δὲ φίλους εἰς Ρώμην ἔγραφεν
ὅτι, τῆς νίκης ἀπολαύοι τοῦτο μέγιστου καὶ
ἡδιστον, τὸ σώζειν τινὰς ἀεὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων
πολιτῶν αὐτῷ.

- 3 Τὸν δὲ αὐτόθι πόλεμον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον,
ἀλλ’ ἔρωτι Κλεοπάτρας ἄδοξον αὐτῷ καὶ κινδυ-
νώδη γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς
αἰτιῶνται, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν εὐνοῦχον Ποθεινόν,
ὅς πλεῖστον δυνάμενος καὶ Πομπήιον μὲν ἀνη-
ρηκὼς ἔναγχος, ἐκβεβληκὼς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν,
κρύφα μὲν ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
φασιν αὐτὸν ἀρξάμενον ἔκτοτε διανυκτερεύειν ἐν
τοῖς πότοις ἔνεκα φυλακῆς τοῦ σώματος· φανερῶς
δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἀνεκτός ἐπίφθονα πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς
ὕβριν εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα λέγων καὶ πράττων.
4 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτας τὸν κάκιστον μετρουμέ-
νους καὶ παλαιότατον σῖτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀνέχεσθαι
καὶ στέργειν, ἐσθίοντας τὰ ἀλλότρια, πρὸς δὲ τὰ
δεῖπνα σκεύεσιν ἐχρῆτο ἔυλίνοις καὶ κεραμεοῖς,
ώς τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ πάντα Καίσαρος ἔχοντος
εἰς τι χρέος. ὥφειλε γὰρ ὁ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος
τότε πατήρ Καίσαρι χιλίας ἐπτακοσίας πεντή-
κοντα μυριάδας, ὃν τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνήκε τοῖς
παισὶν αὐτοῦ πρότερον δὲ Καῖσαρ, τὰς δὲ χιλίας

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxxx 5.

² See the *Pompey*, lxxvii. 2.

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.it.¹ Moreover, all the companions and intimates of Pompey who had been captured by the king as they wandered over the country, he treated with kindness and attached them to himself. And to his friends in Rome he wrote that this was the greatest and sweetest pleasure that he derived from his victory, namely, from time to time to save the lives of fellow citizens who had fought against him.

As for the war in Egypt, some say that it was not necessary, but due to Caesar's passion for Cleopatra, and that it was inglorious and full of peril for him. But others blame the king's party for it, and especially the eunuch Potheinus, who had most influence at court,² and had recently killed Pompey; he had also driven Cleopatra from the country, and was now secretly plotting against Caesar. On this account they say that from this time on Caesar passed whole nights at drinking parties in order to protect himself. But in his open acts also Potheinus was unbearable, since he said and did many things that were invidious and insulting to Caesar. For instance, when the soldiers had the oldest and worst grain measured out to them, he bade them put up with it and be content, since they were eating what belonged to others; and at the state suppers he used wooden and earthen dishes, on the ground that Caesar had taken all the gold and silver ware in payment of a debt. For the father of the present king owed Caesar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas,³ of which Caesar had formerly remitted a part to his children, but now demanded payment of ten millions for the

¹ During Caesar's consulship (59 B.C.) Ptolemy Auletes was declared a friend and ally of the Romans. To secure this honour he both gave and promised money to the state.

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5 ἡξίου τότε λαβὼν διαθρέψαι τὸ στράτευμα. τοῦδε Ποθεινὸν νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἔχεσθαι πραγμάτων κελεύοντος, ὕστερον δὲ κομιεῖσθαι μετὰ χάριτος, εἰπὼν ὡς Αἴγυπτίων ἐλάχιστα δέοιτο συμβούλων, κρύφα τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας μετεπέμπετο.

XLIX. Κάκεινή παραλαβούσα τῶν φίλων Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Σικελιώτην μόνον, εἰς ἀκάτιον μικρὸν ἐμβάσα τοῖς μὲν Βασιλείοις προσέσχεν ἥδη συσκοτάζοντος· ἀπόρουν δὲ τοῦ λαθεῖν ὄντος ἄλλως, ή μὲν εἰς στρωματόδεσμον ἐνδῦσα προτείνει μακρὰν ἑαυτήν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἴμάντι συνδήσας τὸν στρωματόδεσμον εἰσκομίζει διὰ 2 θυρῶν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. καὶ τούτῳ τε πρώτῳ λέγεται τῷ τεχνήματι τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀλῶναι, λαμπρᾶς φανείστης, καὶ τῆς ἀλλης ὄμιλίας καὶ χάριτος ἥττων γενούμενος διαλλάξαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς συμβασιλεύσουσαν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἐστιωμένων ἀπάντων οἰκέτης Καίσαρος κουρεύς, διὰ δειλίαν, ἢ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέβαλεν, οὐδὲν ἐών ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ' ὑπακουούσιον καὶ πολυπραγμούσιον, συνήκεν ἐπιβουλὴν Καίσαρι πραττομένην ὑπ' Ἀχιλλᾶ τοῦ 3 στρατηγοῦ καὶ Ποθεινὸν τοῦ εὔνούχου. φωράσας δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ φρουρὰν μὲν περιέστησε τῷ ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δὲ Ποθεινὸν ἀνείλεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλᾶς φυγὴν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον περιίστησιν αὐτῷ βαρὺν καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον πόλεμον, δύλγοστῷ τοσαύτην ἀμυνομένῳ πόλιν καὶ δύναμιν. ἐν δὲ πρώτον μὲν ἐκινδύνευσεν ὕδατος ἀποκλεισθείς· αἱ γὰρ διώρυχες ἀπφοδομήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων δεύτερον δὲ περικοπτόμενος τὸν στόλον ἡναγκάσθη

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support of his army. When, however, Potheinus bade him go away now and attend to his great affairs, assuring him that later he would get his money with thanks, Caesar replied that he had no need whatever of Egyptians as advisers, and secretly sent for Cleopatra from the country.

XLIX. So Cleopatra, taking only Apollodorus the Sicilian from among her friends, embarked in a little skiff and landed at the palace when it was already getting dark; and as it was impossible to escape notice otherwise, she stretched herself at full length inside a bed-sack, while Apollodorus tied the bed-sack up with a cord and carried it indoors to Caesar. It was by this device of Cleopatra's, it is said, that Caesar was first captivated, for she showed herself to be a bold coquette, and succumbing to the charm of further intercourse with her, he reconciled her to her brother on the basis of a joint share with him in the royal power. Then, as everybody was feasting to celebrate the reconciliation, a slave of Caesar's, his barber, who left nothing unscrutinized, owing to a timidity in which he had no equal, but kept his ears open and was here, there, and everywhere, perceived that Achillas the general and Potheinus the eunuch were hatching a plot against Caesar. After Caesar had found them out, he set a guard about the banqueting-hall, and put Potheinus to death; Achillas, however, escaped to his camp, and raised about Caesar a war grievous and difficult for one who was defending himself with so few followers against so large a city and army. In this war, to begin with, Caesar encountered the peril of being shut off from water, since the canals were dammed up by the enemy; in the second place, when the enemy tried to cut off his fleet, he

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διὰ πυρὸς ἀπώσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, δὲ καὶ τὴν μεγάλην βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπινεμό-
4 μενον διέφθειρε· τρίτον δὲ περὶ τῆς Φάρω μάχης συνεστώσης κατεπήδησε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος εἰς ἀκάτιον καὶ παρεβοήθει τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις, ἐπιπλεόντων δὲ πολλαχόθεν αὐτῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ῥίψας ἔσυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπενήξατο μόλις καὶ χαλεπώς. ὅτε καὶ λέγεται βιβλίδια κρατῶν πολλὰ μὴ προέσθαι βαλλόμενος καὶ βαπτιζό- μενος, ἀλλ' ἀνέχων ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ βιβλίδια τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ νήχεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἀκάτιον 5 εὐθὺς ἐβιθίσθη. τέλος δέ, τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποχωρήσαντος, ἐπελθὼν καὶ συνάψας μάχην ἐνίκησε, πολλῶν πεσόντων αὐτὸν τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφανοῦς γενομένου. καταλιπὼν δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν βασιλεύονταν Αἰγύπτου καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔξ αὐτοῦ τεκοῦνταν νιόν, δην Ἀλεξανδρεῖς Καισαρίωνα προστηγόρευον, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Συρίας.

L. Κάκειθεν ἐπιών τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπυνθάνετο Δο- μίτιον μὲν ὑπὸ Φαρνάκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου παδὸς ἡττημένου ἐκ Πόντου πεφευγέναι σὺν ὀλίγοις, Φαρνάκην δὲ τῇ νίκῃ χρώμενον ἀπλήστως καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Καππαδοκίαν Ἀρμενίας ἐφίεσθαι τῆς μικρᾶς καλουμένης, καὶ πάντας ἀνιστάναι τοὺς ταύτη τασιλεῖς καὶ τετράρχας.
2 εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τρισὶν ἥλαυνε τάγμασι, καὶ περὶ πόλιν Ζῆλαν μάχην μεγάλην συνάψας αὐτὸν μὲν ἔξεβαλε τοῦ Πόντου φεύγοντα, τὴν δὲ

¹ In the Museum, founded by the first Ptolemy (ob. 283 B.C.). The destruction of the library can have been only partial.

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was forced to repel the danger by using fire, and this spread from the dockyards and destroyed the great library¹; and thirdly, when a battle arose at Pharos,² he sprang from the mole into a small boat and tried to go to the aid of his men in their struggle, but the Egyptians sailed up against him from every side, so that he threw himself into the sea and with great difficulty escaped by swimming. At this time, too, it is said that he was holding many papers in his hand and would not let them go, though missiles were flying at him and he was immersed in the sea, but held them above water with one hand and swam with the other; his little boat had been sunk at the outset.³ But finally, after the king had gone away to the enemy, he marched against him and conquered him in a battle where many fell and the king himself disappeared. Then, leaving Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt (a little later she had a son by him whom the Alexandrians called Caesarion), he set out for Syria.

L. On leaving that country and traversing Asia,⁴ he learned that Domitius had been defeated by Pharnaces the son of Mithridates and had fled from Pontus with a few followers; also that Pharnaces, using his victory without stint, and occupying Bithynia and Cappadocia, was aiming to secure the country called Lesser Armenia, and was rousing to revolt all the princes and tetrarchs there. At once, therefore, Caesar marched against him with three legions, fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela, drove him in flight out of Pontus, and

² An island off Alexandria, connected with the mainland by a mole, or causeway, which divided the harbour into two parts.

³ Cf. Dio Cassius, xlii. 40. ⁴ In July of 47 B.C.

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στρατιὰν ἄρδην ἀνεῖλε. καὶ τῆς μάχης ταύτης· τὴν δέξυτητα καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀναγγέλλων εἰς Ῥώμην πρός τινα τῶν φίλων Ἀμάντιου ἔγραψε τρεῖς λέξεις· “**“Ηλθον, είδον, ἐνίκησα.”** Ῥωμαιοστὶ δὲ αἱ λέξεις εἰς ὅμοιον ἀποληγούσαι σχῆμα ῥήματος οὐκ ἀπίθανον τὴν βραχυλογίαν ἔχουσιν.

II. Ἐκ τούτου διαβαλὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Ῥώμην, τοῦ μὲν ἐνιαυτοῦ καταστρέφοντος εἰς δὲν ἥρητο δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον, οὐδέποτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑκείνης πρότερον ἐνιαυστοὺς γενομένης· εἰς δὲ τούπιὸν ὑπατος ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὅτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν στασιασάντων καὶ δύο στρατηγικοὺς ἄνδρας ἀνελόντων, Κοσκώνιους καὶ Γάλβαν, ἐπετίμησε μὲν αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον ὃσον ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν πολίτας προσαγορεύσαι, χιλίας δὲ διένειμεν ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς καὶ χώραν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπεκλήρωσε πολλήν. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ διαβολὴ καὶ ἡ Δολοβέλλα μανία καὶ ἡ Ἀμαντίου φιλαργυρία καὶ μεθύνων Ἀντώνιος καὶ Κορφίνιος τὴν Πομπηίου σκευωρούμενος οἰκίαν καὶ μετοικοδομῶν ὡς ἴκανήν οὐκ οὖσαν. ἐπὶ τούτους γάρ ἐδύνσφόρουν Ῥωμαῖοι. Καῖσαρ δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πολιτείας οὐκ ἀγνοῶν οὐδὲ βουλόμενος ἡναγκάζετο χρῆσθαι τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντι.
III. Τῶν δὲ περὶ Κάτωνα καὶ Σκηπίωνα μετὰ τὴν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην εἰς Λιβύην φυγόντων κάκεū, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰόβα βοηθοῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἥθροικότων δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους, ἔγνω στρατεύειν οἱ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ περὶ τροπᾶς χειμερινᾶς

¹ *Veni, vidi, vici.* According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 37), the words were displayed in Caesar's Pontic triumph.

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annihilated his army. In announcing the swiftness and fierceness of this battle to one of his friends at Rome, Amantius, Caesar wrote three words : "Came, saw, conquered."¹ In Latin, however, the words have the same inflectional ending, and so a brevity which is most impressive.

L.I. After this, he crossed to Italy and went up to Rome, at the close of the year for which he had a second time been chosen dictator,² though that office had never before been for a whole year; then for the following year he was proclaimed consul. Men spoke ill of him because, after his soldiers had mutinied and killed two men of praetorian rank, Galba and Cosconius, he censured them only so far as to call them "citizens" when he addressed them, instead of "soldiers,"³ and then gave each man a thousand drachmas and much allotted land in Italy. He was also calumniated for the madness of Dolabella, the greed of Amantius, the drunkenness of Antony, and for the fact that Corfinius built over and refurnished the house of Pompey on the ground that it was not good enough for him. For at all these things the Romans were displeased. But owing to the political situation, though Caesar was not ignorant of these things and did not like them, he was compelled to make use of such assistants.

L.II. After the battle at Pharsalus, Cato and Scipio made their escape to Africa, and there, with the aid of King Juba, collected considerable forces. Caesar therefore resolved to make an expedition against them. So, about the time of the winter solstice, he

¹ The senate named Caesar Dictator for the year 47 immediately after the battle at Pharsalus.

² Cf. Appian, *B.C.* n. 93.

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διαβάς εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ βουλόμενος εὐθὺς ἀποκόψαι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων ἅπασαν ἐλπίδα μελλήσεως καὶ διατριβῆς, ἐπὶ τοῦ κλύσματος ἔπηξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν· καὶ γενομένου πνεύματος ἐμβάς ἀνήχθη μετὰ τρισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ 2 ἵππέων ὀλίγων. ἀποβιβάσας δὲ τούτους λαθὼν ἀνήχθη πάλιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς μείζονος ὁροώδων δυνάμεως· καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν οὖσιν ἥδη προστυχῶν κατήγαγεν ἄπαντας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Πινθανόμενος δὲ χρησμῷ τινι παλαιῷ θαρρεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς προσήκον ἀεὶ τῷ Σκηπιώνων γένει κρατεῖν ἐν Λιβύῃ, χαλεπὸν εἰπέν εἴτε φλαυρίζων ἐν παιδιᾳ τινι τὸν Σκηπίωνα στρατηγοῦντα 3 τῶν πολεμίων, εἴτε καὶ σπουδῇ τὸν οἰωνὸν οἰκειούμενος, ἦν γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τις ἀνθρωπος ἄλλως μὲν εὐκαταφύγοντος καὶ παρημελημένος, οἰκίας δὲ τῆς Ἀφρικανῶν (Σκηπίωνα ἐκαλεῖτο Σαλλουστίων), τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προέταττεν ὥσπερ ἡγεμόνα τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀναγκαζόμενος πολλάκις 4 ἔξαπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φιλομαχεῖν. ἦν γὰρ οὕτε σῆτος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀφθονος οὕτε ὑποξιγίοις χιλός, ἀλλὰ βρύνοις ἡναγκάζοντο θαλαττίοις, ἀποπλυθείσης τῆς ἀλμυρίδος, δλίγην ἀγρωστιν ὥσπερ ἥδυσμα παραμιγνύντες ἐπάγειν τοὺς ἵππους. οἱ γὰρ Νομάδες ἐπιφαινόμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ ταχεῖς, ἔκαστοτε κατέβησαν τὴν χώραν· καί ποτε τῶν Καίσαρος ἵππέων σχολῆν ἀγόντων 5 (ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνήρ Λίβυς ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅρχησιν ἄμα καὶ μοναυλῶν θαύματος ἀξίως, οἱ δὲ τερπόμενοι καθῆντο τοῖς παισὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐπιτρέψαντες), ἔξαίφνης περιελθόντες ἐμβάλλονται οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ κτείνουσι, τοὺς δὲ

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crossed into Sicily, and wishing to cut off at once in the minds of his officers all hope of delaying there and wasting time, he pitched his own tent on the sea-beach. When a favouring wind arose, he embarked and put to sea with three thousand infantry and a few horsemen. Then, after landing these unobserved, he put to sea again, being full of fears for the larger part of his force, and meeting them after they were already at sea, he conducted all into camp.

On learning that the enemy were emboldened by an ancient oracle to the effect that it was always the prerogative of the family of the Scipios to conquer in Africa, he either flouted in pleasantry the Scipio who commanded the enemy, or else tried in good earnest to appropriate to himself the omen, it is hard to say which. He had under him, namely, a man who otherwise was a contemptible nobody, but belonged to the family of the Africani, and was called Scipio Sallustio. This man Caesar put in the forefront of his battles as if commander of the army, being compelled to attack the enemy frequently and to force the fighting. For there was neither sufficient food for his men nor fodder for his beasts of burden, nay, they were forced to feed their horses on sea-weed, which they washed free of its salt and mixed with a little grass to sweeten it. For the Numidians showed themselves everywhere in great numbers and speedy, and controlled the country. Indeed, while Caesar's horsemen were once off duty (a Libyan was showing them how he could dance and play the flute at the same time in an astonishing manner, and they had committed their horses to the slaves and were sitting delighted on the ground), the enemy suddenly surrounded and attacked them, killed some of them,

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εὶς τὸ στρατόπεδον προτροπάδην ἐλαυνομένους·
ἢ συνεισέπεσον. εἰ δὲ μὴ Καῦσαρ αὐτός, ἀμα δὲ
Καῖσαρι Πολλίων Ἀσίννιος βοηθοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ
χάρακος ἔσχον τὴν φυγήν, διεπέπρακτ' ἀν ὁ πό-
λεμος. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ καθ' ἑτέραν μάχην ἐπλε-
ονέκτησαν οἱ πολέμουι συμπλοκῆς γενομένης, ἐν
ἡ Καῦσαρ τὸν ἀετοφόρον φεύγοντα λέγεται κατα-
σχὼν ἐκ τοῦ αὐχένος ἀναστρέψαι καὶ εἰπεῖν
“Ἐνταῦθα εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι.”

LIII. Τούτοις μέντοι τοῖς προτερήμασιν ἐπήρθη
Σκηπίων μάχη πριθῆναι· καὶ καταλιπὼν χωρὶς
μὲν Ἀφράνιον, χωρὶς δὲ Ἰόβαν δ' ὀλίγου στρατο-
πεδεύοντας, αὐτὸς ἐτείχιζεν ὑπὲρ λίμνης ἔρυμα τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ περὶ πόλιν Θάφον, ὡς εἴη πᾶσιν ἐπὶ²
τὴν μάχην ὄρμητήριον καὶ καταφυγή. πονου-
μένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα Καῦσαρ ὑλώδεις τόπους
καὶ προσβολὰς ἀφράστους ἔχοντας ἀμηχάνῳ τά-
χει διελθῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐκυκλοῦτο, τοῖς δὲ προσέ-
βαλλεις κατὰ στόμα. τρεφάμενος δὲ τούτους
ἔχρητο τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς τύχης, ὥφ' ἃς
αὐτοβοεὶ μὲν γῆρει τὸ Ἀφρανίον στρατόπεδον, αὐτοβοεὶ δὲ φεύγοντος Ἰόβα διεπόρθει τὸ τῶν
Νομάδων ἡμέρας δὲ μιᾶς μέρει μικρῷ τριῶν
στρατοπέδων ἔγκρατής γεγονὼς καὶ πεντακισμυ-
ρίους τῶν πολεμίων ἀνηρηκώς οὐδὲ πεντήκοντα
τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλεν.

3 Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης ἀναγγέλ-
λουσιν· οἱ δὲ οὐ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γενέσθαι,
συντάττοντος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ διακοσμοῦντος
ἄφασθαι τὸ σύνθετος υόσημα· τὸν δὲ εὐθὺς αἰσθό-
μενον ἀρχομένου, πρὶν ἐκταράττεσθαι καὶ κατα-

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and followed hard upon the heels of the rest as they were driven headlong into camp. And if Caesar himself, and with him Asinius Pollio, had not come from the ramparts to their aid and checked their flight, the war would have been at an end. On one occasion, too, in another battle, the enemy got the advantage in the encounter, and here it is said that Caesar seized by the neck the fugitive standard-bearer, faced him about, and said : "Yonder is the enemy."

LIII. However, Scipio was encouraged by these advantages to hazard a decisive battle : so, leaving Afranius and Juba encamped separately at a short distance apart, he himself began fortifying a camp beyond a lake near the city of Thapsus, that it might serve the whole army as a place from which to sally out to the battle, and as a place of refuge. But while he was busy with this project, Caesar made his way with inconceivable speed through woody regions which afforded unknown access to the spot, outflanked some of the enemy, and attacked others in front. Then, after routing these, he took advantage of the favourable instant and of the impetus of fortune, and thereby captured the camp of Afranius at the first onset, and at the first onset sacked the camp of the Numidians, from which Juba fled. Thus in a brief portion of one day he made himself master of three camps and slew fifty thousand of the enemy, without losing as many as fifty of his own men.¹

This is the account which some give of the battle ; others, however, say that Caesar himself was not in the action, but that, as he was marshalling and arraying his army, his usual sickness laid hold of him, and he, at once aware that it was beginning, before his

¹ In April of 46 B.C.

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λαμβάνεσθαι παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τὴν· αἰσθησιν ἥδη σειομένην, εἴς τινα τῶν πλησίον πύργων κομισθῆναι καὶ διαγαγεῖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ· τῶν δὲ πεφευγότων ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὑπατικῶν καὶ στρατηγικῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς διέφθειραν ἀλισκόμενοι, συχνοὺς δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔκτεινεν ἀλόντας.

LIV. Κάτωνα δὲ λαβεῖν ξῶντα φιλοτιμούμενος ἔσπευδε πρὸς Ἰτύκην ἐκείνην γὰρ παραφυλάττων τὴν πόλιν οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἀγῶνος. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ διεργάσαιτο, δῆλος μὲν ἦν δηχθείς, ἐφ' ϕ δὲ ἄδηλον. εἰπε δὲ οὖν· “Ω Κάτων, φθονῶ σοι τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ γὰρ σύ μοι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας.” ὁ μὲν οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Κάτωνα τεθνεῶτα λόγος οὐδοκεῖ πράως ἔχοντος οὐδὲ εὐδιαλλάκτως σημείον εἶναι. πῶς γὰρ ἀν ἐφείσατο ξῶντος εἰς 2 ἀναίσθητον ἐκχέας ὄργην τοσαύτην; τῇ δὲ πρὸς Κικέρωνα καὶ Βρούτον αὐτοῦ καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους τῶν πεπολεμηκότων ἐπιεικέα τεκμαίρονται καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐκείνον οὐκ ἐξ ἀπεχθείας, ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμίᾳ πολιτικῇ συντετάχθαι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ἔγραψε Κικέρων ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος, ὅνομα τῷ λόγῳ θέμενος Κάτωνα· καὶ πολλοὶς ὁ λόγος ἦν διὰ σπουδῆς, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοτάτου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς τὴν καλλίστην πεποιημένος ὑπόθε- 3 σιν. τοῦτο ἡνία Καίσαρα, κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ νομίζοντα τὸν τοῦ τεθνηκότος δι' αὐτὸν ἔπαινον. ἔγραψεν οὖν πολλάς τινας κατὰ τὸν Κάτωνος αἰτίας συναγαγών· τὸ δὲ βιβλίον Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέγραπται. καὶ σπουδαστας ἔχει τῶν λόγων ἐκάτερος διὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Κάτωνα πολλούς.

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already wavering senses were altogether confounded and overpowered by the malady, was carried to a neighbouring tower, where he stayed quietly during the battle. Of the men of consular and praetorial rank who escaped from the battle, some slew themselves at the moment of their capture, and others were put to death by Caesar after capture.

LIV. Being eager to take Cato alive, Caesar hastened towards Utica, for Cato was guarding that city, and took no part in the battle. But he learned that Cato had made away with himself,¹ and he was clearly annoyed, though for what reason is uncertain. At any rate, he said : “Cato, I begrudge thee thy death ; for thou didst begrudge me the preservation of thy life.” Now, the treatise which Caesar afterwards wrote against Cato when he was dead, does not seem to prove that he was in a gentle or reconcilable mood. For how could he have spared Cato alive, when he poured out against him after death so great a cup of wrath ? And yet from his considerate treatment of Cicero and Brutus and thousands more who had fought against him, it is inferred that even this treatise was not composed out of hatred, but from political ambition, for reasons which follow. Cicero had written an encomium on Cato which he entitled “Cato”; and the discourse was eagerly read by many, as was natural, since it was composed by the ablest of orators on the noblest of themes. This annoyed Caesar, who thought that Cicero’s praise of the dead Cato was a denunciation of Caesar himself. Accordingly, he wrote a treatise in which he got together countless charges against Cato ; and the work is entitled “Anti-Cato.” Both treatises have many eager readers, as well on account of Caesar as of Cato.

¹ See the *Cato Minor*, lxv.

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- LV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ρώμην ἀπὸ Διβύης, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς μίκης ἐμεγαληγόρησε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς τοσαύτην κεχειρωμένος χώραν δση παρέξει καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον σίτου μὲν εἴκοσι μυριάδας Ἀττικῶν μεδίμνων, ἐλαίου δὲ λιτρῶν μυριάδας τριακοσίας. ἐπειτα θριάμβους κατήγαγε τὸν Αὐγυπτιακόν, τὸν Ποντικόν, τὸν Διβυκόν, οὐκ ἀπὸ Σκηπίωνος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Ἰόβα δῆθεν τοῦ βασιλέως.
- 2 τότε καὶ Ἰόβας νίδις ὥν ἐκείνου κομιδῇ νήπιος ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παρήχθη, μακαριωτάτην ἀλοὺς ἄλωσιν, ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Νομάδος Ἐλλήνων τοῖς πολυμαθεστάτοις ἐναρίθμιος γενέσθαι συγγραφεῦσι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους στρατιώτας τε μεγάλας δωρεὰς ἐδίδουν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνελάμβανεν ἔστιάσει καὶ θέας, ἔστιάσας μὲν ἐν δισμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις τρικλίνοις ὁμοῦ σύμπαντας, θέας δὲ καὶ μονομάχων καὶ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν παρασχὼν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἰουλίᾳ πάλαι τεθνεώσῃ.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς θέας γενομένων τιμήσεων ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων δυεῦν καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἐξητάσθησαν αἱ πᾶσαι πεντεκαΐδεκα. τηλικαύτην ἡ στάσις ἀπειργάσατο συμφορὰν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπανάλωσε τοῦ δήμου μέρος, ἔξω λόγου τιθεμένοις τὰ κατασχόντα τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἀτυχήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας.

LVI. Συντελεσθέντων δὲ τούτων ὑπατος ἀποδειχθεὶς τὸ τέταρτον εἰς Ιβηρίαν ἐστράτευσεν

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• LV. But to resume, when Caesar came back to Rome from Africa, to begin with, he made a boastful speech to the people concerning his victory, asserting that he had subdued a country large enough to furnish annually for the public treasury two hundred thousand Attic bushels of grain, and three million pounds of olive oil. Next, he celebrated triumphs, an Egyptian, a Pontic, and an African, the last not for his victory over Scipio, but ostensibly over Juba the king. On this occasion, too, Juba, a son of the king, a mere infant, was carried along in the triumphal procession, the most fortunate captive ever taken, since from being a Barbarian and a Numidian, he came to be enrolled among the most learned historians of Hellas. After the triumphs, Caesar gave his soldiers large gifts and entertained the people with banquets and spectacles, feasting them all at one time on twenty thousand dining-coaches, and furnishing spectacles of gladiatorial and naval combats in honour of his daughter Julia, long since dead.

After the spectacles, a census of the people was taken,¹ and instead of the three hundred and twenty thousand of the preceding lists there were enrolled only one hundred and fifty thousand. So great was the calamity which the civil wars had wrought, and so large a portion of the people of Rome had they consumed away, to say nothing of the misfortunes that possessed the rest of Italy and the provinces.

LVI. After these matters had been finished and he had been declared consul for the fourth time, Caesar made an expedition into Spain against the

¹ According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 41), this was not a census of all the people, but a revision of the number of poorer citizens entitled to receive allowances of grain from the state.

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ἐπὶ τοὺς Πομπήιου παῖδας, νέους μὲν δυτας ἔτι,
θαυμαστὴν δὲ τῷ πλήθει στρατιὰν συνειλοχότας
καὶ τόλμαν ἀποδεικνυμένους ἀξιόχρεων πρὸς ἡγε-
μονίαν, ὅστε κίνδυνον τῷ Καίσαρι περιστῆσαι
2 τὸν ἔσχατον. ἡ δὲ μεγάλη μάχη περὶ πόλιν
συνέστη Μοῦνδαν, ἐν δὲ Καίσαρι ἐκθλιβομένους
ὅρῶν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κακῶς ἀντέχοντας ἐβόα,
διὰ τῶν δπλων καὶ τῶν τάξεων διαθέων, εἰ μηδὲν
αἰδοῦνται λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι τοῖς παιδα-
ρίοις. μόλις δὲ προθυμίᾳ πολλῆ τοὺς πόλεμους
ώσαμενος ἐκείνων μὲν ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους διέ-
φθειρε, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ χιλίους ἀπώλεσε τοὺς ἀρί-
3 στους. ἀπιὼν δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρὸς τοὺς
φίλους εἶπεν ὡς πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ
νίκης, νῦν δὲ πρώτον περὶ ψυχῆς. ταύτην τὴν
μάχην ἐνίκησε τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, καθ' ἣν
λέγεται καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγγος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ἔξελθεν· διὰ μέσου δὲ χρόνος ἐνιαυτῶν τεσσάρων
διῆλθε. τῶν δὲ Πομπήιου παίδων ὁ μὲν νεώτερος
διέφυγε, τοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτέρου μεθ' ἡμέρας δλίγας
Δείδιος ἀνήνεγκε τὴν κεφαλήν.

4 Τοῦτον ἔσχατον Καίσαρα ἐπολεμησε τὸν πόλε-
μον· ὁ δὲ ἄπ' αὐτοῦ καταχθεὶς θρίαμβος ὡς
οὐδὲν ἄλλο Ρωμαίους ἡνίασεν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοφύ-
λους ἡγεμόνας οὐδὲ βαρβάρους βασιλεῖς κατη-
γωνισμένου, ἀνδρὸς δὲ Ρωμαίων κρατίστου τύ-
χαις κεχρημένου παῖδας καὶ γένος ἄρδην ἀνηρη-
κότα ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιπομπεύειν συμφοραῖς
οὐ καλῶς είχεν, ἀγαλλόμενον ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡν μία
καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπολογία τὸ
μετ' ἀνάγκης πεπρᾶχθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρότερον
μήτε ἀγγελον μήτε γράμματα δημοσίᾳ πέμψαντα

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sons of Pompey. These were still young, but had collected an army of amazing numbers and displayed a boldness which justified their claims to leadership, so that they beset Caesar with the greatest peril. The great battle was joined near the city of Munda, and here Caesar, seeing his own men hard pressed and making a feeble resistance, asked in a loud voice as he ran through the armed ranks whether they felt no shame to take him and put him in the hands of those boys. With difficulty and after much strenuous effort he repulsed the enemy and slew over thirty thousand of them, but he lost one thousand of his own men, and those the very best. As he was going away after the battle he said to his friends that he had often striven for victory, but now first for his life. He fought this victorious battle on the day of the festival of Bacchus,¹ on which day also it is said that Pompey the Great had gone forth to the war; a period of four years intervened. As for Pompey's sons, the younger made his escape, but after a few days the head of the elder was brought in by Deidius.

This was the last war that Caesar waged; and the triumph that was celebrated for it vexed the Romans as nothing else had done. For it commemorated no victory over foreign commanders or barbarian kings, but the utter annihilation of the sons and the family of the mightiest of the Romans, who had fallen upon misfortune; and it was not meet for Caesar to celebrate a triumph for the calamities of his country, priding himself upon actions which had no defence before gods or men except that they had been done under necessity, and that too although previously he had sent neither messenger nor letters to announce

¹ March 17, 45 B.C.

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περὶ νίκης ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων, ἀλλ' ἀπωσάμενοι αἰσχύνη τὴν δόξαν.

LVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐγκεκλικότες καὶ δεδεγμένοι τὸν χαλινόν, καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἀναπνοὴν ἥγοντες τὴν μοναρχίαν, δικτάτορα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξαν διὰ βίου· τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ὁμολογουμένη τυραννίς, τῷ ἀνυπευθύνῳ τῆς μοναρχίας τὸ ἀκατά-
2 παυστὸν προσλαβούσης· τιμᾶς δὲ τὰς πρώτας Κικέρωνος εἰς τὴν βουλὴν γράψαντος, ὡν ἀμῶς γέ πως ἀνθρώπωνον ἦν τὸ μέγεθος, ἔτεροι προστιθέντες ὑπερβολὰς καὶ διαιμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔξειργάσαντο καὶ τοῖς πραοτάτοις ἐπαχθῆ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λυπηρὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸν ὅγκον καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν ψηφιζομένων, οἷς οὐδὲν ἡττον οἴονται συναγωνίσασθαι τῶν κολακευόντων
3 Καίσαρα τὸν μισοῦντας, δπως δτι πλείστας κατ' αὐτὸν προφάσεις ἔχωσι καὶ μετὰ μεγίστων ἐγκλημάτων ἐπιχειρεῦν δοκῶσιν. ἐπεὶ τά γε ἀλλα, τῶν ἐμφυλίων αὐτῷ πολέμων πέρας ἐσχήκτων, ἀνέγκλητον ἑαυτὸν¹ παρεῖχε· καὶ τό γε τῆς Ἐπιεικείας ἕερὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου δοκοῦσι χαριστήριον ἐπὶ τῇ πραότητι ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀφῆκε πολλοὺς τῶν πεπολεμηκότων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμᾶς, ὡς Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ, προσέθηκεν ἐστρατιγούν γὰρ ἀμφότεροι. καὶ τὰς Πομπηίου καταβεβλημένας εἰκόνας οὖν περιεῖδεν, ἀλλ' ἀνέστησεν, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ Κικέρων εἶπεν δτι Καίσαρ τὸν Πομπηίου στήσας ἀνδριάντας τοὺς ιδίους ἔπηξε. τῶν δὲ φίλων

¹ ἀνέγκλητον ἑαυτὸν Coraes and Bekker, after Reiske: ἀνέγκλητον.

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to the people a victory in the civil wars, but had scrupulously put from him the fame arising therefrom.

LVII. However, the Romans gave way before the good fortune of the man and accepted the bit, and regarding the monarchy as a respite from the evils of the civil wars, they appointed him dictator for life. This was confessedly a tyranny, since the monarchy, besides the element of irresponsibility, now took on that of permanence. It was Cicero who proposed the first honours for him in the senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man ; but others added excessive honours and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious even to the mildest citizens because of the pretension and extravagance of what was decreed for him. It is thought, too, that the enemies of Caesar no less than his flatterers helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be thought to have the best reasons for attempting his life. For in all other ways, at least, after the civil wars were over, he showed himself blameless ; and certainly it is thought not inappropriate that the temple of Clemency was decreed as a thank-offering in view of his mildness. For he pardoned many of those who had fought against him, and to some he even gave honours and offices besides, as to Brutus and Cassius, both of whom were now praetors. The statues of Pompey, too, which had been thrown down, he would not suffer to remain so, but set them up again, at which Cicero said that in setting up Pompey's statues Caesar firmly fixed his own.¹ When his friends thought it

¹ Of the *Cicero*, xl. 4

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ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν δορυφορεῖσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρεχόντων ἑαυτοὺς οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, εἰπὼν ὡς βέλτιον ἔστιν ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἀεὶ προσδοκᾶν. τὴν δὲ εὔνοιαν ὡς κάλλιστον ἄμα καὶ βεβαιότατον ἑαυτῷ περιβαλλόμενος φυλακτήριον, αὐθις ἀνελάμβανε τὸν δῆμον ἔστιάσεσι καὶ σιτηρεσίοις, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἀποικίας, ὃν ἐπιφανέσταται Καρχηδὼν καὶ Κόρινθος ἦσαν, αἷς καὶ πρότερον τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τότε τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἄμα καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀμφοτέραις γενέσθαι συνέτυχε.

LVIII. Τῶν δὲ δυνατῶν τοὺς μὲν ὑπατείας καὶ στρατηγίας εἰς τούπιὸν ἐπηγγέλλετο, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλαις τισὶν ἔξουσίαις καὶ τιμαῖς παρεμυθεῖτο, πᾶσι δὲ ἐλπίζειν ἐνεδίδουν, μνηστευόμενος ἄρχειν ἐκόντων, ὡς καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ ὑπάτου τελευτήσαντος εἰς τὴν περιοῦσαν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς μίαν ἡμέραν ὑπατον ἀποδεῖξαι Κανίνιον Ρεβίλιον. πρὸς δὲ, ὡς ἕοικε, πολλῶν δεξιώσασθαι καὶ προπέμψαι βαδιζόντων ὁ Κικέρων, “Σπεύδωμεν,” ἔφη, “πρὸν φθάσῃ τῆς ὑπατείας ἔξελθὼν ὁ ἄνθρωπος.”

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ φύσει μεγαλουργὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλότιμον αἱ πολλαὶ κατορθώσεις οὐ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἔτρεπον τῶν πεπονημένων, ἀλλ’ ὑπέκκαινμα καὶ θάρσος οὖσαι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα μειζόνων ἐνέτικτον ἐπινοίας πραγμάτων καὶ καινῆς ἔρωτα δόξης ὡς ἀποκεχρημένῳ τῇ παρούσῃ, τὸ μὲν πάθος οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτερον ἢ ζῆλος αὐτοῦ καθάπερ ἄλλου καὶ φιλονεικία τις ὑπὲρ 3 τῶν μελλόντων πρὸς τὰ πεπραγμένα, παρασκευὴ

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best that he should have a body-guard, and many of them volunteered for this service, he would not consent, saying that it was better to die once for all than to be always expecting death. And in the effort to surround himself with men's good will as the fairest and at the same time the securest protection, he again courted the people with banquets and distributions of grain, and his soldiers with newly planted colonies, the most conspicuous of which were Carthage and Corinth. The earlier capture of both these cities, as well as their present restoration, chanced to fall at one and the same time.¹

LVIII. As for the nobles, to some of them he promised consulships and praetorships in the future, others he appeased with sundry other powers and honours, and in all he implanted hopes, since he ardently desired to rule over willing subjects. Therefore, when Maximus the consul died, he appointed Caninius Revilius consul for the one day still remaining of the term of office. To him, as we are told, many were going with congratulations and offers of escort, whereupon Cicero said : "Let us make haste, or else the man's consulship will have expired."

Caesar's many successes, however, did not divert his natural spirit of enterprise and ambition to the enjoyment of what he had laboriously achieved, but served as fuel and incentive for future achievements, and begat in him plans for greater deeds and a passion for fresh glory, as though he had used up what he already had. What he felt was therefore nothing else than emulation of himself, as if he had been another man, and a sort of rivalry between what he had done and what he purposed to do. For he

¹ Both cities were captured in 146 B.C., and both were restored in 44 B.C.

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δὲ καὶ γυνώμη στρατεύειν μὲν ἐπὶ Πάρθους, καταστρεψαμένῳ δὲ τούτους, καὶ δὶ' Ὄρκανίας παρὰ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Καύκασον ἐκπειελθόντι τὸν Πόντον, εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τὰ περίχωρα Γερμανοῖς καὶ Γερμανίᾳν ἀντὴν ἐπιδραμούτι διὰ Κελτῶν ἐπανελθέν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ συνάφαι τὸν κύκλον τοῦτον τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῷ πανταχόθεν Ὀκεανῷ περιορισθεί-
4 σης. διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς στρατείας τὸν τε Κορύνθιον Ἰσθμὸν ἐπεχύρει διασκάπτειν, Ανιηνὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προχειρισάμενος, καὶ τὸν Τίβεριν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολαβὼν διώρυχι βιβείᾳ καὶ περικλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ Κιρκαῖον ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ταρρακήν θάλατταν, ἀσφάλειαν ἄμα καὶ ῥαστώνην τοῖς δὶ' ἐμπορίας φοιτῶσιν εἰς Ῥώμην
5 μηχανάμενος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μὲν ἔλη τὰ περὶ Παμεντίνου καὶ Σητίαν ἐκτρέφας πεδίον ἀποδεῖξαι πολλαῖς ἐνεργὸν ἀνθρωπῶν μυριάσι, τῇ δὲ ἔγγιστα τῆς Ῥώμης θαλάσσῃ κλείθρα διὰ χωμάτων ἐπαγαγών, καὶ τὰ τυφλὰ καὶ δύσορμα τῆς Ὀστιανῆς ἥιόνος ἀνακαθηράμενος, λιμένας ἐμποιήσασθαι καὶ ναύλοχα πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀξιόπιστα ναυτιλίαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦρ.

LIX. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἡμερολογίου διάθεσις καὶ διόρθωσις τῆς περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀνωμαλίας φιλοσοφηθεῖσα χαριέντως ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τέλος λαβοῦσα γλαφυρωτάτην παρέσχε χρείαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς πάντα χρυσοῖς τεταραγμέναις ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦς τῶν μηνῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν περιόδοις, ὅστε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑποφερομένας κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἐναντίας ἐκπεπτω-

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planned and prepared to make an expedition against the Parthians ; and after subduing these and marching around the Euxine by way of Hyrcania, the Caspian sea, and the Caucasus, to invade Scythia ; and after overrunning the countries bordering on Germany and Germany itself, to come back by way of Gaul to Italy, and so to complete this circuit of his empire, which would then be bounded on all sides by the ocean. During this expedition, moreover, he intended to dig through the isthmus of Corinth, and had already put Anienus in charge of this work ; he intended also to divert the Tiber just below the city into a deep channel, give it a bend towards Circeum, and make it empty into the sea at Terracina, thus contriving for merchantmen a safe as well as an easy passage to Rome ; and besides this, to convert the marshes about Pomentinum and Setia into a plain which many thousands of men could cultivate ; and further, to build moles which should barricade the sea where it was nearest to Rome, to clear away the hidden dangers on the shore of Ostia, and then construct harbours and roadsteads sufficient for the great fleets that would visit them. And all these things were in preparation.

LIX. The adjustment of the calendar, however, and the correction of the irregularity in the computation of time, were not only studied scientifically by him, but also brought to completion, and proved to be of the highest utility. For not only in very ancient times was the relation of the lunar to the solar year in great confusion among the Romans, so that the sacrificial feasts and festivals, diverging gradually, at last fell in opposite seasons of the year,

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2 κέναι τοῖς χρόνοις ὥρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τότε οὖσαν ἡλιακὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παντάπασι τούτων ἀσυλλογίστως εἰχον, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς μόνοι τὸν καιρὸν εἰδότες ἔξαίφνης καὶ προηγσθημένου μηδενὸς τὸν ἐμβόλιμον προσέγραφον μῆνα, Μερκηδόνιον ὁνομάζοντες, δῆν Νομᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐμβαλεῖν λέγεται, μικρὰν καὶ διατείνουσαν οὐ πόρρω βοήθειαν ἔξευρὼν τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀποκαταστάσεις πλημμελείας, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

3 Καῖσαρ δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ μαθηματικῶν τὸ πρόβλημα προθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἥδη μεθόδων ἔμιξεν ιδίαν τινὰ καὶ διηκριθωμένην μᾶλλον ἐπανόρθωσιν, ἢ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι δοκοῦσιν ἥττον ἐτέρων σφάλλεσθαι περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς βασκαίνουσι καὶ βαρυνομένοις τὴν δύναμιν αἰτίας παρεῖχε. Κικέρων γοῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὡς ἔουκε, φήσαντός τινος αὔριον ἐπιτέλλειν Λύραν, “Ναί,” εἶπεν, “ἐκ διατάγματος,” ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνάγκην τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεχομένων.

LX. Τὸ δὲ ἐμφανὲς μάλιστα μῖσος καὶ θανατηφόρον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς βασιλείας ἔρως ἔξειργάσατο, τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς αἰτίᾳ πρώτη, τοῖς δὲ ὑπούλοις πάλαι πρόφασις εὐπρεπεστάτη γενομένη. καίτοι καὶ λόγον τινὰ κατέσπειραν εἰς τὸν δῆμον οἱ ταύτην Καίσαρι τὴν τιμὴν προξενοῦντες, ὡς ἐκ γραμμάτων Σιβυλλείων ἀλώσιμα τὰ Πάρθων φαίνοιτο Ῥωμαῖοις σὺν βασιλεῖν

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but also at this time people generally had no way of computing the actual solar year;¹ the priests alone knew the proper time, and would suddenly and to everybody's surprise insert the intercalary month called Mercedonius. Numa the king is said to have been the first to intercalate this month, thus devising a slight and short-lived remedy for the error in regard to the sidereal and solar cycles, as I have said in his Life.² But Caesar laid the problem before the best philosophers and mathematicians, and out of the methods of correction which were already at hand compounded one of his own which was more accurate than any. This the Romans use down to the present time, and are thought to be less in error than other peoples as regards the inequality between the lunar and solar years. However, even this furnished occasion for blame to those who envied Caesar and disliked his power. At any rate, Cicero the orator, we are told, when some one remarked that Lyra would rise on the morrow, said: "Yes, by decree," implying that men were compelled to accept even this dispensation.

LX. But the most open and deadly hatred towards him was produced by his passion for the royal power. For the multitude this was a first cause of hatred, and for those who had long smothered their hate, a most specious pretext for it. And yet those who were advocating this honour for Caesar actually spread abroad among the people a report that from the Sibylline books it appeared that Parthia could be taken if the Romans went up against it with a king,

¹ At this time the Roman calendar was more than two months ahead of the solar year. Caesar's reform went into effect in 46 B.C. ² Chapter xviii.

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στρατευομένοις ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀλλως ἀνέφικτα δυτα·
2 καὶ καταβαίνοντος ἐξ Ἀλβης Καίσαρος εἰς τὴν
πόλιν ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὸν ἀσπάσασθαι βασιλέα.
τοῦ δὲ δῆμου διαταραχθέντος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐκεῖνος
οὐκ ἔφη βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ Καίσαρ καλεῖσθαι· καὶ
γενομένης πρὸς τοῦτο πάντων σιωπής οὐ πάνυ
3 φαιδρὸς οὐδὲ εὐμενῆς παρῆλθεν. ἐν δὲ συγκλήτῳ
τιμάς τινας ὑπερφυεῖς αὐτῷ ψηφισαμένων ἔτυχε
μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων καθεξόμενος, προσιόντων
δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ
τῆς βουλῆς ἀπάσης ἐπομένης, οὐχ ὑπεξαναστάς,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἰδιώταις τισὶ χρηματίζων, ἀπεκρί-
νατο συστολῆς μᾶλλον ἢ προσθέσεως τὰς τιμὰς
δεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον ἡνίασε τὴν βουλήν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τῆς πόλεως
προπηλακιζομένης, καὶ μετὰ δεινῆς κατηφείας
4 ἀπῆλθον εὐθὺς οἱς ἔξην μὴ παραμένειν, ὥστε κα-
κενον ἐνιοήσαντα παραχρῆμα μὲν οἴκαδε τρα-
πέσθαι καὶ βοῶν πρὸς τους φίλους, ἀπαγαγόντα
τοῦ τραχήλου τὸ ῥιμάτιον, ὡς ἔτοιμος εἴη τῷ βου-
λομένῳ τὴν σφαγὴν παρέχειν, ὕστερον δὲ προφα-
σίζεσθαι τὴν νόσον· οὐ γάρ ἔθέλειν τὴν αἰσθησιν
ἀτρεμεῖν τῶν οὕτως ἔχόντων, δταν ιστάμενοι δια-
λέγωνται πρὸς ὄχλον, ἀλλὰ σειομένην ταχὺ καὶ
περιφερομένην ἵλιγγους ἐπισπάσθαι καὶ κατα-
5 λαμβάνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πάνυ βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπεξαναστῆναι τῇ βουλῇ
λέγουσιν ὑπό του τῶν φίλων, μᾶλλον δὲ κολάκων,
Κορηνηλίου Βάλβου, κατασχεθῆναι φήσαντος·
“Οὐ μεμνήσῃ Καίσαρ ὡν, οὐδὲ ἀξιώσεις ὡς
κρείττονα θεραπεύεσθαι σεαυτόν;”

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but otherwise could not be assailed ; and as Caesar was coming down from Alba into the city they ventured to hail him as king. But at this the people were confounded, and Caesar, disturbed in mind, said that his name was not King, but Caesar, and seeing that his words produced an universal silence, he passed on with no very cheerful or contented looks. Moreover, after sundry extravagant honours had been voted him in the senate, it chanced that he was sitting above the rostra, and as the praetors and consuls drew near, with the whole senate following them, he did not rise to receive them, but as if he were dealing with mere private persons, replied that his honours needed curtailment rather than enlargement. This vexed not only the senate, but also the people, who felt that in the persons of the senators the state was insulted, and in a terrible dejection they went away at once, all who were not obliged to remain, so that Caesar too, when he was aware of his mistake, immediately turned to go home, and drawing back his toga from his neck, cried in loud tones to his friends that he was ready to offer his throat to any one who wished to kill him. But afterwards he made his disease an excuse for his behaviour, saying that the senses of those who are thus afflicted do not usually remain steady when they address a multitude standing, but are speedily shaken and whirled about, bringing on giddiness and insensibility. However, what he said was not true ; on the contrary, he was very desirous of rising to receive the senate ; but one of his friends, as they say, or rather one of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus, restrained him, saying : “ Remember that thou art Caesar, and permit thyself to be courted as a superior.”

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LXI. Ἐπιγίνεται τούτοις τοῖς προσκρούσμασιν
ό τῶν δημάρχων προπηλακισμός. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ
τῶν Λουπερκαλίων ἔορτή, περὶ ἣς πολλοὶ γρά-
φουσιν ὡς ποιμένων τὸ παλαιὸν εἶη, καὶ τι καὶ
2 προσήκει τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς Δυκαλίοις. τῶν δ'
εὐγενῶν οἰανίσκων καὶ ἀρχόντων πολλοὶ δια-
θέουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν γυμνούς, σκύτεσι λασίοις
τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἐπὶ παιδιὰ καὶ γέλωτι παίοντες.
πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει γυναικῶν ἐπίτηδες
ὑπαντώσαι παρέχουσιν ὥσπερ ἐν διδασκάλου τῷ
χεῖρε ταῖς πληγαῖς, πεπεισμέναι πρὸς εὔτοκίαν
κυούσαις, ἀγάνοις δὲ πρὸς κύησιν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.
3 ταῦτα Καίσαρ θέεάτο καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων
ἐπὶ δίφρον χρυσοῦν, θριαμβικῷ κόσμῳ κεκοσμη-
μένος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν θεόντων τὸν ιερὸν δρό-
μον εἰς ἥντι καὶ γὰρ ὑπάτευεν. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν
ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ διέστη,
φέρων διάδημα στεφάνῳ δάφνης περιπεπλεγμένον
ώρεξε τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ γίνεται κρότος οὐ λαμ-
4 πρός, ἀλλ᾽ ὀλίγος ἐκ παρασκευῆς. ἀπωσαμένου
δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄπας ὁ δῆμος ἀνεκρότησεν.
αὐθις δὲ προσφέροντος ὀλίγοι, καὶ μὴ δεξαμένου
πάλιν ἀπαντεῖς. οὕτω δὲ τῆς πείρας ἐξελεγχο-
μένης Καίσαρ μὲν ἀνίσταται, τὸν στέφανον εἰς
τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀπενεχθῆναι κελεύσας, ὥφθη-
σαν δὲ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ διαδήμασιν ἀναδεδε-
μένοι βασιλικοῖς. καὶ τῶν δημάρχων δύο, Φλα-
ούνιος καὶ Μάρυλλος, ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσπασαν, καὶ
τοὺς ἀσπασαμένους βασιλέα τὸν Καίσαρα πρώ-
5 τους ἐξευρόντες ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ὁ
δὲ δῆμος εἴπετο κροτῶν, καὶ Βρούτους ἀπεκάλει
τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅτι Βροῦτος ἦν ὁ καταλύσας τὴν τῶν

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LXI. There was added to these causes of offence his insult to the tribunes. It was, namely, the festival of the Lupercalia, of which many write that it was anciently celebrated by shepherds, and has also some connection with the Arcadian Lycaeum. At this time many of the noble youths and of the magistrates run up and down through the city naked, for sport and laughter striking those they meet with shaggy thongs. And many women of rank also purposely get in their way, and like children at school present their hands to be struck, believing that the pregnant will thus be helped to an easy delivery, and the barren to pregnancy. These ceremonies Caesar was witnessing, seated upon the rostra on a golden throne, arrayed in triumphal attire. And Antony was one of the runners in the sacred race; for he was consul. Accordingly, after he had dashed into the forum and the crowd had made way for him, he carried a diadem, round which a wreath of laurel was tied, and held it out to Caesar. Then there was applause, not loud, but slight and preconcerted. But when Caesar pushed away the diadem, all the people applauded; and when Antony offered it again, few, and when Caesar declined it again, all, applauded. The experiment having thus failed, Caesar rose from his seat, after ordering the wreath to be carried up to the Capitol; but then his statues were seen to have been decked with royal diadems. So two of the tribunes, Flavius and Marcius, went up to them and pulled off the diadems, and after discovering those who had first hailed Caesar as king, led them off to prison. Moreover, the people followed the tribunes with applause and called them Brutuses, because Brutus was the man who put

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βασιλέων διαδοχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς βουλὴν καὶ δῆμον ἐκ μοναρχίας καταστήσας. ἐπὶ τούτῳ Καῖσαρ παροξυνθεὶς τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον, ἐν, δὲ τῷ κατηγορεῖν αὐτῶν ἄμα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἔφυβρίζων πολλάκις Βρούτους τε καὶ Κυμαίους ἀπεκάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας.

LXII. Οὕτω δὴ τρέπονται πρὸς Μάρκον Βροῦτον οἱ πολλοί, γένος μὲν ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι δοκοῦντα πρὸς πατέρων, καὶ τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς δὲ ἀπὸ Σερουτίλιων, οἰκιας ἑτέρας ἐπιφανοῦς, γαμβρὸν δὲ καὶ ἀδελφιδοῦν Κάτωνος. τοῦτον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ὄρμῆσαι πρὸς κατάλυσιν τῆς μοναρχίας ἡμβλυνον 2 αἱ παρὰ Καίσαρος τιμαὶ καὶ χάριτες. οὐ γάρ μόνον ἐσώθη περὶ Φάρσαλον ἀπὸ τῆς Πομπήιου φυγῆς, οὐδὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔσωσεν ἔξαιτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίστιν εἰχε μεγάλην παρ’ αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατηγίαν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τότε τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἔλαβεν, ὑπατεύειν δὲ ἐμελλεν εἰς τέταρτον ἔτος, ἐρίσαντος Κασσίου προτιμηθείσ. λέγεται γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰπεῖν ὡς δικαιότερα μὲν λέγοι Κάσσιος, αὐτὸς μέντοι Βρούτον οὐκ ἀν 3 παρέλθοι. καὶ ποτε καὶ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν τὸν ἄνδρα, πραττομένης ἥδη τῆς συνωμοσίας, οὐ προσέσχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σώματος τῇ χειρὶ θιγὼν ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας· “Αναμενεῖ τοῦτο τὸ δέρμα Βρούτος,” ὡς ἀξιον μὲν ὅντα τῆς ἀρχῆς δι’ ἀρετῆν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀν ἀχάριστον 4 καὶ πονηρὸν γενούμενον. οἱ δὲ τῆς μεταβολῆς

¹ See the *Publīcola*, 1 - ix.

² The word "brutus" in Latin signified stupid (cf. the *Publīcola*, iii. 4); and the people of Cymé, in Asia Minor, were celebrated for stupidity (Strabo, p. 622).

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an end to the royal succession and brought the power into the hands of the senate and people instead of a sole ruler.¹ At this, Caesar was greatly vexed, and deprived Maryllus and Flavius of their office, while in his denunciation of them, although he at the same time insulted the people, he called them repeatedly Brutes² and Cymaeans.²

LXII. Under these circumstances the multitude turned their thoughts towards Marcus Brutus, who was thought to be a descendant of the elder Brutus on his father's side, on his mother's side belonged to the Servilii, another illustrious house, and was a son-in-law and nephew of Cato. The desires which Brutus felt to attempt of his own accord the abolition of the monarchy were blunted by the favours and honours that he had received from Caesar. For not only had his life been spared at Pharsalus after Pompey's flight, and the lives of many of his friends at his entreaty, but also he had great credit with Caesar. He had received the most honourable of the praetorships for the current year, and was to be consul three years later, having been preferred to Cassius, who was a rival candidate. For Caesar, as we are told, said that Cassius urged the juster claims to the office, but that for his own part he could not pass Brutus by.³ Once, too, when certain persons were actually accusing Brutus to him, the conspiracy being already on foot, Caesar would not heed them, but laying his hand upon his body said to the accusers: "Brutus will wait for this shrivelled skin,"⁴ implying that Brutus was worthy to rule because of his virtue, but that for the sake of ruling he would not become a thankless villain. Those, however, who

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, vii. 1-3.

² Cf. the *Brutus*, chapters viii., ix.

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έφιέμενοι καὶ πρὸς μόνον ἐκείνουν ἡ πρῶτον ἀπο-
βλέποντες αὐτῷ μὲν οὐκ ἔτόλμων διαλέγεσθαι,
νύκτωρ δὲ κατεπίμπλασαν γραμμάτων τὸ βῆμα
καὶ τὸν δίφρον ἐφ' οὖν στρατηγῶν ἐχρημάτιξεν.
ῶν οὖν τὰ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα· “Καθεύδεις, ὁ Βροῦτε,”
καὶ “Οὐκ εἰ Βροῦτος.” ὑφ' οὓς ὁ Κάσσιος αἰσθή-
μενος διακινούμενον ἡσυχῇ τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτούν,
μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον ἐνέκειτο καὶ παρώξυνεν, αὐτὸς
ἰδίᾳ τι καὶ μίσους ἔχων πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα δι'
αἰτίας ἃς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου γεγραμμένοις
5 δεδηλώκαμεν. εἴχε μέντοι καὶ δι' ὑποψίας ὁ
Καίσαρ αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν
ποτε· “Τί φαίνεται βουλόμενος ὑμῶν Κάσσιος;
ἔμοι μὲν γάρ οὐ λίαν ἀρέσκει λίαν ὡχρὸς οὗν.”
πάλιν δὲ λέγεται, περὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα
διαβολῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ως νεωτερίζοιεν, ἐλθούσης,
“Οὐ πάνυ,” φάναι, “τούτους δέδοικα τοὺς παχεῖς
καὶ κομῆτας, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς ὡχροὺς καὶ λεπτοὺς
ἐκείνους.” Κάσσιον λέγων καὶ Βροῦτον.

LXIII. Ἄλλ' ἔσκεν οὐχ οὔτως ἀπροσδόκητον
ώς ἀφύλακτον εἶναι τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἐπεὶ καὶ
σημεῖα θαυμαστὰ καὶ φάσματα φανῆναι λέγουσι.
σέλα μὲν οὖν οὐράνια καὶ κτύπους νύκτωρ πολ-
λαχοῦ διαφερομένους καὶ καταίροντας εἰς ἀγορὰν
ἔρημος ὅρνιθας οὐκ ἀξιον ἵσως ἐπὶ πάθει τηλι-
2 κούνῳ μυημονεῦσαι. Στράβων δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος
ἰστορεῖ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους διαπύρους ἐπι-
φερομένους φανῆναι, στρατιώτου δὲ ἀνδρὸς οἰκέ-
την ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν πολλὴν φλόγα καὶ
δοκεῖν καίεσθαι τοὺς ὄρωσιν, ως δὲ ἐπαύσατο,
μηδὲν ἔχειν κακὸν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν· αὐτῷ δὲ Καί-

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were eager for the change, and fixed their eyes on Brutus alone, or on him first, did not venture to talk with him directly, but by night they covered his praetorial tribune and chair with writings, most of which were of this sort: "Thou art asleep, Brutus," or, "Thou art not Brutus."¹ When Cassius perceived that the ambition of Brutus was somewhat stirred by these things, he was more urgent with him than before, and pricked him on, having himself also some private grounds for hating Caesar; these I have mentioned in the Life of Brutus.¹ Moreover, Caesar actually suspected him, so that he once said to his friends: "What, think ye, doth Cassius want? I like him not over much, for he is much too pale." And again, we are told that when Antony and Dolabella were accused to him of plotting revolution, Caesar said: "I am not much in fear of these fat, long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale, thin ones," meaning Brutus and Cassius.¹

LXIII. But destiny, it would seem, is not so much unexpected as it is unavoidable, since they say that amazing signs and apparitions were seen. Now, as for lights in the heavens, crashing sounds borne all about by night, and birds of omen coming down into the forum, it is perhaps not worth while to mention these precursors of so great an event; but Strabo the philosopher says² that multitudes of men all on fire were seen rushing up, and a soldier's slave threw from his hand a copious flame and seemed to the spectators to be burning, but when the flame ceased the man was uninjured; he says, more-

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, chapters viii, ix.

² Probably in the "Historical Commentaries" cited in the *Lucullus*, xxviii. 7.

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- σαρι θύσοντι τὴν καρδίαν ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι τοῦ
ἰερείου καὶ δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ τέρας· οὐ γάρ ἀν φύσει
3 γε συστήναι ζῷον ἀκάρδιον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα
πολλῶν ἀκοῦνται διεξιόντων, ὡς τις αὐτῷ μάντις
ἡμέρᾳ Μαρτίου μηνός, ἦν Εἰδούς Ῥωμαῖοι κα-
λούσι, προείποι μέγαν φυλάττεσθαι κίνδυνον
ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας προιών δὲ Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν
σύγκλητον ἀσπασάμενος προσπαίξει τῷ μάντει
φάμενος· “Αἱ μὲν δὴ Μάρτιαι Εἰδοὶ πάρεισιν,” δὲ
δὲ ἡσυχῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶποι· “Ναὶ πάρεισιν, ἀλλ’
4 οὐ παρεληλύθασι.” πρὸ μᾶς δὲ ἡμέρας Μάρκου
Δεπίδου δειπνίζοντος αὐτὸν ἔτυχε μὲν ἐπιστολαῖς
ὑπογράφων, ὡσπερ εἰώθει, κατακείμενος· ἐμπε-
σόντος δὲ λόγου ποίος ἄρα τῶν θανάτων ἄριστος,
ἄπαντας φθάσας ἔξεβόησεν· “Οὐ ἀπροσδόκητος.
5 μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμώμενος, ὡσπερ εἰώθει, παρὰ τῇ
γυναικὶ, πασῶν ἂμα τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ δωματίου
καὶ τῶν θυρίδων ἀναπετανυμένων, διαταραχθεὶς
ἄμα τῷ κτύπῳ καὶ τῷ φωτὶ καταλαμπούσῃς τῆς
σελήνης, ἥσθετο τὴν Καλπουρνίαν βαθέως μὲν
καθεύδονταν, ἀσαφεῖς δὲ φωνὰς καὶ στεναγμοὺς
ἀνάρθρους ἀναπέμπονταν ἐκ τῶν ὑπνων· ἐδόκει
δὲ ἄρα κλαίειν ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἔχουσα
κατεσφαγμένον.
- 6 Οἱ δὲ οὖ φασι τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν
ὅψιν· ἀλλὰ ἦν γάρ τι τῇ Καίσαρος οἰκίᾳ προσ-
κείμενον οἷον ἐπὶ κόσμῳ καὶ σεμνότητι τῆς
Βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀκρωτήριον, ὡς Λίβιος
ἰστορεῖ, τοῦτο δναρ ἡ Καλπουρνία θεασαμένη
καταρρηγνύμενον ἔδοξε ποτνιάσθαι καὶ δακρύειν.
ἡμέρας δὲ οὖν γενομένης ἐδείτο τοῦ Καίσαρος,

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over, that when Caesar himself was sacrificing, the heart of the victim was not to be found, and the prodigy caused fear, since in the course of nature, certainly, an animal without a heart could not exist. The following story, too, is told by many. A certain seer warned Caesar to be on his guard against a great peril on the day of the month of March which the Romans call the Ides; and when the day had come and Caesar was on his way to the senate-house, he greeted the seer with a jest and said : " Well, the Ides of March are come," and the seer said to him softly : " Aye, they are come, but they are not gone." Moreover, on the day before, when Marcus Lepidus was entertaining him at supper, Caesar chanced to be signing letters, as his custom was, while reclining at table, and the discourse turned suddenly upon the question what sort of death was the best ; before any one else could answer Caesar cried out : " That which is unexpected." After this, while he was sleeping as usual by the side of his wife, all the windows and doors of the chamber flew open at once, and Caesar, confounded by the noise and the light of the moon shining down upon him, noticed that Calpurnia was in a deep slumber, but was uttering indistinct words and inarticulate groans in her sleep ; for she dreamed, as it proved, that she was holding her murdered husband in her arms and bewailing him.

Some, however, say that this was not the vision which the woman had ; but that there was attached to Caesar's house to give it adornment and distinction, by vote of the senate, a gable-ornament, as Livy says, and it was this which Calpurnia in her dreams saw torn down, and therefore, as she thought, wailed and wept. At all events, when day came, she begged Caesar,

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εὶς μὲν οὖν τε, μὴ προελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι
τὴν σύγκλητον· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνης ὄνειρων ἐλά-
χιστα φροντίζει, σκέψασθαι διὰ μαντικῆς ἄλλης
7 καὶ ἵερῶν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. εἰχε δέ τις, ὡς
ἔσικε, κάκενον ὑποψία καὶ φόβος. οὐδένα γὰρ
γυναικισμὸν ἐν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ πρότερον κατεγνώ-
κει τῆς Καλπουρνίας, τότε δὲ ἔώρα περιπαθοῦσαν.
ώς δὲ καὶ πολλὰ καταθύσαντες οἱ μάντεις ἔφρα-
σαν αὐτῷ δυσιερέν, ἔγνω πέμψας Ἀντώνιον
ἀφεῖνα τὴν σύγκλητον.

LXIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δέκιμος Βροῦτος ἐπίκλη-
σιν Ἀλβίνος, πιστευόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος,
ῶστε καὶ δεύτερος ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ κληρουόμος γε-
γράφθαι, τοῖς δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον τὸν ἔτερον καὶ
Κάσσιον μετέχων τῆς συνωμοσίας, φοβηθεὶς
μὴ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διακρουσαμένου τοῦ
Καίσαρος ἔκπυστος ἢ πρᾶξις γένηται, τούς τε
μάντεις ἔχλεύαζε καὶ καθήπτετο τοῦ Καίσαρος,
2 ως αἰτίας καὶ διαβολὰς ἑαυτῷ κτωμένου πρὸς
τὴν σύγκλητον ἐντρυψᾶσθαι δοκοῦσαν ἦκειν μὲν
γὰρ αὐτὴν κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου, καὶ προθύμους
εἶναι ψηφίζεσθαι πάντας ὅπως τῶν ἔκτος Ἰταλίας
ἐπαρχιῶν βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύοιτο καὶ φοροί διά-
3 δημα τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιών γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν εἰ δὲ
φράσει τις αὐτοῖς καθεξομένοις νῦν μὲν ἀπαλλά-
τεσθαι, παρέναι δὲ αὐθις ὅταν ἐντύχῃ βελτίοσιν
ὄνειροις Καλπουρνία, τίνας ἔσεσθαι λόγους παρὰ
τῶν φθονούντων; ἢ τίνα τῶν φίλων ἀνέξεσθαι
διδασκόντων ὡς οὐχὶ δουλεία ταῦτα καὶ τυραννίς
ἔστιν; ἀλλ' εὶ δοκεῖ πάντως, ἔφη, τὴν ἡμέραν
ἀφοσιώσασθαι, βέλτιον αὐτὸν παρελθόντα καὶ
4 προσαγορεύσαντα τὴν βουλὴν ὑπερθέσθαι. ταῦθ'

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if it was possible, not to go out, but to postpone the meeting of the senate ; if, however, he had no concern at all for her dreams, she besought him to enquire by other modes of divination and by sacrifices concerning the future. And Caesar also, as it would appear, was in some suspicion and fear. For never before had he perceived in Calpurnia any womanish superstition, but now he saw that she was in great distress. And when the seers also, after many sacrifices, told him that the omens were unfavourable, he resolved to send Antony and dismiss the senate.

LXIV. But at this juncture Decimus Brutus, sur-named Albinus, who was so trusted by Caesar that he was entered in his will as his second heir, but was partner in the conspiracy of the other Brutus and Cassius, fearing that if Caesar should elude that day, their undertaking would become known, ridiculed the seers and chided Caesar for laying himself open to malicious charges on the part of the senators, who would think themselves mocked at ; for they had met at his bidding, and were ready and willing to vote as one man that he should be declared king of the provinces outside of Italy, and might wear a diadem when he went anywhere else by land or sea ; but if some one should tell them at their session to be gone now, but to come back again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what speeches would be made by his enemies, or who would listen to his friends when they tried to show that this was not slavery and tyranny ? But if he was fully resolved (Albinus said) to regard the day as inauspicious, it was better that he should go in person and address the senate, and then postpone its business. While

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άμα λέγων ὁ Βροῦτος ἡγε τῆς χειρὸς λαβόμενος τὸν Καίσαρα. καὶ μικρὸν μὲν αὐτῷ προελθόντι τῶν θυρῶν οἰκέτης ἀλλότριος ἐντυχεῖν προθυμούμενος, ὡς ἡττᾶτο τοῦ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ὡθισμοῦ καὶ πλήθους, βιασάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν παρέδωκεν ἔαυτὸν τῇ Καλπουρνίᾳ, φυλάττειν κελεύσας ἄχρι ἂν ἐπανέλθῃ Καίσαρ, ὡς ἔχων μεγάλα πράγματα κατειπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν.

LXV. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ Κυνίδιος τὸ γένος, Ἐλληνικῶν λόγων σοφιστῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γεγονὼς ἐνίοις συνήθης τῶν περὶ Βροῦτον, ὥστε καὶ γνῶναι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πραττομένων, ἥκε μὲν ἐν βιβλιδίῳ κομίζων ἀπερ ἔμελλε μηνύειν, ὅρῶν δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν βιβλιδίων ἔκαστον δεχόμενον καὶ παραδιδόντα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπηρέταις, ἔγγὺς σφόδρα προσελθών, “Τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “Καίσαρ, ἀνάγνωθι μόνος καὶ ταχέως· γέγραπται γάρ ὑπέρ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ σοι διαφερόντων.”
2 δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ἀναγνῶναι μὲν ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐκωλύθη, καίπερ δρμήσας πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ κατέχων καὶ φυλάττων μόνον ἐκεῖνο παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἄλλον ἐπιδούναι τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, τὸν δὲ Ἀρτεμίδωρον οὐδὲ δλως προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐκθλιβῆναι παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν.

LXVI. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἥδη που φέρει καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον· ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος τὸν φόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χῶρος, εἰς δὲ ἡ σύγκλητος ἥθροισθη τότε, Πομπηίου μὲν εἰκόνα κειμένην ἔχων, Πομπηίου δὲ ἀνάθημα γεγονὼς τῶν προσκεκοσμη-

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saying these things Brutus took Caesar by the hand and began to lead him along. And he had gone but a little way from his door when a slave belonging to some one else, eager to get at Caesar, but unable to do so for the press of numbers about him, forced his way into the house, gave himself into the hands of Calpurnia, and bade her keep him secure until Caesar came back, since he had important matters to report to him.

LXV. Furthermore, Artemidorus, a Cnidian by birth, a teacher of Greek philosophy, and on this account brought into intimacy with some of the followers of Brutus, so that he also knew most of what they were doing, came bringing to Caesar in a small roll the disclosures which he was going to make ; but seeing that Caesar took all such rolls and handed them to his attendants, he came quite near, and said : “ Read this, Caesar, by thyself, and speedily ; for it contains matters of importance and of concern to thee.” Accordingly, Caesar took the roll and would have read it, but was prevented by the multitude of people who engaged his attention, although he set out to do so many times, and holding in his hand and retaining that roll alone, he passed on into the senate. Some, however, say that another person gave him this roll, and that Artemidorus did not get to him at all, but was crowded away all along the route.

LXVI. So far, perhaps, these things may have happened of their own accord ; the place, however, which was the scene of that struggle and murder, and in which the senate was then assembled, since it contained a statue of Pompey and had been dedicated by Pompey as an additional ornament to his

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- μένων τῷ θεάτρῳ, παντάπασιν ἀπέφαινε δαιμονός τυνος ὑφηγουμένου καὶ καλοῦντος ἐκεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν
2 ἔργον γεγονέναι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ λέγεται Κάσ-
σιος εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Πομπήίου πρὸ τῆς
ἔγχειρήσεως ἀποβλέπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι σιωπῆ,
καίπερ οὐκ ἀλλότριος ὡν τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων·
ἀλλ' ὁ καιρός, ως ἔοικεν, ἥδη τοῦ δεινοῦ παρεστώ-
τος ἐνθουσιασμὸν ἐνεποίει καὶ πάθος ἀντὶ τῶν
προτέρων λογισμῶν.
- 3 Ἀντώνιον μὲν οὖν πιστὸν ὄντα Καίσαρι καὶ
ρώμαλέον ἔξω παρακατεῖχε Βροῦτος Ἄλβινος,
ἐμβαλὼν ἐπίτηδες ὁμιλίαιν μῆκος ἔχουσαν¹ εἰσι-
όντος δὲ Καίσαρος ἡ βουλὴ μὲν ὑπεξανέστη
θεραπεύουσα, τῶν δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον οἱ μὲν ἔξό-
πισθεν τὸν δίφρον αὐτοῦ περιέστησαν, οἱ δὲ
ἀπήντησαν, ως δὴ Τιλλίφ Κίμβρῳ περὶ ἀδελφοῦ
φυγάδος ἐντυγχάνοντι συνδεησόμενοι, καὶ συνε-
4 δέοντο μέχρι τοῦ δίφρου παρακολουθοῦντες. ως
δὲ καθίσας διεκρούετο τὰς δεήσεις καὶ προσκει-
μένων βιαιότερον ἥγανάκτει πρὸς ἔκαστον, ὃ μὲν
Τίλλιος τὴν τήβεννον αὐτοῦ τὰς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέ-
ραις συλλαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου κατήγεν· ὅπερ
ἥν σύνθημα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. πρῶτος δὲ Κάσκας
ξίφει παίει παρὰ τὸν αὐχένα πληγὴν οὐθανατη-
φόρον οὐδὲ βαθεῖαν, ἀλλ', ως εἰκός, ἐν ἀρχῇ
τολμήματος μεγάλου ταραχθείς, ὥστε καὶ τὸν
Καίσαρα μεταστραφέντα τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου λα-

¹ These discouraged belief in superhuman powers.

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theatre, made it wholly clear that it was the work of some heavenly power which was calling and guiding the action thither. Indeed, it is also said that Cassius, turning his eyes toward the statue of Pompey before the attack began, invoked it silently, although he was much addicted to the doctrines of Epicurus;¹ but the crisis, as it would seem, when the dreadful attempt was now close at hand, replaced his former cool calculations with divinely inspired emotion.

Well, then, Antony, who was a friend of Caesar's and a robust man, was detained outside by Brutus Albinus,² who purposely engaged him in a lengthy conversation; but Caesar went in, and the senate rose in his honour. Some of the partisans of Brutus took their places round the back of Caesar's chair, while others went to meet him, as though they would support the petition which Tillius Cimber presented to Caesar in behalf of his exiled brother, and they joined their entreaties to his and accompanied Caesar up to his chair. But when, after taking his seat, Caesar continued to repulse their petitions, and, as they pressed upon him with greater importunity, began to show anger towards one and another of them, Tillius seized his toga with both hands and pulled it down from his neck. This was the signal for the assault. It was Casca who gave him the first blow with his dagger, in the neck, not a mortal wound, nor even a deep one, for which he was too much confused, as was natural at the beginning of a deed of great daring; so that Caesar turned about, grasped the knife, and held it fast.

¹ By Caius Trebonius, rather, as Plutarch says in the *Brutus*, xvii 1. Cf Appian, *B.C.* ii 117; Cicero, *ad fam.* x. 28.

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5 βέσθαι καὶ κατασχεῖν. ἂμα δέ πως ἐξεφώνησαν
ὅ μὲν πληγεὶς ‘Ρωμαῖστι· “Μιαρώτατε Κάσκα,
τί ποιεῖς;” ὁ δὲ πλήξας ‘Ελληνιστὶ πρὸς τὸν
ἀδελφόν· “Αδελφέ, βοήθει.”

Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης τοὺς μὲν
οὐδὲν συνειδότας ἔκπληξις εἰχε καὶ φρίκη πρὸς
τὰ δρώμενα, μήτε φεύγειν μήτε ἀμύνειν, ἀλλὰ
μηδὲ φωνὴν ἐκβάλλειν τολμῶντας. τῶν δὲ παρε-
σκευασμένων ἐπὶ τὸν φόνου ἑκάστου γυμνὸν ἀπο-
6 δεῖξαντος τὸ ξίφος, ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενος καὶ
πρὸς ὅ τι τρέψειε τὴν ὅψιν πληγαῖς ἀπαντῶν
καὶ σιδήρῳ φερομένῳ καὶ κατὰ προσώπου καὶ
κατ' ὄφθαλμῶν διελαυνόμενος ὥσπερ θηρίου ἐνε-
λέιτο τὰς πάντων χερσύν· ἀπαντας γάρ ἔδει
κατάρξασθαι καὶ γεύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. διὸ
καὶ Βρούτος αὐτῷ πληγὴν ἐνέβαλε μίαν εἰς τὸν
βουβῶνα. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τινων ὡς ἄρα πρὸς
τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπομαχόμενος καὶ διαφέρων δεῦρο
κάκει τὸ σῶμα καὶ κεκραγώς, διε Βρούτον εἶδεν
ἐσπασμένον τὸ ξίφος, ἐφειλκύσατο κατὰ τῆς
7 κεφαλῆς τὸ ἴμάτιον καὶ παρῆκεν ἑαυτόν, εἴτε ἀπὸ
τύχης εἴτε ὑπὸ τῶν κτεινόντων ἀπωσθείς, πρὸς
τὴν βάσιν ἐφ' ἣς ὁ Πομπηῖον βέβηκεν ἀνδρίας.
καὶ πολὺ καθῆμαξεν αὐτὴν ὁ φόνος, ὡς δοκεῖν
αὐτὸν ἐφεστάνας τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ πολεμίου Πομ-
πήιον ὑπὸ πόδας κεκλιμένου καὶ περισπαίροντος
ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων. εἴκοσι γάρ καὶ τρία
λαβεῖν λέγεται· καὶ πολλοὶ κατετρώθησαν ὑπ'
ἀλλήλων, εἰς ἐν ἀπερειδόμενοι σῶμα πληγὰς
τοσαύτας.

LXVII. Κατειργασμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ μὲν
γερουσία, καίπερ εἰς μέσον ἐλθόντος Βρούτου ὡς

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At almost the same instant both cried out, the smitten man in Latin : “ Accursed Casca, what doest thou ? ” and the smiter, in Greek, to his brother : “ Brother, help ! ”

So the affair began, and those who were not privy to the plot were filled with consternation and horror at what was going on ; they dared not fly, nor go to Caesar’s help, nay, nor even utter a word. But those who had prepared themselves for the murder bared each of them his dagger, and Caesar, hemmed in on all sides, whichever way he turned confronting blows of weapons aimed at his face and eyes, driven hither and thither like a wild beast, was entangled in the hands of all ; for all had to take part in the sacrifice and taste of the slaughter. Therefore Brutus also gave him one blow in the groin. And it is said by some writers that although Caesar defended himself against the rest and darted this way and that and cried aloud, when he saw that Brutus had drawn his dagger, he pulled his toga down over his head and sank, either by chance or because pushed there by his murderers, against the pedestal on which the statue of Pompey stood. And the pedestal was drenched with his blood, so that one might have thought that Pompey himself was presiding over this vengeance upon his enemy, who now lay prostrate at his feet, quivering from a multitude of wounds. For it is said that he received twenty-three ; and many of the conspirators were wounded by one another, as they struggled to plant all those blows in one body.

LXVII. Caesar thus done to death, the senators, although Brutus came forward as if to say something

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τι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐροῦντος, οὐκ ἀνασχομένη διὰ θυρῶν ἔξεπιπτε καὶ φεύγοντα κατέπληστε ταραχῆς καὶ δέους ἀπόρου τὸν δῆμον, ὃστε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας κλείειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπολείπειν τραπέζας καὶ χρηματιστήρια, δρόμῳ δὲ χωρεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὁφορέουσι τὸ πάθος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐωρακότας. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Λέπιδος οἱ μάλιστα φίλοι Καίσαρος ὑπεκδύντες εἰς οἰκίας ἑτέρας κατέφυγον. οἱ δὲ περὶ Βρούτου, ὡσπερ ἥσαν ἔτι θερμοὶ τῷ φόνῳ, γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη δεικνύντες, ἀμα πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου συστραφέντες ἔχώρουν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὐ φεύγοντας ἐοικότες, ἀλλὰ μάλα φαιδροὶ καὶ θαρραλέοι, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν 3 ἐπτυγχανόντων. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ συνανέβαινον αὐτοῖς καὶ κατεμήνυσαν ἕαυτοὺς ὡς μετεσχηκότες τοῦ ἔργου καὶ προσεποιοῦντο τὴν δόξαν, ὃν ἦν καὶ Γάιος Ὁκταούιος καὶ Λέντλος Σπινθήρ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀλαζονείας δίκην ἔδωκαν ὑστερούν ὑπὸ Ἀντώνιου καὶ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντες καὶ μηδὲ τῆς δόξης, δι’ ἣν ἀπέθνησκον, ἀπολαύσαντες ἀπιστίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων. οὐδὲ γάρ οἱ κολαζούντες αὐτοὺς τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς βουλήσεως τὴν δίκην ἔλαβον.

4 Μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ τῶν περὶ Βρούτου κατελθόντων καὶ ποιησαμένων λόγους, ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὔτε δυσχεραίνων οὔτε ὡς ἐπαινῶν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοὺς λεγομένους προσείχεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεδήλου τῇ πολλῇ σιωπῇ Καίσαρα μὲν οἰκτείρων, αἰδούμενος δὲ Βρούτου, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀμνηστίας τινᾶς καὶ

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about what had been done, would not wait to hear him, but burst out of doors and fled, thus filling the people with confusion and helpless fear, so that some of them closed their houses, while others left their counters and places of business and ran, first to the place to see what had happened, then away from the place when they had seen Antony and Lepidus, the chief friends of Caesar, stole away and took refuge in the houses of others. But Brutus and his partisans, just as they were, still warm from the slaughter, displaying their daggers bare, went all in a body out of the senate-house and marched to the Capitol, not like fugitives, but with glad faces and full of confidence, summoning the multitude to freedom, and welcoming into their ranks the most distinguished of those who met them. Some also joined their number and went up with them as though they had shared in the deed, and laid claim to the glory of it, of whom were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther. These men, then, paid the penalty for their imposture later, when they were put to death by Antony and the young Caesar, without even enjoying the fame for the sake of which they died, owing to the disbelief of their fellow men. For even those who punished them did not exact a penalty for what they did, but for what they wished they had done.

On the next day Brutus came down and held a discourse, and the people listened to what was said without either expressing resentment at what had been done or appearing to approve of it; they showed, however, by their deep silence, that while they pitied Caesar, they respected Brutus. The senate, too, trying to make a general amnesty and

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συμβάσεις πράττουσα πᾶσι Καίσαρα μὲν ὡς
θεὸν τιμᾶν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ κινέῖν μηδὲ τὸ μικρό-
τατον ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἀρχων ἐβούλευσε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ¹
Βροῦτον ἐπαρχίας τε διένειμε καὶ τιμὰς ἀπέδωκε
πρεπούσας, ὥστε πάντας οἰεσθαι τὰ πράγματα
κατάστασιν ἔχειν καὶ σύγκρασιν ἀπειληφέναι τὴν
ἀρίστην.

LXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος
ἀνοιχθεισῶν εὐρέθη δεδομένη Ῥωμαίων ἑκάστῳ
δόσις ἀξιόλογος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα κομιζόμενον δι'
ἀγορᾶς ἔθεάσαντο ταῖς πληγαῖς διαλελωβημένου,
οὐκέτι κόσμον εἶχεν οὐδὲ τάξιν αὐτῶν τὸ πλήθος,
ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν νεκρῷ περισωρεύσαντες ἐξ ἀγορᾶς
βάθρα καὶ κιγκλίδας καὶ τραπέζας ὑφῆψαν αὐτοῦ
καὶ κατέκαυσαν, ἀράμενοι δὲ δαλοὺς διαπύρους
ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀνηρηκότων ὡς κατα-
φλέξοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐφοίτων πανταχόσε τῆς πό-
λεως συλλαβεῖν καὶ διασπάσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
2 ζητοῦντες. οὶς ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπήντησεν,
ἀλλὰ εὖ πεφραγμένοι πάντες ἦσαν. Κίνας δέ
τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἐταίρων ἔτυχε μέν, ὡς φασι,
τῆς παρφωχμένης υսκτὸς ὅψιν ἔωρακὼς ἄτοπον
ἐδόκει γάρ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλεῖσθαι,
παραιτούμενος δὲ ἄγεσθαι τῆς χειρὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
μὴ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀντιτείνων. ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν
ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸ σῶμα καίεσθαι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀνα-
στὰς, ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τιμῆ, καίπερ ὑφορώμενός τε
3 τὴν ὅψιν ἄμα καὶ πυρέττων. καὶ τις ὁφθέντος
αὐτοῦ τῶν πολλῶν ἔφρασεν ἐτέρῳ τοῦνομα πυν-

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reconciliation, voted to give Caesar divine honours and not to disturb even the most insignificant measure which he had adopted when in power; while to Brutus and his partisans it distributed provinces and gave suitable honours, so that everybody thought that matters were decided and settled in the best possible manner.

LXVIII. But when the will of Caesar was opened and it was found that he had given every Roman citizen a considerable gift, and when the multitude saw his body carried through the forum all disfigured with its wounds, they no longer kept themselves within the restraints of order and discipline, but after heaping round the body benches, railings, and tables from the forum, they set fire to them and burned it there; then, lifting blazing brands on high, they ran to the houses of the murderers with intent to burn them down, while others went every whither through the city seeking to seize the men themselves and tear them to pieces. Not one of these came in their way, but all were well barricaded. There was a certain Cinna, however, one of the friends of Caesar, who chanced, as they say, to have seen during the previous night a strange vision. He dreamed, that is, that he was invited to supper by Caesar, and that when he excused himself, Caesar led him along by the hand, although he did not wish to go, but resisted. Now, when he heard that they were burning the body of Caesar in the forum, he rose up and went thither out of respect, although he had misgivings arising from his vision, and was at the same time in a fever. At sight of him, one of the multitude told his name to another who asked him

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θανομένῳ, κάκεῖνος ἀλλῷ, καὶ διὰ πάντων εὐθὺς
ἢν ὡς οὐτός ἔστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀνηρηκότων Καί-
σαρα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τις ὄμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ Κίννας ἐν
τοῖς συνομοσαμένοις, ὃν τοῦτον εἶναι προλαβόντες
ῷρμησαν εὐθὺς καὶ διέσπασαν ἐν μέσῳ τὸν ἄν-
4 θρωπον. τοῦτο μάλιστα δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Βρού-
τον καὶ Κάσσιον οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων
ἀπεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἀ δὲ καὶ πράξαντες
καὶ παθόντες ἐτελεύτησαν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου
γέγραπται.

LXIX. Θυήσκει δὲ Καῖσαρ τὰ μὲν πάντα γε-
γονὼς ἔτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕξ, Πομπηίῳ δ' ἐπι-
βιώσας οὐ πολὺ πλέον ἐτῶν τεσσάρων, ἦν δὲ τῷ
βίῳ παντὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν διὰ κινδύνων
τοσούτων διώκων μόλις κατειργάσατο, ταύτης
οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τούνομα μόνον καὶ τὴν ἐπίφθονον
2 καρπωσάμενος δόξαν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ μέν-
τοι μέγας αὐτοῦ δαίμων, φ παρὰ τὸν βίον ἔχρή-
σατο, καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἐπηκολούθησε τιμωρὸς
τοῦ φόνου, διά τε γῆς πάσης καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαύ-
νων καὶ ἀνιχνεύων ἄχρι τοῦ μηδένα λιπεῖν τῶν
ἀπεκτονότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ὄτιον ἢ χειρὶ¹
τοῦ ἔργου θιγόντας ἢ γυνώμης μετασχόντας ἐπεξ-
ελθεῖν.

3. Θαυμασιώτατον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνων τὸ
περὶ Κάσσιον ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐκείνῳ
τῷ ξιφιδίῳ διέφθειρεν ἑαυτὸν φ κατὰ Καίσαρος
ἔχρήσατο· τῶν δὲ θείων ὅ τε μέγας κομήτης
(ἔφανη γὰρ ἐπὶ νύκτας ἐπτὰ τὴν Καίσαρος

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what it was, and he to another, and at once word ran through the whole throng that this man was one of the murderers of Caesar. For there was among the conspirators a man who bore this same name of Cinna, and assuming that this man was he, the crowd rushed upon him and tore him in pieces among them.¹ This more than anything else made Brutus and Cassius afraid, and not many days afterwards they withdrew from the city. What they did and suffered before they died, has been told in the Life of Brutus.

LXIX. At the time of his death Caesar was fully fifty-six years old, but he had survived Pompey not much more than four years, while of the power and dominion which he had sought all his life at so great risks, and barely achieved at last, of this he had reaped no fruit but the name of it only, and a glory which had awakened envy on the part of his fellow citizens. However, the great guardian-genius of the man, whose help he had enjoyed through life, followed upon him even after death as an avenger of his murder, driving and tracking down his slayers over every land and sea until not one of them was left, but even those who in any way soever either put hand to the deed or took part in the plot were punished.

Among events of man's ordering, the most amazing was that which befell Cassius; for after his defeat at Philippi he slew himself with that very dagger which he had used against Caesar; and among events of divine ordering, there was the great comet, which showed itself in great splendour for seven nights

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, xx. 5 f.

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σφαγὴν διαπρεπής, εἰτα ἡφανίσθη) καὶ τὸ περὶ
4 τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαύρωμα τῆς αὐγῆς. ὅλον γάρ ἐκεῖ-
νον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡχρὸς μὲν ὁ κύκλος καὶ μαρμα-
ρυγὰς οὐκ ἔχων ἀνέτελλεν, ἀδρανὲς δὲ καὶ λεπτὸν
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατήγει τὸ θερμόν, ὡστε τὸν μὲν ἀέρα
δυοφερὸν καὶ βαρὺν ἀσθενείᾳ τῆς διακρινούσης
αὐτὸν ἀλέας ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς ἡμι-
πέπτους καὶ ἀτελεῖς ἀπανθῆσαι καὶ παρακμάσαι
5 διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τοῦ περιέχοντος. μάλιστα
δὲ τὸ Βρούτῳ γενομένον φάσμα τὴν Καίσαρος ἐδή-
λωσε σφαγὴν οὐ γενομένην θεοῖς ἀρεστήν· ἦν δὲ
τοιόνδε. μέλλων τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου διαβι-
βάζειν εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἥπειρον ἀνεπαύετο νυκτός,
ῶσπερ εἰώθει, κατὰ σκηνὴν, οὐ καθεύδων, ἀλλὰ
φροντίζων περὶ τὸν μέλλοντος· λέγεται γάρ οὗτος
ἀνὴρ ἥκιστα δὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπνώδης γενέ-
σθαι καὶ πλεῖστον ἑαυτῷ χρόνον ἐγρηγορότι χρῆ-
6 σθαι πεφυκώς ψόφου δὲ τινος αἰσθέσθαι περὶ
τὴν θύραν ἔδοξε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ λύχνου φῶς ἥδη
καταφερομένου σκεψάμενος δύψιν εἰδε φοβερὰν
ἀνδρὸς ἐκφύλου τὸ μέγεθος καὶ χαλεποῦ τὸ εἶδος.
ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τὸ πρώτον, ὡς ἔωρα μήτε πράττοντά
τι μήτε φθειγγόμενον, ἀλλὰ ἔστωτα σιγῇ παρὰ
7 τὴν κλίνην, ἥρωτα δοστις ἐστίν. ἀποκρίνεται δ'
αὐτῷ τὸ φύσμα· “Ο σός, ὁ Βρούτε, δαίμων
κακός· δψει δέ με περὶ Φιλίππους.” τότε μὲν
οὖν ὁ Βροῦτος εὐθαρσῶς, “Οψομαι,” εἶπε· καὶ
τὸ δαιμόνιον εὐθὺς ἐκποδὼν ἀπῆγει. τῷ δὲ ἵκνου-
μένῳ χρόνῳ περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους ἀντιταχθεὶς
‘Αντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρα-
τήσας τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐτρέψατο καὶ διεξήλασε
8 πορθῶν τὸ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον, τὴν δὲ δευτέ-
ρον

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after Caesar's murder, and then disappeared ; also, the obscuration of the sun's rays For during all that year its orb rose pale and without radiance, while the heat that came down from it was slight and ineffectual, so that the air in its circulation was dark and heavy owing to the feebleness of the warmth that penetrated it, and the fruits, imperfect and half ripe, withered away and shrivelled up on account of the coldness of the atmosphere. But more than anything else the phantom that appeared to Brutus showed that the murder of Caesar was not pleasing to the gods ; and it was on this wise As he was about to take his army across from Abydos to the other continent, he was lying down at night, as his custom was, in his tent, not sleeping, but thinking of the future ; for it is said that of all generals Brutus was least given to sleep, and that he naturally remained awake a longer time than anybody else. And now he thought he heard a noise at the door, and looking towards the light of the lamp, which was slowly going out, he saw a fearful vision of a man of unnatural size and harsh aspect. At first he was terrified, but when he saw that the visitor neither did nor said anything, but stood in silence by his couch, he asked him who he was. Then the phantom answered him : "I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi." At the time, then, Brutus said courageously . "I shall see thee ;" and the heavenly visitor at once went away. Subsequently, however, when arrayed against Antony and Caesar at Philippi, in the first battle he conquered the enemy in his front, routed and scattered them, and sacked the camp of Caesar ; but as he was about to fight the second

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ραν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι μέλλοντι φοιτᾷ τὸ αὐτὸ φά-
σμα τῆς νυκτὸς αὐθίς, οὐχ ὥστε τι προσευπεῖν,
ἀλλὰ συνεὶς ὁ Βροῦτος τὸ πεπρωμένον ἔρριψε
φέρων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν κινδυνον. οὐ μὴν ἐπέστεν
ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς τροπῆς γενομένης ἀνα-
φυγὼν πρός τι κρημνῶδες καὶ τῷ ξίφει γυμνῷ
προσβαλὼν τὸ στέρνον, ἅμα καὶ φίλου τινός, ὡς
φασι, συνεπιρρώσαντος τὴν πληγήν, ἀπέθανεν.

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battle, the same phantom visited him again at night, and though it said nothing to him, Brutus understood his fate, and plunged headlong into danger. He did not fall in battle, however, but after the rout retired to a crest of ground, put his naked sword to his breast (while a certain friend, as they say, helped to drive the blow home), and so died.¹

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, xxxvi.; xlviij.; li.

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A

Achillas, 559, one of the guardians of Ptolemy XII. (Dionysus), and commander of his troops when Caesar came to Egypt. See the *Pompey*, lxxvii.-lxxx.

Afranius, 531, 543, 567, Lucius A., a warm partisan of Pompey, and one of his legates in Spain during the war with Sertorius, as well as in Asia during the Mithridatic war. He was consul in 60 B.C. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.)

Agrippa, 215, Marcus Vipsanius A., fellow student of Octavius Caesar at Apollonia, and an intimate friend. He was one of the prominent and powerful men of the Augustan age. He lived 63-12 B.C.

Alcetas, 383, a brother of Perdiccas, whom he supported after Alexander's death. After the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C., Alcetas forsook Eumenes, and was joined by Attalus, the brother-in-law of Perdiccas. They were defeated by Antigonus in 320, and Alcetas slew himself rather than fall into the hands of his enemy.

Alcidamas, 13, of Elea in Asia Minor, a popular rhetorician of the school of Gorgias, who resided at Athens 431-411 B.C.

Anaxarchus, 245, 307, 375 f., of Abdera, a philosopher who accompanied Alexander on his

campaigns in Asia and won his favour by flattery. After the death of Alexander, Anaxarchus fell into the hands of Nicocreon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, whom he had offended, and was cruelly put to death.

Anaximenes, 71, 215, of Lampsacus, a rhetorician and historian, who lived *circa* 390-320 B.C.

Androcottus, 401 f., or Sandrocottus, an Indian prince who achieved the conquest of northern India after Alexander's death. Seleucus waged unsuccessful war upon him.

Anticleides, 357, of Athens, author of a history of Alexander about which nothing further is known.

Antigenes, 357, otherwise unknown.

Antigonus, 437, surnamed the One-eyed, king of Asia, and father of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Antiochus of Ascalon, 89 f., called the founder of the Fifth Academy. Cicero speaks of him in the highest and most appreciative terms (*Brutus*, 91, 315).

Antipater, 67-79, 219-437, regent of Macedonia during Alexander's absence, and of Alexander's empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. He died in 319.

Antiphanes, 11, 25, of Rhodes, a poet of the Middle Comedy, who began his career in 383 B.C.

Antonius, 109 f., 121, 137, Caius A., uncle of Mark Antony the triumvir. He served under Sulla

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in the Mithridatic war, and was expelled from the senate for plundering the allies and wasting his substance. After the events here described, he went to his province of Macedonia, and in 59 B.C. was convicted of extortion there, in spite of the defence of his conduct by Cicero.

Apollonia, 195, 533 f., an ancient Greek city of Illyria. Towards the end of the Roman republic, it became a famous seat of learning.

Apollonius, 91 f., 447, son of Molon, a native of Alabanda in Caria, and a distinguished rhetorician. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 90, 312; 91, 316. Aristaean of Telmessus, 227, 261, 295 f., 317, 323, 369, 375, the chief soothsayer of Alexander, and probably the author of a work "On Prodigies" referred to by Pliny and Lucian.

Aristobulus, of Cassandreia, 57, 281, 289, 273, 285, 357, 438, accompanied Alexander on his expedition and wrote a history of his campaigns, of which we know most from Arrian's *Anabasis*.

Ariston, the Chian, 25, 75, a Stoic philosopher who flourished about 260 B.C.

Aristoxenus, 233, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school. Only fragments of his musical treatises have come down to us.

Arrhidaeus, 249, 437, a bastard son of Philip of Macedon. He was put to death by order of Olympias in 317 B.C.

Artemidorus, 595, of Cnidus, a teacher of rhetoric at Rome, and a friend of Caesar.

Artemisius, 265, see Dresus. Attalus (1), 247, 251, one of Philip's generals. After Philip's death he was assassinated by order of Alexander.

Attalus (2), 383, one of Alexander's chief officers, and the brother-

in-law of Perdiccas. After the murder of Perdiccas, Attalus joined Alcetas, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Antigonus. See Alcetas.

B

Balbus, 583, Lucius Cornelius B., a native of Gades in Spain, who came to Rome at the end of the war with Sertorius (72 B.C.). He served under Caesar both in Gaul and during the civil war, and was the manager of Caesar's property. After Caesar's death Balbus was high in favour with Octavius. For the incident here noted, cf. Suetonius, *Div. Jul.* 78.

Bessus, 349, 353, satrap of Bactria under Dareius III., and commander of the Persian left wing at the battle of Arbela.

Betbia, 139, Lucius Calpurnius B., one of the conspirators with Catiline. Cicero was afterwards reconciled with him, and defended him unsuccessfully when accused of bribery in his candidacy for the praetorship in 57 B.C.

Bibulus, 473 f., Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.C., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He died in 48.

Boedromion, 69, 317, the Attic month corresponding to part of our September and October. Brundisium, 181 f., 529, 533, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 593, 597, Decimus Junius B., surnamed Albinus, was widely employed, highly esteemed, fully trusted, and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and

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yet joined his murderers. He was put to death by order of Antony in 43 B.C.

C

Cæcilius, 7, Cæcilius Calactinus, a native of Sicily, a distinguished rhetorician at Rome in the time of Augustus.

Calanus, 409, 417, one of the Indian philosophers called gymnosophists.

Calenus, 545, Quntius Fufius C., tribune of the people in 61 B.C., and praetor in 59 through Caesar's influence, whom he ever afterwards faithfully served, holding high commands under him in Gaul and during the civil war. He died in 41 B.C.

Callias the Syracusan 13, otherwise unknown.

Callisthenes, 303, 323, 327, 375-385, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.C. Besides an account of Alexander's expedition, he wrote a history of Greece from 387 to 357 B.C.

Callistratus, 11, 13, 33, a distinguished orator and statesman at Athens, who flourished from about 380 to about 361 B.C. when he was condemned to death and fled the city.

Carneades, 89, of Cyrené, head of the Academy at Athens in 156 B.C. (when he was one of an embassy of philosophers to Rome) and until his death in 129. See the *Cato Major* xxv.

Casca, 507 f., Publius Servilius C., at this time tribune of the people. He fought in the battle of Philippi, and died soon afterwards. His brother, Caius Servilius Casca, had also been a friend of Caesar, and was a fellow conspirator.

Cassander, 33, 429, f., a son of

Antipater the regent of Macedonia. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.C., when Demetrius Poliorcetes took possession of the city. He died in 297 B.C.

Catulus, Quntius Lutatius C., 88., 133, 157, 455 ff., a leading aristocrat of the nobler sort, consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65, died in 60

Chares (1), 215, a famous Athenian general, prominent from 367 to 334 B.C.

Chares (2), 231, 295, 357, 381, 385, 419, of Mitylene, court chamberlain of Alexander, and author of an anecdotal history of Alexander's campaigns.

Ciceron, 503, Quntius Tullius C., younger brother of the orator, served as legate under Caesar in Gaul, but went over to Pompey in the civil war. He fell a victim to the proscription of the triumvirs in 43 B.C.

Cimber, 507, Lucius Tillius C., had been a warm supporter of Caesar and was rewarded by him with the province of Bithynia, to which he retired after Caesar's murder, and co-operated with Brutus and Cassius.

Cinna, 603 f., Caius Helvius C., see the *Brutus*, xx. 5 f. and the Dict. of Proper Names for Vol. vi.

Cithaeron, 57, the mountain range between Attica and Boeotia

Citium, Citieans, 323, a city of Cyprus.

Cleitarchus, 357, a historian who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East, and wrote a highly rhetorical account of it. He was the son of Demon of Colophon, who was author of a history of Persia.

Cleitomachus, 87, 91, a Carthaginian by birth, and a teacher of philosophy at Athens from about 146 B.C. to about 111. In 129 he succeeded Carneades as head of the New Academy.

Cleitus, 259, 267, 369-375, was commander of one of the two

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companies of the "companion" cavalry, and at the time of his death had been made satrap of Bactria by Alexander.

Cleopatra (1), 247, 251, 297, 415, soon after thus put to cruel death by Olympias, together with her infant child, who was regarded as a rival of Alexander.

Cleopatra (2), 557 ff., queen of Egypt. See the *Antony* xxv ff.

Clodius, 151–171, 463–467, Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher, youngest son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the *Sulla*, xxix. 3. He helped to demoralise the soldiers of Lucullus (*Lucullus*, xxxiv.), and became a venomous foe of Cicero.

Coenus, 397, son-in-law of Parmenio, and one of the ablest of Alexander's officers. He died shortly after the army had begun its return from India.

Collytus, 29, an Attic deme, or township.

Cornificius, 545 (Corfinius), Quintus C., a quaestor under Caesar in 48 B.C., and a friend of Cicero. In 45 Caesar made him governor of Syria, and in 44 he had the province of Africa, where he fought against the second triumvirate, and fell in battle.

Craterus, 345–333, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and a man of noble character. He fell in battle against Eumenes in 321 B.C. See the *Eumenes*, v. ff.

Cratippus, the Peripatetic, 143, of Mitylene, a contemporary and intimate friend of Cicero, and a teacher of Cicero's son. See the *Brutus*, xxiv. 1 f.

Ctesibius, 13, perhaps the Cynic philosopher of Chalcis in Euboea, who was the instructor of Antigonus Doson, king of Macedonia (229–221 B.C.).

Curio, 461, 515–519, Carus Scribonius C., an able orator, but reckless and profligate. He was tribune of the people in 50 B.C., and sold his support to Caesar,

who made him praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence he crossed into Africa to attack the Pompeians there, but was defeated and slain (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, ii, 28–44.)

D

Daesius, 265, 433, a Macedonian month answering to the Attic Thargelion, i.e. May-June. It followed Artemisius.

Dareius, 263 ff., Dareius III., surnamed Codomannus, came to the throne of Persia in 336 B.C.

Deimon, 333, of Colophon, see Clearchus.

Demaratus the Corinthian, 247 f., 337, 335, known only from these incidents.

Demetrius (1), 33, Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus (cf. Plutarch's *Demetrius*, ix.).

Demetrius (2), the Phalerenean, 23–27 35, 71, a celebrated rhetorician and orator (346–283 B.C.). He was guardian, or regent, of Athens for Cassander from 318 to 307.

Demetrius (3), surnamed Pheido, 338, son of Pythonax, one of the "companion" cavalry (Arrian, *Anab.*, iv. 12, 5).

Demetrius (4), the Magnesian, 39, 69, a Greek grammarian contemporary with Cicero.

Diogenes of Sinopé, 259, 409, a Cynic philosopher, born 412 B.C. He became a pupil of Antisthenes the Socratic at Athens, and changed from a dissolute to a most austere life. He died at Corinth in 323, according to Plutarch (*Morals*, p. 717 c) on the same day as Alexander the Great.

Dionysius of Magnesia, 91, a distinguished rhetorician. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 91, 316.

Diopeithes, 215, an Athenian general, father of the poet Menander. He was arraigned by the Macedonian party at

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Athens, and was defended by Demosthenes in the extant oration "On the Chersonese." Dolabella, 191 f., 449, 563, 589, the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero, lived 70-43 B.C. He took part with Caesar in 49, but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He was outlawed and declared a public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.

Domitius (1), 179, 527 f., 545, 549, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C. He was Cato's son-in-law, and one of the ablest supporters of the aristocratic party. He opposed both Pompey and Caesar until their quarrel, then sided with Pompey. He met his death at Pharsalus. Domitius (2), 547, 561, Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, consul in 53 B.C. He was a supporter of Bibulus against Caesar in 58, but after 49 an active supporter of Caesar. After the battle of Pharsalus he was Caesar's lieutenant in Asia.

Doris, 47, 57, 261, 357, of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, lived *circa* 350-280 B.C.

Dyrachium, 181, 529, a city on the coast of Illyricum, opposite to Brundisium, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.

E

Eratosthenes, 23, 75, 220, 317, of Cyrene, librarian at Alexandria, most distinguished as geographer and chronologist, a writer also on philosophy and ethics, 275-194 B.C.

Erygius, 251, of Mitylené, an officer in Alexander's army. He fell in battle 328 B.C.

F

Favonius, 497, 525, 543, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cato," was aedile in 52 B.C. and praetor in 49. He joined Pompey in the East, notwithstanding personal enmity to him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus (cf. the *Pompey*, lxxiii. 6 f.). He was put to death by order of Octavian Caesar after the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.).

G

Gabinius, 157, 161, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48. Granicus, 263 f., a river in the Troad emptying into the Propontis.

H

Hagnon, the Teian, 343, 383, afterwards admiral under Antigonus. Harpalus, 61 f., 243, 251, 333, 347, Alexander's faithless treasurer Antipater demanded his surrender by the Athenians, who put him in prison, whence he escaped and went to Crete. Here he was assassinated.

Hecataeus, of Eretria, 357, known only from this citation.

Hegesias, the Magnesian, 281, a rhetorician and historian who flourished in the early part of the third century B.C., and was noted for his mane conceits.

Hellen, 323, son of Acesas, of Salamis in Cyprus. Father and son were famous weavers of embroidered textures, probably in the latter part of the fifth century B.C.

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Hephaestion, 307, 341, 343, 347, 361, 367, 381, 383, 425, 433, officer and beloved friend of Alexander.

Heracleides, 299, of Alexandria, a historian who flourished under Ptolemy IV. (222–205 B.C.)

Hermione, 383, a city in southern Argolis.

Hermippus, 13, 27, 71, 75, 381, of Smyrna, a distinguished philosopher and biographer who was active in the second half of the third century B.C.

Herodes, 143, probably the business manager of Cicero's friend Atticus. Cf. Cicero *ad Att.*, vi. 1, 25.

I

Idomeneus, 80, 57, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342–270 B.C.) author of philosophical works entitled "The Socratics" and "The Demagogues."

Iolas, 429, 437, the time and manner of his death are unknown. He is last mentioned in connection with the marriage of his sister to Perdiccas, in 322 B.C. Ion, 7, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., and author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

Isaeus, 13, a professional writer of speeches for the law-courts 420–350 B.C., and numbered among the ten great Attic orators.

Isauricus, 457, 533, Publius Servilius Vatia I., deserted the aristocratic party to support Caesar, but after Caesar's death returned to his former allegiance. He tried with more or less success to hold a middle course as between Antony and Octavius Caesar.

Isocrates, 13, 215, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician 436–338 B.C.

Ister, 357, a slave, and afterwards a friend of Callimachus the Alexandrian grammarian and poet (250–220 B.C.), a voluminous writer, whose works are all lost.

L

Labienus, 181, 487, 527, fled to Aficus after the battle of Pharsalus, and after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.), to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda, and was slain (45 B.C.).

Lacretius, the rhetorician, 71, of Phaselis in Pamphylia, a pupil of Isocrates about 350 B.C.

Laelius, 219, perhaps the Laelius Decimus who was prominent during the civil war as a partisan of Pompey, and held military command under him.

Lentulus (1), 513, 519, 525, Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, on the outbreak of civil war joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt. See the *Pompey*, lxxxiv.

Lentulus (2), 167, 179 (cf. Caesar, B.C. iii. 83), 545, 601, Lucius Cornelius L. Spinther, consul in 57 B.C. through Caesar's influence, but took the field for Pompey at the outbreak of civil war in 49. He also, like Lentulus Crus, fled with Pompey to Egypt, but got safe to Rhodes.

Lentulus (3), 123–127, 135 f., 141, 459, Publius Cornelius L., surname Sura, was consul in 71 B.C., but in the following year was expelled from the senate. This led him to join the conspirators with Catiline.

Lentulus (4), 189, the name by which Dolabella was sometimes called after his adoption into the plebeian family of Gneius Lentulus in order that he might

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become a candidate for the tribuneship Dolabella was Tullia's third husband. See Tullia

Leonnatus, 283, 343, 405, one of Alexander's most distinguished officers. He fell in 322 B.C., while attempting to relieve Antipater at Lamia.

Leosthenes, 67, 215, an Athenian, general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. He died during the siege of Lamia.

Lepidus, 201, 591, 601, Marcus Aemilius L., joined the party of Caesar in 49 B.C., was Caesar's magister equitum in 47 and 45, and his consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the second triumvirate received Spain as his province, then, in 40, Africa. Here he remained till 36, when he was deposed from the triumvirate. He lived till 13 B.C.

Lucullus, 449, Marcus Licinius L., younger brother of the great Lucullus, also called by adoption M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul in 73 B.C., and afterwards a warm friend of Cicero. He died before the civil war.

Lysimachus, 357, 383, an officer of Alexander, not prominent during Alexander's life, but afterwards king of Thrace. He fell in battle with Seleucus, 281 B.C.

M

Maeccenas, 215, Caius Cilnius M., the patron of poets and artists during the reign of Augustus, whose prime minister he was.

Marcellus, 195, 513 f., Caius Claudius M. consul in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Caesar. But after the outbreak of the civil war he remained

quietly and timidly in Italy, and was finally pardoned by Caesar. As husband of Octavia, the sister of Octavius Caesar, he had considerable influence. He is last heard of about 41 B.C.

Marsyas 43, of Pella in Macedonia, author of a history of his own country from earliest times down to 332 B.C.

Mazaeus, 321, 343, a Persian officer under Dareius III, afterwards made satrap of Babylon by Alexander

Megabyzus, 349, probably a priest or keeper of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

Menippus, the Carian, 91, the most accomplished rhetorician of his time in Asia. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 91, 315

Metellus (1), 119, 155, Quintus Caecilius M. Celer, consul in 60 B.C., and an influential aristocrat. He was a violent opponent of Caesar during the latter's consulship in 59, in which year he died

Metellus (2) 529 f., Lucius Caecilius M. Creticus, little known apart from the incident here narrated.

Metellus (3), 139, 147, f., Quintus M. Nepos, a brother of Metellus Celer, a partisan of Pompey, and for a time a violent opponent of Cicero. As consul, however, in 57 B.C., he did not oppose the recall of Cicero from banishment. He died in 55

Metellus (4), 479, Quintus Metellus Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of Sulla's most successful generals. Against Sertorius in Spain he was less fortunate. He died about 63.

Murena, 117, 171, 213, Lucius Licinius M., had been quaestor, aedile, and praetor, and had served under Lucullus against Mithridates (*Lucullus*, xix. 7). He was accused of bribery in his canvass for the consulship, was defended by Hortensius and Cicero, and acquitted.

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N

Nearchus, 251, 411, 415, 427, 433^{f.}, the trusted admiral of Alexander. Nicocreon, 309, king of Salamis in Cyprus. After the death of Alexander he took sides with Ptolemy of Egypt. Nonacris, 437, a town in Arcadia, near which the water of the river Styx descended from a cliff

O

Ochus, 417, Dareius II., 424–404 B.C. Olympias, 227^{f.}, 237, 247, 251, 297, 341, 415, 437, 439, Alexander's mother. She was put to death in 316 B.C. by order of Cassander. Onesicritus, 248, 261, 357, 395, 399, 409, 411, a Greek who accompanied Alexander in Asia and wrote an account of his campaigns. His work contained valuable information, but was full of exaggerations and falsehoods. Oppius, 485, Caius O., an intimate friend of Caesar, and author (probably) of *Lives of Marius, Pompey, and Caesar*. Oricum, 533, a town on the coast of Epirus, north of Apollonia. Oxyartes, 389, a Bactrian prince, father of Roxana. Alexander made him satrap of northern India. He supported Eumenes until the death of that officer, and then came to terms with Antigonus.

P

Panaetius, the philosopher, 33, chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, flourishing between 150 and 110 B.C. Pappus, 75, otherwise unknown. Parmenio, 231, 249, 265, 277, 285^{f.}, 311, 317^{f.}, 327, 343, 361^{f.}, 369,

an able and trusted commander under both Philip and Alexander. Pasicles, 309, king of Soli in Cyprus.

Patavium, 555, an ancient and important city of Venetia, the modern Padua.

Paulus, 515, Lucius Aemilius P., consul in 50 B.C. with Claudius Marcellus. He had been a violent opponent of Caesar Cf. the *Pompey*, lvi. 1.

Pelops, of Byzantium, 148, not otherwise known.

Perdicas, 79, 263, 347, 437, the officer to whom the dying Alexander is said to have given his signet-ring, and who was regent for the royal successors of Alexander till 321 B.C.

Peucestas, 347^{f.}, 405, a distinguished officer of Alexander, and satrap of Persia. It was chiefly due to him that Eumenes met with disaster in 316 B.C. See the *Eumenes*, xiv ff.

Pharmacusa, 445, small island off the coast of Caria, about 120 furlongs south of Miletus.

Philip (1), 195, Lucius Marcus Philippius, consul in 56 B.C., married Atta, the widow of Caius Octavius, thus becoming the stepfather of Octavius Caesar. He remained neutral during the civil wars.

Philip (2), 399, made satrap of India by Alexander in 327 B.C. In the following year he was assassinated by his mercenaries.

Philip (3), the Chalcidian, 357, known only from this citation.

Philip (4), of Theangela (in Caria), 357, author of a history of Caria which is cited by Athenaeus and Strabo.

Phillistus, 243, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.

Philo, the Theban, 357, known only from this citation.

Philon, the Academic, 87, 91, a native of Larissa in Thessaly,

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- and a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens and Rome during Cicero's lifetime. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 89, 306.
- Philotas, 249, 255, 317, 343, 361-369, the son of Parmenio.
- Philoxenus, 243, of Cythera, one of the most distinguished dithyrambic poets of Greece (435-380 B.C.), resident at Athens and Syracuse.
- Phylarchus, 67, an Athenian historian, author of a history of Greece from 272 to 220 B.C. Plutarch is heavily indebted to him in his *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, and *Pyrhus*.
- Piso (1), 127, 457, Gaius Calpurnius P., consul in 67 B.C., and a violent aristocrat. As pro-consul he plundered his province of Gallia Narbonensis. He must have died before the civil war.
- Piso (2), 157, 475, 531, Lucius Calpurnius P., father-in-law of Julius Caesar. He plundered his province of Macedonia shamelessly, and was recalled in 55 B.C. He is covered with invective in Cicero's oration *de Provinc. Cons.*. He took no part in the civil war that followed.
- Piso (3), 161, 189, Gaius Calpurnius P. Frugi, married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63 B.C. He was quaestor in 58, and used every endeavour to secure the recall of Cicero from exile, but died before his father-in-law's return. Cicero mentions him often with gratitude.
- Pollio, 523, 553, 567, Caius Asinus P., a famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.C.-4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Julius Caesar, fought under him in Spain and Africa, and after Caesar's death supported Octavius Caesar. After 29, he devoted himself entirely to literature, and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works are extant.
- Polyclitus, 357, of Larissa in Thessaly, one of the numerous historians of Alexander, of uncertain date.
- Poseidonius, 91, of Apameia in Syria, a Stoic philosopher, pupil of Panaetius of Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him. Cf. Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, 1, 3, 6.
- Potamon, the Lesbian, 399, a rhetorician who enjoyed the favour of the emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.), and was an authority on the career of Alexander.
- Ptolemy, 557¹, one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy when Caesar came to Egypt.
- Ptolemy, 251, 337, 357, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and afterwards king of Egypt. He wrote a history of Alexander's campaigns which is the chief authority for Arrian.
- Pyanepsion, 71, 77, the Athenian month corresponding to parts of October and November.
- Python (or Pithon), 435, son of Craterus, one of the seven select officers forming the immediate bodyguard of Alexander. After the death of Alexander he supported Perdiccas, but went over to Antigonus and Seleucus when they made war upon Eumenes.

R

Roxana, 359, 437, daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian prince. With her son by Alexander she was taken to Macedonia by Antipater. Mother and son were put to death in 311 B.C. by order of Cassander.

S

Samothrace, 227, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.

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Scaurus, 83, Marcus Aemilius S. Father and son of this name were prominent in the Roman aristocracy from 126 to 52 B.C., the former having been consul in 115. Both were venal, but the first was often highly praised, and the second was defended, by Cicero.

Scipio (1), 479, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal, 234–188 B.C. Scipio (2), 481, 517, 519, 541, 545, 549, 563f., 571, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius, and therefore often called Metellus Scipio, was Pompey's colleague in the consulship for the latter part of the year 52 B.C., and a determined foe of Caesar. He killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and a father-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.

Selucus, 349, 401, 435, founder of the Seleucid dynasty in Syria.

Silanus, 117, 127, 131f., Decimus Junius S., stepfather of Marcus Brutus, had been aedile in 70 B.C.

Sotion, 399, a native of Alexandria, who lived in the first part of the first century A.D.

Stateira, 410, 437, daughter of Dareius III., and wife of Alexander. Stateira was also her mother's name (pp. 311ff.).

commanding a crossing or the Euphrates, east of Upper Syria.

Theodectes, 273, a distinguished rhetorician and tragic poet, a pupil of Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and an imitator of Euripides. He flourished in the time of Philip of Macedon, and lived for the most part at Athens.

Theodotus, 555, a rhetorician of Chios (or Samos), put to death by Brutus. See the *Pompey*, lxxvii 2, lxxx 6.

Theophilus, 323, an artist in metal work, not otherwise known.

Theophrastus, 25, 41, 141, 233, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, 9, 31, 35, 43, 51, 63, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon from 360 to 336.

Theramenes, 183, a brilliant Athenian naval commander who cooperated successfully with Alcibiades during the closing years of the Peloponnesian war. He was one of the Thirty Tyrants, and favoured a moderate course, but fell a victim to the jealousy and hatred of Critias.

Thurii, 71, a colony of Athens in Lucania, Italy, founded under Pericles.

Tralles, 555, a large and flourishing city in north-western Caria.

Tulla, 189, daughter of Cicero and Terentia, married Caius Calpurnius Piso in 63 B.C., was a widow in 57, married Furius Crassipes in 56, from whom she was soon divorced. In 50 she married Dolabella (Lentulus) from whom she was divorced in 46. She bore him a son in 45, but died soon after at her father's house in Tusculum.

T

Tanusius, 497, Tanusius Geminus, a Roman historian of Cicero's time (probably), the nature and scope of whose work is uncertain. Telestes, 243, of Selinus in Sicily, won a dithyrambic victory at Athens in 401 B.C. A few of his verses are preserved in Atheneaeus (pp. 616 and 617, 626a, 637a). Thapsacus, 415, an important town

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V

Varro, 531, the most learned Roman scholar, the most voluminous Roman author, and yet no literary recluse. He held high command under Pompey in the war against the pirates, the Mithridatic war, and in Spain with Afranius. After the campaign in Spain he joined Pompey in Greece, but after the battle at Pharsalus threw himself on Caesar's mercy, was pardoned by him, and restored to literary

activity. He was at this time nearly seventy years old.

X

Xenocles, of Adramyttium, 91, a distinguished rhetorician, mentioned by Strabo (p. 614). Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 91, 316
Xenocrates, 245, of Chalcedon, 396-314 B.C., an associate of Aeschines the Socrate and Plato, and head of the Academy at Athens for twenty-five years.